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COLLECTIVISM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

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Abstract

Collectivism is a peoples' tendency to think of themselves as parts of different collectives and subordinate their behavior to norms, duties, and obligations imposed by these collectives. The collectivistic attitudes influence, besides other social institutions, also the organizational behavior. The main goal of this study was to explore how three different types of collectivist attitudes (familism, companionship, and patriotism) shape organizational culture in the context of various sociodemographic characteristics, including ethnicity. One thousand three hundred and twenty eight employees from 16 different organizations in Estonia were studied in respect to their attitudes towards organizational culture and collectivism. It was demonstrated that independently of sociodemographic variables, the collectivistic attitudes were related to the way the organization members accept organizational goals and evaluate interpersonal relationships within the organization. The constructed model of the relationship between collectivistic and organizational attitudes revealed potential sources of organizational tension, namely, between work and family, between workers and administrators, and between different ethnic groups with diverse cultural background.

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Introduction

Every organization is a collective creation, which consists of a variety of people, their behavior, attitudes and relations between one another. In order to accomplish a task, an organization demands collective efforts of many of its members. The outcome, however, depends on both individual efforts as well as on how well the organization has managed to integrate the efforts of its members. Thus, the management of the organization depends largely on people's habits, values, attitudes, and behavior patterns.

Popularity of the concept of organizational culture is related to the desire to gain organizational efficiency and success, particularly concerning the process of change. It is necessary to predict the potential support or resistance that may emerge from organizational culture in cases the organization wants to stay in a turbulent environment. Quite clearly, ability to cope with a new situation depends on organizational members' desire to accept the goals of the entity and intensity of the feeling of togetherness. In other words, collectivistic values held by a group of people may either support or obstruct organizational efforts to bring these people together in order to pursue certain goals. If we link all these issues together, we can see that collectivism plays an important role in the organizational context both at the organizational and the group level. Thus, the primary purpose of this study is to explore the impact of collectivism on organizational culture and to explore the patterns of collectivist values of organization members from a perspective of different sociodemographic characteristics.

Culture uniforms peoples' behavior but it also creates barriers between different groups. Donnan and Wilson (1999) have argued that borders of cultures and identities make up the least studied and understood phenomena of international borders (1999: 5) and admit that borders are always metaphors since they are arbitrary constructions based on cultural convention (1999: 40). Similarly, most of the organizations meet the diverse consequences of culture in our modern globalizing world; the cooperation of individuals, groups, and organizations is a vital issue for any social entity and

largely depends on their cultural background. As Aycan (2000: 11) has put it: the real issue is not whether but to what extent and in what ways culture influences individual and group phenomena in organizations. In order to disentangle the cultural and non-cultural factors that influence organizational structure and practices, she argues for comparative studies that would allow us to estimate both the direct and non-direct impact of culture. In a similar vein, our study explores the influence of culture on organizational behavior in two different cultural/ethnic groups, Estonians and non-Estonians (mainly Russian-speaking) living in Estonia. The two groups provide a very interesting case for comparison, as they share the same country of residence and government but largely differ in terms of their language, traditions, and values[1].

The introduction of this paper is divided into three main sections. The first two sections describe the main concepts of this study — organizational culture and individualism-collectivism — as well as their potential relationship. The third section summarizes the aims of the study as well as exemplifies the rationale both for the theoretical and empirical approach used in our research.

1. Organizational Culture and Collectivism

1.1. Organizational Culture

The concept of organizational culture may serve as a framework to mark human relations in organization. As Linda Smircich has argued: "For academics, culture provides conceptual bridge between micro and macro levels of analysis" (1983: 346). Researchers as well as practitioners use this term if they want to underline that every organization has its own character just like a person does.

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[1] The so-called non-Estonians are often called Russians althoug their ethnic and cultural background varies considerably. They mostly come from Russia, the Ukraine, Belorus or the other states of the former Soviet Union, living predominantly in the North-Eastern part of Estonia but also in the capital city of Estonia, Tallinn. What mostly unites this group is the use of Russian for their daily communication.

The definitions of organizational culture vary from a very short description given by Deal and Kennedy: "It's the way we do things around here" (1982: 13) to more sophisticated ones, for example, as proposed by Schein (1985: 9). Trice and Beyer propose the denial description of organizational culture: they try to determine the organizational culture and its related domains by enlisting the phenomena what the organizational culture is not (Trice, Beyer, 1993: 19–23).

Several taxonomies exist in order to capture the variation of mechanisms that form commonly shared but unique combinations of values and behavior patterns in organizations. The complex nature of culture leads to multidimensional approaches (see for a review Detert, 2000; van der Post et al., 1997; Lau, Ngo, 1996). The range of dimensions illustrates hindrances of the research of organizational culture — it seems there are too many different dimensions for arriving at a coherent definition and measurement of the concept.

Smircich (1983) noted that organizational culture can be regarded either as a metaphor or a variable. To be a variable implies that organizational culture can be mapped onto a scale. Several self-report questionnaires have been designed to measure organizational culture (Cooke, Szumel, 1993; Hofstede, 1991; Rousseau, 1990; Xenikou, Furnham, 1996).

The Schultz's (1995) overview of approaches to organizational culture shows that the task and relations will become important aspects when we look at this phenomenon. When discussing about a productive learning organization and its culture, Schein (1992) believes that both orientations, task and relationship, are equally important. Detert (2000), on the other hand, makes distinction between eight aspects of organizational culture in which the ideas about orientations to work, task, and coworkers exist among the others. It is reasonable to think that all these orientations shape organizational culture. Clearly, coping with different situations depends on organizational members' desire to accept the goals and the task of entity of their organization as well as to support and promote the feeling of togetherness. The existing scales cover these

topics among others, but not just as the only aspects of organizational culture.

1.2. Individualism and Collectivism

The dimension of individualism-collectivism was re-introduced to the social sciences by Geert Hofstede (1980) who in his extensive cross-cultural study of work-related values established 4 main dimensions of cultural variation: power distance, individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity-femininity. Hofstede's seminal research (1980) brought along a myriad of studies on individualism-collectivism and during the past twenty years it has often been used to contrast North-American and West-European cultures with Asian and African ones. According to this dimension, all cultures can be characterized by the strength of social forces, which bring individuals together into social entities. Individualism is an attitude that emphasizes the importance of individual over the group identity and collectivism is the opposite tendency that emphasizes the importance of "we" identity over "I" identity (Triandis, 1995).

This paper concentrates mainly on collectivism, following the assumption that individualism and collectivism are not necessarily the opposite poles of the same dimension (cf. Freeman, 1996; Gaines et al., 1997; Gelfand, Triandis, Chan, 1996; Realo, Koido, Ceulemans, Allik, 2002; Rhee, Uleman, Lee, 1996; Triandis, et al., 1986; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asia, Lucca, 1988; Triandis, McCusker, Hui, 1990). The concept of collectivism allows us to describe how people think of themselves as parts of different collectives (e.g., families, circles of friends, various organizations, entire society) and to what extent their social behavior is a consequence of norms, duties, and obligations imposed by these collectives (Triandis, 1995). Indeed, the members of organizations need to have "we" identities, to a certain degree at least, in order to cooperate and accomplish the organizational task. The social entities depend on their members' will and understandings about grouping process. It has also been shown that various cultural and sociodemographic groups may have different patterns of collectivism (Allik, Realo, 1996; Realo, Allik, Vadi, 1997; Rhee et al., 1996). For

example, overall collectivist orientations were the highest among those subgroups that were isolated from the larger society (e.g., a small island) or closely linked to the past (e.g., old members of a sorority) while young students and business people were relatively less collectivistic, compared to the mean score of the entire sample. Vadi and Buono (1997) showed that also people's organizational positions, age, and gender may have significant role in molding their collectivistic attitudes towards different groups, including the organization.

2. The Relationship between Collectivism and Organizational Culture

Cultural dimensions of individualism and collectivism can either interfere with or modulate the organizational culture through different channels. For instance, they may become manifest in managers' preference for allocating organizational rewards or in employees' preference for receiving them. Leung and Bond (1984) found differences in reward allocation between groups of Chinese and, predominately, White Americans. Triandis (1993: 184) has investigated several aspects of the construct of individualism-collectivism and, among others, he emphasizes leader-member relations of the Fiedler's Contingency Model: "The task orientation may be a reflection of an aspect of individualism, while the person-orientation may be a reflection of satisfying team experiences." Aforementioned domains of studies as well as studies of economic development, groups, job design, conflict and communication have been related to the constructs of individualism and collectivism within organizational settings (see Early, Gibson 1998; Chapman, 1997, for a review).

Another aspect of interaction is the perceived freedom. Lukes in his book "Individualism" (1973: 31) underlines the connections between individualism and love of enterprise and pride in personal freedom. For example, one characteristic of individualism is "the notion of autonomy or self-direction, according to which an individual's thought and action is his own, and not determined by agencies or causes outside his control" (Lukes; 1973: 52). Abra-

ham (1997: 179) attributes individualism to organizational entrepreneurship (intrapreneurship) and proposes that collectivism evokes the organizational commitment when organization is seen as an in-group.

Early and Gibson's (1998) have stated that the relationship between individualism-collectivism and organizational culture has been largely unexamined, in spite of the fact that both concepts — organizational culture and collectivism — refer to the issues of cooperation in organizational settings. Accepting that, we should take a closer look at the contacts of organizational culture and collectivism on three basic levels: cultural, organizational, and individual.

First, collectivism influences organizational culture through the dominant culture of the society in which the organization operates. Collectivism could be considered one of the attributes of culture or environment that surrounds the organization. Environment, on the other hand, is regarded as one of the factors forming organizational culture (Deal, Kennedy, 1982; Hofstede 1991; Kotter, Heskett, 1992; Schein, 1985). Organizational culture is influenced by general cultural environment as the organizational members transfer values into the organization from outside cultural environment and these values can be very different. There are many examples of this kind of influence. For example, immigrants with Islamic background accepted the American-style organizational culture, but in their everyday relations they preferred to retain the traditions of their national culture (Alkhazraji, Gardner, 1997). The Reevers-Ellington's case study (1998) revealed that differences in values and collectivism-individualism caused the conflict of organizational culture within the American University in Bulgaria. Another example, Fey and Nordahl (1999) studied the organizational culture in Russia and provided several examples of the influence of collectivist attitudes to organizational settings (i.e., Russians prefer to work together rather than individually, they hold regular companywide social events etc.). These results refer to circumstances that characterize current directions in the formation of organizational culture: the slow change of cultural traditions, on the one hand, and the dynamics of the society, on the other.

Second, organizations themselves, usually through the cultivated organizational culture, promote cooperation and collective spirit between their members. Since Barnard proposed a new theory of organizations — organizations are cooperative systems, not the product of mechanical engineering (Perrow, 1975: 193) — the aspect of collective nature has been developed within different schools of organizational studies. According to this new approach, the success of an organization as a whole depends not on the performance of some remarkable individuals but on the collective contribution of all members (Jacobs, 1981). For the success, many people have to support the well being of the organization and the organization should be aware of its members' wish to support their organization and understanding of the essence of collective work. Organizational culture depends, however, on the understandings that organizational members hold about the group processes. Trice and Beyer (1993: 5) state that "Belonging to a culture involves believing what others believe and doing as they do — at least part of time" when they describe collectivism as a characteristic of culture. One particularly obvious situation where individualism and collectivism intervene organizational culture is learning. Schein asks (1992: 368): should the learning culture be based on assumptions of individualism or groupism? He proposes that different learning tasks require appropriate predominance whether individualism or groupism. Chatman and colleagues (1998; Chatman, Barsade, 1995) classify organizational culture into these two broad categories and investigate the organizational members' intentions of behavior, social interactions, conflict and other aspects of behavior by using the organizational simulation method.

Third, the organizational culture depends on the collectivist attitudes that organizational members have toward different social realities. For example, Thomas and Griffin (1991) treat different groups (e.g., friends, family, and customers) as the sources of social information at the workplace. These groups influence organizational members when they participate in organizational life and create the patterns of behavior. Parkes et al. (2001) found that individual-level individualistic or collectivistic orientations of organization members had a serious impact on organizational culture. While collectivists were more committed to their organizations and

had longer tenure than individualists in Asian, compared to Australian organizations; the predicted effects of person-organization fit were not found at the organizational level within cultures (Parkes et al., 2001).

The case study of multiple-group membership and peoples' behavior during and after explosions in Texas City and in Oklahoma revealed the nature of conflicts of loyalty to different groups more than a half of century ago. According to Killan (1965: 506), the choice that the greatest number of individuals were forced to make was the one between a family and other groups, principally between a group of employees or community. The following question arises: how are the collectivist values towards different domains of social relations such as family, friends/colleagues, and society related to the organizational context? For example, in many cases a member of a work organization, who is much concerned with his/her own family, prefers to support family needs rather than demands of the organization. Family could be an important determinant of his or her behavior in organizational relations. A person's behavior in a certain group follows the choice, which is based on the intensity of attitudes towards this and other groups. Abraham (1997: 179) points out that allegiance to other organizational groups including work-group or the supervisor may supersede collectivist loyalty to the organization. It leads to the idea that importance of certain other groups may detach the organizational members from the organization.

3. The Study of Collectivism and Organizational Culture

3.1. Aims of the Current Study

The goals of our study were the following.

First, we aimed at exploring the organizational culture in the light of the hierarchical model of collectivism (Realo et al., 1997). The persons' collectivist attitudes towards different social groups may vary due to their sociodemographic background. Therefore, organizational members with different sociodemographic back-

ground hold specific patterns of relationships in relation to organizational culture and collectivistic attitudes.

Our second aim was to measure the influence of collectivism on organizational culture in two different ethnic/cultural populations — Estonians and non-Estonians (mainly speaking in Russian). It is possible that the patterns of relationships between the two constructs are not identical across different cultural groups. Also, the two groups may differ both in their strength and direction of collectivistic attitudes as well as in their support to different aspects of organizational culture.

In order to study the relationships between collectivism and organizational culture, an accompanying aim of our study was to develop a tool to measure the latter construct. In the process of development we followed the idea that the organizational culture is shaped primarily by two major factors: the organizational task and relationship orientations (Schein, 1992). Smith (1997) underlines that either task rationality or interpersonal relationships was emphasized at the work underlying his comparison of 16 European nations with regard to values of business employees. Harrison (1995) has proposed, on the one hand, a notion of "task culture," arguing that organizational goal is relevant to all activities and that organizational members are expected to strongly support the goals of entity. On the other hand, he speaks about a so-called person-oriented organizational culture which is based on warm and harmonic interpersonal relationships. His revised view of the person-oriented organizational culture — the support-oriented culture — gives a good perspective about the nature of good relationships within an organization (Harrison, 1992). Some characteristics of this orientation are: people help one another beyond the formal demands; people communicate a lot, not only about work, but also about personal concerns; people like to spend time together, etc. (Harrison, 1992: 20). As both the task and relationship orientations seem to be vital aspects of organizational culture, we tried to develop an instrument that would enable measuring the two aspects in a reliable way.

3.2. Method

3.2.1. Participants

Altogether, 1328 subjects (461 men and 829 women, 38 participants did not indicate their gender) participated in the survey. The average age of the participants was 35.7 years ($SD = 10.1$), ranging from 17 to 66 years.[1] The variety of occupations included bank employees, civil pilots, textile workers, salesclerks, and soldiers of the Estonian Military. For subsequent analyses, the respondents were divided into three classes: so-called blue-collar workers ($n = 615$); white-collar workers or specialists ($n = 457$), and managers ($n = 207$). (49 participants did not disclose their occupation). All in all, the respondents represented 16 different organizations, which were operating in different areas such as processing industry, service, and information technology. In terms of ethnicity or cultural descent, the sample consisted of 648 Estonians and 680 non-Estonians mainly speaking in Russian living in Estonia who completed the set of questionnaires either in Estonian or Russian, respectively. The data were collected during 1996–2001.

All participants completed the Questionnaire of the Organizational Culture (QOC). The measure of collectivistic attitudes was administered to a sub-sample of 1114 individuals (379 men and 697 women, 38 of unknown gender) with the mean age just the same as in the full sample. All 680 Russians completed the ESTCOL Scale as opposed to only 434 participants from the Estonian sample.

3.2.2. Measures

Item development of the Questionnaire of Organizational Culture. The QOC was developed on the basis of an item pool which consisted of 43 items. The items concerned a wide range of different topics related to organizational culture such as

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[1] The number of subjects in analyses may differ due to missing data.

1) interpersonal relationships between members of the organization (e.g., "In our organization people know each other very well") and

2) understanding an organizational task, for instance. The latter is a complex issue and therefore its different aspects were covered such as the dynamics of the organization (e.g., "In our organization, positive changes are taking place all the time") and the issue of leadership (e.g., "In our organization, employees can always talk to the boss if necessary"). Organizational task can be also tied to emotions towards organization (e.g., "People are proud of their organization"), and the degree of admitting an organizational goal (e.g., "People concentrate more on their own needs than on the goals of the organization").

Respondents were asked to indicate their attitude to the items on a 10-point scale ranging from 'completely disagree' (1) to 'completely agree' (10). The items were first prepared in Estonian and then translated into Russian, both by a professional translator and an Estonian-Russian bilingual who worked independently from each other. Two translations were carefully compared with the original Estonian version of the text to remove any cultural ambiguities or misunderstandings.

The ESTCOL Scale. The ESTCOL Scale (Realo et al., 1997) was used to measure collectivistic attitudes. The scale consists of 24 items, which measure three subtypes of collectivism: *familism*, *companionship*, and *patriotism.* According to the hierarchical model of collectivism (Allik, Realo, 1996; Realo et al., 1997), the three forms of collectivism can be shortly characterized as follows:

1) Family related collectivism (Familism) implies dedication of one's life to the family, putting its interests higher than one's personal aspirations. Family security, honoring parents and elderly people, respect for traditions and reciprocation of favors serve as guiding principles in a familist's life.

2) Peer-related collectivism (Companionship) can be described by close relations between an individual and his/her neighbors, friends, or co-workers.

3) Society-related collectivism (Patriotism) means dedication to serve one's nation by surrendering one's personal comforts to those of the latter. Patriots are always ready to sacrifice themselves to defending their nation against enemies. Respondents were asked to indicate their attitude to the items on a 5-point scale marked as 'strongly disagree' (0) and 'strongly agree' (4). The ESTCOL Scale was developed in Estonian (Realo et al., 1997) and later translated into Russian to be used in research by Realo and Allik (1999).

To ensure the structural equivalence of the Estonian and Russian versions of the ESTCOL Scale, we computed Tucker's coefficient of congruence between the three-factor structures of the two versions. The congruence coefficients between the Estonian and Russian versions were .96, .84, and .97 for Familism (COL1), Companionship (COL2), and Patriotism (COL3) subscales, respectively. Quite expectedly, the factor congruence between the Estonian and Russian versions was the lowest for Companionship factor, which also showed the lowest internal consistency reliability. Across all subjects, the Cronbach alphas were 0.78, 0.54, and 0.77 for COL1, COL2, and COL3 subscales, respectively. Such findings conform rather well to previous studies in which COL2 exhibited lower reliability than the other two (e.g., Cronbach alpha = .66 in Realo et al. (1997) and .53 in Realo & Allik (1999)). In the authors' opinion the relatively low internal consistency of COL2 subscale indicates that social relations with friends, co-workers, and neighbors, for instance, are too heterogeneous and can possibly be broken down into more specific relationships (Realo et al., 1997).

3.3. Results

3.3.1. Internal Structure and Psychometric Characteristics of the QOC

A principal component analysis of the 43 items followed by a varimax rotation was separately performed for the Estonian and Russian samples. Factor analysis attempts to identify underlying variables, or factors, that explain the pattern of correlations within a set of observed variables. Factor analysis is often used in data re-

duction to identify a small number of factors that explain most of the variance observed in a much larger number of manifest variables.

The analyses revealed that although 11 factors had eigenvalues above 1 in both data-sets, only the first two factors contained at least 7–8 items with substantial and unique loadings. The two factors were focused on the following themes — general attitudes towards organizational tasks, and interpersonal relationships between organization members.

In order to develop subscales for measuring these two aspects of organizational culture, the most salient representatives (an item had a significant loading on this particular factor but a near-zero loading on all other factors) for these two factors were selected from the list of 43 items. Doing so, we tried to select items that would provide us with the best possible simple structure for both Estonian and Russian versions of the scale to follow the assumption that all unique factors are uncorrelated with each other and with the common factors.

Table 1 shows the items and factor loadings of the varimax-rotated two-factor solution for a set of 16 items across all respondents. The obtained factor structure, accounting for 39.3% and 37.8% of the total variance in Estonian and Russian data sets, respectively, was rather simple indeed. In the Russian version of the scale, each item (except one) was loaded above .30 on one factor only. The Estonian data set contained 4 items with minor secondary loadings (above .30) and one item that failed to load significantly on any of the two factors. All in all, the congruence of the factor structures of the two versions was exemplary — the Tucker congruence coefficients between the Estonian and Russian versions were .97 and .99 for the first and the second factor, respectively.

On the basis of the two-factor structure of 20 items, we developed two subscales (each of 8 items) of the organization culture for measuring "general attitudes towards organizational task" (OC1) and "interpersonal relationships" (OC2). Across all respondents, the Cronbach alphas for OC1 and OC2 subscales were .80 and .74, respectively. The intercorrelation between the two subscales (defined as sum scores of the items divided by the number of items in

each subscale) was moderate ($r = .36$, $p = .000$), indicating that the two aspects of the organizational culture were not completely independent from each other.

Table 1

**Items and Factor Loadings of the Questionnaire
of Organizational Culture**

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
IN OUR ORGANIZATION …		
… people are proud of their organization	**0.67**	0.24
… people are rewarded for their good work	**0.74**	0.16
… everyone has a big freedom of activity	**0.64**	0.12
… people are not afraid of making mistakes	**0.41**	0.07
… positive changes constantly take place	**0.76**	0.10
… differences between subordinates and superiors are not accentuated	**0.64**	0.06
… people concentrate more on their own needs than on the goals of the organization [R]	**0.51**	−0.15
… people's well-being is important	**0.67**	0.23
… employees know one another	−0.05	**0.55**
… accepted communication standards exist	0.23	**0.60**
… [people] know about each others' personal lives	−0.12	**0.66**
… in case of mistakes one feels embarrassed by the other members of the organization	0.06	**0.48**
… in tough situations there is a strong feeling of togetherness	0.29	**0.59**
… [people] know about each others' hobbies and out-of-work activities	0.04	**0.68**
… [people] help each other in job-related problems	**0.31**	**0.49**
… all important matters are discussed with each other	**0.31**	**0.56**

Note. $N = 1147$. Loadings greater than .30 are boldfaced. [R] – Item reversed for scoring. The items are approximate translations from Estonian to English.

3.3.2. Cultural and Gender Differences in Organizational Culture and Collectivism

The mean values of the two organizational culture subscales, OC1 and OC2, and the three subscales of the ESTCOL Scale (Familism, Companionship, and Patriotism) are shown in Table 2 and 3, respectively. As it will be shown in later analysis, the age of respondents had no effect on their standing on OC1 and OC2 subscales. For this reason, the mean values are shown separately only for different cultural and occupation groups.

Table 2

**The Mean Values and Standard Deviations
of the Organizational Culture Subscales**

	OC1			OC2		
	M	*N*	*SD*	*M*	*n*	*SD*
RUSSIANS	4.38	605	1.79	6.67	607	1.59
Workers	4.18	345	1.65	6.71	351	1.58
Specialists	4.74	189	1.93	6.61	183	1.57
Managers	4.38	71	1.96	6.58	73	1.72
ESTONIANS	6.04	619	1.42	6.39	620	1.33
Workers	5.64	240	1.61	6.41	238	1.55
Specialists	6.26	255	1.20	6.39	257	1.20
Managers	6.36	124	1.25	6.34	125	1.14
All Groups	5.22	1224	1.82	6.53	1227	1.47

Note. OC1 − "General attitudes towards organizational task", OC2 − "Interpersonal relationship".

Partly due to the large number of subjects, most of the contrasts between demographical variables were significant. A one-way ANOVA revealed that in general, Estonians scored higher than Russians on OC1 scale, $F(1,1263) = 332.31$, $p = .000$, but the situation was reversed for OC2 scale: the interpersonal relationships were more highly regarded by Russians than by Estonians, $F(1,1268) = 12.98$, $p = .000$. The same kind of variation was ob-

served in relation to the respondents' profession: specialists and managers scored higher than workers on OC1 subscale, $F(2,1221) = 34.95$, $p = .000$ but their standing was unlike on OC2 scale, $F(2,1224) = 1.19$ (n.s.). The interaction between the occupation and ethnic group was not significant for either subscale. Across all respondents, gender had a significant effect only on OC2 subscale, $F(1,1236) = 56.69$, $p = .000$, with women ($M = 6.70$, $SD = 1.50$) scoring significantly higher than men ($M = 6.25$, $SD = 1.38$) on this scale.

As expected, Russians were more collectivistic than Estonians in all three domains of collectivism, Rao's R $(1,1032) = 142.23$, $p = .000$. A one-way ANOVA revealed significant differences among the different occupational groups only on COL1 and COL2, $F(2,1043) = 38.29$ and $F(2,1038) = 7.44$, respectively (both significant at $p = .000$). Results indicated that workers ($M = 3.21$, $SD = 0.59$) were more family-oriented than specialists ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 0.71$) who in turn, were more familistic than managers ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 0.76$). On COL2 (i.e., Companionship), workers ($M = 1.36$, $SD = 0.57$) scored higher than managers ($M = 1.18$, $SD = 0.59$). For COL1 and COL3, multivariate analyses also illustrated the interaction between ethnic group and occupation: $F(2,1039) = 7.64$ and $F(2,1038) = 12.29$, respectively ($p = .000$).

A significant main effect was found also for gender on COL1 [$F(1,1055) = 20.28$] and COL2 [$F(1,1050) = 11.39$] subscales (both significant at $p = .000$). Women ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 0.67$) scored higher than men ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 0.69$) on Familism whereas men ($M = 1.39$, $SD = 0.59$) were more collectivistic than women ($M = 1.27$, $SD = 0.55$) in their relationships with friends, neighbors, and fellow workers. There were no gender differences on COL3 subscale.

Table 3

The Mean Values and Standard Deviations of the ESTCOL Subscales

	COL1			COL2			COL3		
	M	*n*	*SD*	*M*	*n*	*SD*	*M*	*n*	*SD*
RUSSIANS	3.34	626	0.47	1.42	625	0.55	2.29	629	0.69
Workers	3.38	357	0.45	1.46	355	0.54	2.24	357	0.67
Specialists	3.27	191	0.51	1.36	192	0.55	2.30	193	0.71
Managers	3.32	78	0.40	1.38	78	0.58	2.46	79	0.71
ESTONIANS	2.60	420	0.72	1.14	416	0.56	1.94	418	0.73
Workers	2.87	175	0.69	1.17	173	0.59	2.06	175	0.73
Specialists	2.45	137	0.68	1.20	136	0.51	1.87	136	0.70
Managers	2.37	108	0.70	1.04	107	0.56	1.83	107	0.75
All Groups	**3.04**	**1046**	**0.68**	**1.31**	**1041**	**0.57**	**2.15**	**1047**	**0.73**

Note. COL1 − Familism, COL2 − Companionship, COL3 − Patriotism.

3.3.3. Relationships between Organizational Culture and Collectivistic Attitudes

The two aspects of organizational culture and the three subscales of collectivism exhibited an interesting pattern of correlations, which is shown in Table 4. The correlation between the general attitudes towards organizational task (OC1) and familism (COL1) was rather impressive: familists evaluated their companies much more negatively than those who were less familistic in their attitudes.

Table 4

The Pearson Product Moment Correlations between the QOC and the ESTCOL Subscales

	COL1	COL2	COL3
OC1	−0.31[*]	−0.11[*]	−0.05
OC2	0.13[*]	−0.00	0.17[*]

Note. QOC − Questionnaire of the Organizational Culture, OC1 − "General attitudes towards organizational task", OC2 − "Interpersonal relationship", COL1 − Familism, COL2 − Companionship, COL3 − Patriotism, [*]$p < .001$

We also performed a canonical analysis in order to establish a relationship between these two sets of measures — organizational culture and collectivism. The canonical correlation between the two sets of scales — two QOC and three ESTCOL scales — was $R = .40$ [χ^2 (6) = 200.9, $p = .000$]. The canonical correlations can be squared to compute the proportion of variance shared by the sum scores (canonical variates) in each set. If this proportion is multiplied by the proportion of variance extracted, it is possible to arrive at a measure of redundancy, which shows how redundant is one set of variables, given the other set of variables. The total redundancy of one scale, given the other scale, was relatively modest, 14.3%. At this point, it is important to notice, that the relatively high correlation between OC1 and COL1 can be artificial, that is, caused by covariation with some demographic variable. Indeed, the partial correlation between OC1 and COL1 was only $r' = -.07$

($p = .037$) when the ethnicity, gender and occupation of respondents were taken into account. Thus, for a true picture of the relationship between organizational culture and collectivistic attitudes, one should certainly control for demographic variables.

Our main purpose was to predict the inter-individual variability of the two scales of organizational culture, OC1 and OC2, from the three collectivism subscales (Familism, Companionship, and Patriotism) simultaneously with main socio-demographic variables such as gender, nationality, age, and profession. Because some of the predictor variables (gender, nationality and profession) are categorical, only the generalized linearized models approach was applicable (cf. StatSoft, Inc., 2001). In order to incorporate categorical variables, the sigma restricted coding was applied. To illustrate the sigma-restricted coding, suppose that a categorical predictor variable called Gender, has two levels (i.e., male and female). Cases in the two groups would be assigned values of 1 or -1, respectively, on the coded predictor variable, so that if the regression coefficient for the variable is positive, the group coded as 1 on the predictor variable will have a higher predicted value (i.e., a higher group mean) on the dependent variable, and if the regression coefficient is negative, the group coded as -1 on the predictor variable will have a higher predicted value on the dependent variable. This coding strategy is aptly called the sigma-restricted parameterization, because the values used to represent group membership (1 and -1) sum to zero (StatSoft, Inc., 2001). In order to find the smallest model, the forward step-wise approach was used in which only pairwise interactions between predictor variables were used.

The results of the General Regression Analysis are shown in Figures 1 and 2, respectively. In these two figures Pareto charts of the *t*-values for variables' coefficients included into the best model are shown.

The multiple *R* values were .49 [$F(7,957) = 44.15$, $p = .000$] and .26 [$F(7,957) = 9.99$, $p = .000$] for OC1 and OC2, respectively. The sign before the *t*-value indicates in which way, positively or negatively, the respective regression coefficients enter the model.
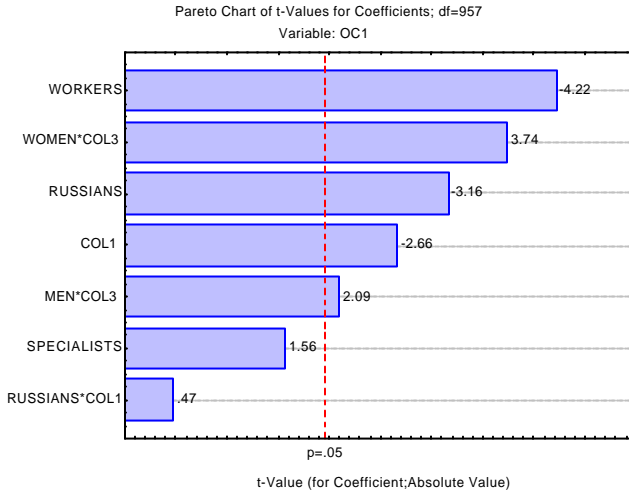
Figure 1. Factors predicting the general attitudes towards organizational task.

The obtained *R* values mean that approximately 24.4% of the variance in OC1 and approximately 6.8% of variance in OC2 can be explained by collectivism and socio-demographic variables or by their combination. Although the amount of the explained variance, especially in case of the second factor (OC2) is not very high, the relationship between organizational culture and collectivism is significant even if gender, nationality and profession were taken into consideration.

One remarkable result of the model building was the absence of age in the list of relevant predictors. The both aspects of organizational culture, OC1 and OC2, were estimated irrespective of the respondent's age. Looking at the list of relevant predictors of OC1, one can see that workers, Russian-speaking respondents and familists had generally more negative attitude towards the organization by which they were employed. On the contrary, both patriotic women and men were the main supporters of the organization. Interestingly, the same group of patriotically minded women and men regarded interpersonal relationships as an important aspect of
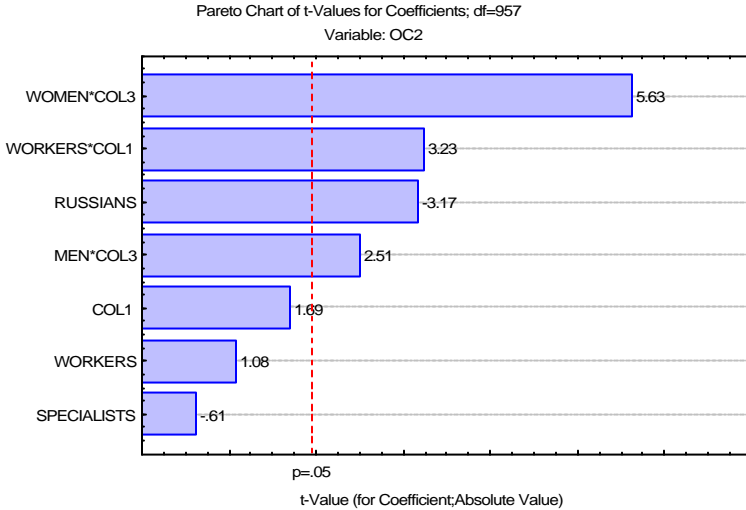
Pareto Chart of t-Values for Coefficients; df=957
Variable: OC2

	t-Value
WOMEN*COL3	5.63
WORKERS*COL1	3.23
RUSSIANS	-3.17
MEN*COL3	2.51
COL1	1.69
WORKERS	1.08
SPECIALISTS	-.61

p=.05

t-Value (for Coefficient;Absolute Value)

Figure 2. Factors predicting interpersonal relationships.

the organizational culture. Quite expectedly, family-oriented work-ers were also stressing interpersonal relationships in organization. Again, Russian-speaking respondents were negative predictors of the high values on OC2.

4. Discussion

Many business people have learned that some cultures are more collectivist than others and this difference may have a profound impact on individuals' behavior in organizational life (cf. Hofstede, 1991). But not many are aware of intracultural variation that could also influence organizations and the way they have been built up. This is one of the main results of our study. We have found that even in a very small state such as Estonia (with less than 1.4 mil-lion inhabitants), various subgroups can be differentiated not only according to their ethnic/cultural background, but also gender and employment. Their members have rather different attitudes toward various domains of social relationships including organization by which they are employed.

Organizational members' gender, nationality, and organizational position evoke their patterns of collectivistic attitudes and organizational culture. Our data have demonstrated that facets of collectivism predict organizational members' willingness to support the two aspects of organizational culture — task and relation — in different ways. Surprisingly, the respondents' age does not put significant impact on the nature of these connections in our study. One of the explanations could be construed in the light of the Lawrence's (1997) proposition that not actual age but acquired meaning of the age when people evaluate themselves and others influences the organizational outcome. Thus, the manifestation of the collectivistic attitudes and the organizational members' wish to support their organizational task and relationships may depend on the vision they hold about themselves among others rather than on their own age. The reason could be simple — organization is the collective creation not the sum of single individuals.

4.1. New Scales of Organizational Culture

At first, we developed a questionnaire for measuring organizational culture in order to focus on the general attitude toward organizational task and relationship orientations in the organizational setting. The final version consisted of 16 items, 8 in each subscale. Comparing the contents of the underlying factors of these scales, both reveal how members of an organization understand their culture because they are bound with understandings and behaviors that are deemed correct.

One of the scales reflects the organizational members' understandings and attitudes towards organizational task. If an organization wants that its members support the task, it ought to give them a certain degree of freedom, devise appropriate reward and power allocation systems. Indeed, the acceptance of organizational goal and commitment to organizational entity are important issues that shape their members' attitudes toward the organization's tasks. Last but not least, the feeling of a positive change inspires organizational members and every organization should consider these aspects to continue operating in (turbulent) environment.

The other scale relates to the domain of interpersonal relationships within organizations. This aspect of organizational culture emphasizes the importance of interpersonal relations that may alleviate tensions, completing a certain task. Here the metaphor "social glue," explicitly expresses the function of interpersonal relationships. Alvesson (1995) expects "social glue" to be the most common view of culture because it may explain two issues —informal control and integration or endeavor toward consensus, harmony, and community. The items reveal that personal lives, interpersonal communication, feeling of togetherness are the themes of this scale in our study. Reasonable relationships generate mutual trust and support among organizational members.

This subscale has an obvious resemblance to the concept of social capital. Social capital has been defined in various ways, starting with James Coleman (1988: 98) who argued that "social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors — whether persons or corporate actors — within the structure." According to Putnam (2000: 19), "social capital refers to connections among individuals — social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them." Among many other important things, higher levels of social capital have been associated with stronger economic performance across Italian regions (Putnam, 1993) and lower drop-out rates in American high schools (Coleman, 1988).

4.2. Connection between Organizational Culture and Collectivism

The relationship between attitudes towards organization and collectivism was not particularly strong. In total, the shared common variance was less than 15% indicating that these two constructs are conceptually distinct. Nevertheless, there is a reliable link between these two concepts: collectivistic attitudes, particularly familism and patriotism, exert a palpable influence on the organizational culture both alone and in combination with socio-demographic variables.

First, familism and organizational life seem to be antagonistic to a certain extent. Our data provided clear evidence that family-oriented individuals were generally more negative towards task-orientation of the organization. Previous studies have also shown the interaction between organizational culture and family (Fu, Shaffer, 2001; Lewis, 1997; Casey, 1996; Warren, Johnson, 1995; Galinsky, Stein, 1990; Bhagat, Ford, 1990). However, many of these studies had a focus on organizational culture which favors family-friendly atmosphere in the organizational context. For example, Warren and Johnson (1995) concluded in their paper that the more supportive the organizational culture of employees with family responsibilities was perceived to be, the less strain was found between work and family roles. There is little research which explains how attitudes toward family influence the organizational culture.

We suggest that attitudes toward family have diverse impact on the organizational culture. The general attitude toward organizational tasks confronts family loyalty and it means that familism overrules the organizational members' wish to support the organizational task. Indeed, this circumstance would create emotional dissonance for organizational members. Abraham (1998) argues that social support (i.e., large social networks of family, spouse) is one of the moderating factors in the model of emotional dissonance in the organizational setting. The other side of the picture is that familism supports the relationship orientation and positive attitudes toward family may in some cases extend to or affirm the good relationships within the organization. This tendency is more influenced by organizational position of the respondent (the role of worker, which is given by the organization) than by their gender or nationality.

Secondly, the absence of relation between the companionship and the organizational culture is surprising. Probably, it implies once more that COL2 subscale covers too many kinds of different peer-level relations (e.g., colleagues, neighbors, friends; Realo, et al. 1997) and for the application in the organizational context these should be more distinguished. It was also remarkable that the second of the two QOC scales, the interpersonal relationship scale, was rather weakly connected with the collectivistic attitudes and

demographic variables (only about 7% of its variance was predict-able from these predictor variables in contrast to about 25% of the general attitudes towards organizational task).

Third, the patriotism promotes the organizational members' wish to support the organizational culture from both perspectives. It is a predictable result if considering the studies, which have found or-ganizational culture to be in accordance with societal culture. Of course, we make a distinction between collectivism as a cultural syndrome and as an individual-level attribute but one would expect the relationship between these two levels — our study seems to confirm this idea. The combination of patriotism and the gender role predict organizational culture and consequently, the organiza-tions depend on the organizational members' disposition toward society. These results show that the positive emotional connection with one's nation and wider society might be a premise for support of organizational task and relationships.

Fourth, there is a considerable tension between different groups of occupation within Estonian organizations. "Blue collars" (workers) as opposed to "white collars" (specialists and managers) perceive organization and its culture differently. While the upper echelon of an organization is thinking about organization primarily in terms of the general attitude toward organizational task, the workers stress more the importance of interpersonal relations, the social capital of organization. These clearly different attitudes may be a potential source for intraorganizational tension because values shared by a large group of its members are not identical (and some cases even diametrically oriented) to those held by the administration.

Another source of intraorganizational tension is sourced by cultural and demographic heterogeneity of the organization. De Witte and van Muijen (1999: 588) admit that organizational members belong to many different groups at the same time and the analysis of or-ganizational culture might reveal that in fact many different, some-times even conflicting, cultural assumptions prevail. When Alves-son (1995: 33) points to oversimplification of some approaches to organizational culture, he emphasizes the role of employees' age, gender, qualification, and interest in the determination of the or-ganizational culture.

Indeed, our findings demonstrated that ethnicity is an important factor in characterizing the attitudes toward organization and its culture. Russian-speaking members of the organization were considerably less task-oriented than Estonian-speaking members and, in turn, much more interpersonal relationship-oriented than Estonians. At the same time, Russian-speaking organizational members were also more collectivistic than Estonians in all three domains of social relationships. This finding supports the results of several previous studies in which Estonians were found to be less collectivistic than Russians living in Estonia (Kants, Realo, 1999; Realo, Allik, 1999). Although Estonia in general has often been described as a relatively collectivistic country (e.g., Keltikangas-Järvinen, Terav, 1996; Schwartz, 1994; Triandis, 1993), the Estonians hold their autostereotype as being rather individualistic (Realo, 1998, 2001). Furthermore, in several recent studies Estonians have been either the least collectivistic sample (Realo, Goodwin, 2001) or scoring at the same level of individualism-collectivism with fellows from so-called individualistic cultures such as Finland and the U.S. (Gelfand, Realo, 1999; Kants, Realo, 1999; Realo, Allik, 1999).

4.3. Implications for Cross-Cultural Management

The question of ethnic background or dominant language in Estonian organizations seems to play indeed a crucial role. It is very likely that the relationships between organizational culture and collectivistic attitudes are to a certain extent moderated by the respondents' cultural background.

Ethnicity is one of the resources of an organization, which is tied with culture. Fink & Mayrhofer (2001) express that this is a challenge for cross-cultural management and, if considered, will make international firms perform better than national firms, because it allows the tapping of more, better, and cheaper resources than any national firm can exploit. Of course, the management of such a diverse resource requires cultural sensitivity that outclasses the simplified understanding of impact of collectivism on organizations — a notion that often prevails in international management textbooks.

It should be emphasized especially about the Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) countries, which often are supposed to be collectivist. The variation could be considerable and the other socio-demographic characteristics induce the impact of collectivism on the organizational culture. This is somewhat discarded sometimes. Gilbert (2001: 409) has put it as follows: "Some early Western management analysis of management change in the countries of CEE tended to approach the topic as though the events of the second half of the twentieth century rendered the whole region culturally homogeneous." It would be a useful notion if organizations seek for synergy that may derive from cultural heterogeneity in those countries.

If managers think about different targets of collectivism, they would probably understand better the influence of the local culture on the organizational culture. Accordingly, we can say that familism and patriotism intervene organizational life in Estonia. Indeed, these aspects are reasonable targets for the future research in other cultural settings.

If we look at the continuum of organizational members, we probably do not notice how and in which ways collectivism influences organizational culture. Different patterns of relationships emerge when distinction is made between different forms of collectivism, which in turn are examined in various groups. Putting it metaphorically: the general picture taken outside differs from the snapshots taken inside; or water is colorless but embodies a color scheme.

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KOKKUVÕTE

Kollektivism ja selle mõju organisatsioonikultuurile

Organisatsiooni liikmete sotsiaalsete suhete võrgustik on mitmekesine, hõlmates pererolle, töö- ja teiste kaaslaste ning ühiskonnaga seotud suhteid. Suhete mitmetahulisust võimaldab arvestada kollektivismi hierarhiline käsitlus, mis baseerub asjaolul, et kollektivistlike hoiakute tugevus sõltub suurel määral hoiaku sihist — perekond; lähemad sõbrad ning naabrid; ja riik, rahvus, avalik arvamus ja sotsiaalsed institutsioonid (Realo, Allik, Vadi 1997). Uurimus toimus aastatel 1996–2001 ja selles osales 1 328 inimest 14 Eesti organisatsioonist. Organisatsioonikultuuri mõõtmiseks koostati 43-väiteline küsimustik, mille sisu seostub kultuuris toimiva ühtekuuluvustunde määra ja liikmetepoolse organisatsiooni toetamiskavatsusega. Tulemused näitavad, et eestlasi ja vene keel kõnelevaid organisatsiooni liikmeid mõjutavad organisatsioonilises kontekstis erinevad kollektivismiga seotud asjaolud. Peretasandi kollektivism vastandub organisatsiooni ülesande orientatsioonile, kuid võib toetada suhete orientatsiooni. Patriotism toetab mõlemat organisatsioonikultuuri orientatsiooni. Eesti organisatsioonides on põhjusi organisatsioonisisesteks pingeteks, sest tööliste ning juhtide/spetsialistide, eestlaste ning mitteeestlaste käitumismudelid võivad erineda väga suurel määral.