Questionnaires from 277 Muslim immigrants revealed that most were more inclined to retain their original national culture for their private and/or social lives than to adopt the U.S. national culture. In contrast, most accepted U.S. organizational cultures. Collectivism, religious beliefs and practices, gender, education, and years lived in the United States related to acculturation to the U.S. national culture; national acculturation, collectivism, and perceived discrepancy in work cultures related to acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures. The practical implications of these findings for managers are discussed along with recommended directions for future research.

THE ACCULTURATION OF IMMIGRANTS TO U.S. ORGANIZATIONS
The Case of Muslim Employees

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The growth of immigrant groups in today's workplace poses new challenges for managers. Because these groups have varied cultural backgrounds, religions, languages, and education, it is more difficult to manage cultural diversity than it is personal differences. Ethnic and religious backgrounds are deeply ingrained in employees (Adler, 1991). Indeed, Hofstede (1984) found that national culture explained half the variance in employees' attitudes and

behaviors. Hence, effective transcultural management practices are required to meet the challenges of cultural diversity (Davis & Rasool, 1988).

According to Borden (1991), culture involves three learned and interdependent dimensions: language, physical, and psychological. Language is used to communicate with others; it typically is assumed that their values and beliefs are like our own, if they speak our language. The physical dimension relates to the environment and what is considered acceptable behavior. The psychological dimension contains the mental processes and contents of our beliefs by which we subjectively measure the activities in our environment. An alternative perspective of culture is provided by Hofstede (1991), who breaks culture into five dimensions: power distance, individualism and collectivism, gender roles, uncertainty avoidance, and virtue versus truth. Significantly, these five dimensions encompass Borden's (1991) language, physical, and psychological dimensions. No matter how one classifies the dimensions of culture, however, it is critical to recognize that culture is learned, not inherited. Moreover, although all humans have emotions, how emotions are exercised is modified by culture at various levels, including national, regional, ethnic, gender, generational, social class, and employment levels.

When people come into contact with a new culture, differences in the language, physical, and psychological dimensions from their original culture cause them to experience acculturative stress (Berry & Annis, 1974). These differences require them to adjust and adapt to the new culture to survive and work. To adjust, they choose from among alternative adaptation strategies (Baek, 1989; Cox & Blake, 1991; Hazuda, Stern, & Haffner, 1988; Hofstede, 1984, 1991) or *modes of acculturation* (Berry, 1983, 1984, 1990) that reflect varying degrees of acceptance. Because the U.S. national culture and the organizational cultures of its firms are typically individualistic (Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Pascale & Athos, 1981), U.S. immigrants from collectivistic as opposed to individualistic cultures may favor different modes of acculturation. Further-

more, their degree of ethnocentrism affects the extent to which they are open to altering their cultural beliefs (Fisher, 1988).

The purpose of this study is to develop and test a framework of employee acculturation processes within organizations. Specifically, we explore the relationships of selected demographic and cultural variables to Muslim immigrants' willingness to accept U.S. organizational cultures and/or retain their original organizational cultures. The cultural variables consist of these individuals' willingness to accept the U.S. national culture and/or retain their original national culture, their degree of individualism-collectivism and religiosity, and perceived discrepancies between the work cultures of the United States and their native country. The demographic variables include gender, education, and number of years lived and worked in the United States. The theoretical foundations and research model on which this study is based are described in more detail below.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

ACCULTURATION

Acculturation is defined as "a multidimensional process resulting from intergroup contact in which individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture take over characteristic ways of living from another culture" (Hazuda et al., 1988, p. 690). Studies of employee acculturation have focused on a wide range of cultural constructs. For example, Weinstock (1964), Baek (1989), and Pooyan (1984) segmented their studies by nationalities (e.g., how do Indians, Germans, Koreans, and Hungarians acculturate?). Adler (1977), Krau (1981), and Bhagat (1983) looked at acculturation from a behavioral perspective (e.g., how do job satisfaction, Maslow's need levels, and stress affect individual acculturation processes?). Ady (1995) examined the literature on sojourner adjustment to develop a differential demand model. Sojourners' ad-

justment differs from that of immigrants, however, because sojourners know they will be returning to their home country. Kossoudji (1988) studied the economic factors that affect acculturation (e.g., how do occupational choice and earnings influence individual acculturation processes?).

An especially useful conceptual framework for understanding the acculturation process has been proposed by Berry (1983, 1984, 1990). Specifically, he conceptualized this process as varying along two underlying dimensions: acceptance of the host culture and retention of one's original culture. By combining these dimensions, as depicted in Figure 1, he identified the following four *modes of acculturation*: (a) *assimilation* (accept the host culture and reject the original culture), (b) *separation* (reject the host culture and retain the original culture), (c) *integration* (accept the host culture and retain the original culture), and (d) *marginalization* or *deculturation* (reject the host and original cultures).

Consistent with Berry's (1983, 1984, 1990) work, Furnham and Bochner (1986) identified four key outcomes from contact with a new culture for the individual: (a) *passing* (accepting the host culture and rejecting the original culture, i.e., assimilation at the individual level), (b) *chauvinistic* (rejecting the host culture and accepting the original culture, separation at the individual level), (c) *marginal* (vacillating between two cultures; norms of both cultures are salient but seen as mutually incompatible), and (d) *mediating* (accepting the host culture and retaining the original culture; both cultures are seen as capable of being integrated, i.e., integration at the individual level). The result of the four outcomes is the degree of multiculturalism the individual accepts or resists.

NATIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES

In defining culture, a useful starting point is provided by the following quote from Harris and Moran (1991):

> Culture explains the pattern of assumptions and behavior formulated by human systems in response to their environment, whether it is a nation and its macroculture, a local community with its needs

SEPARATION: Individuals in a minority group refuse to accept the host culture while retaining their original culture, and thereby remain separate from the new culture.

INTEGRATION: Individuals in a minority group are willing to become an integral part of the host culture while maintaining their own cultural integrity and independence.

DECULTURATION: Individuals lose cultural and psychological contacts with their original and host cultures. Usually, this process is accompanied by much confusion and anxiety.

ASSIMILATION: When the host culture acts as a "melting pot," absorbing individuals from other cultures. Minority group members retreat from their original culture and adopt the host culture.

RETENTION OF ORIGINAL CULTURE

High

Low

ACCEPTANCE OF HOST CULTURE

Low   High

Figure 1:   Berry's (1983, 1984, 1990) Modes of Acculturation

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> and customs, a market with its consumers and suppliers, or an industry with its colleagues and competitors. (p. 132)

National culture is formulated out of the assumptions and responses of the people to their environment (Harris & Moran, 1991). The term *national culture*, as used in this article, "refers to relatively enduring personality characteristics and patterns that are modal among the adult members of society" (Inkeles & Levinson, 1969, p. 428). In addition, national culture encompasses concepts regarding relations of the self with society, authority, and gender, and accepted ways of dealing with conflicts, aggression, and expression of emotions.

Organizational culture explains how the people who work for the organization regard reality, truth, and work (Harris & Moran, 1991). Schein (1985) defines organizational culture as a

> basic pattern of assumptions—invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problem of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (p. 9)

Although there is no consensus regarding Schein's or any other definition of organizational culture, most scholars agree that it is holistic, historically determined, related to anthropological concepts, socially constructed, soft, and difficult to change (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990).

As Adler (1991) observed and several studies have documented (Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1991; Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Hofstede et al., 1990), national culture and organizational culture correlate highly with one another. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the way immigrants acculturate to a given organizational culture will be affected by how they acculturate to the more general national culture. For example, if an immigrant chooses to assimilate into the U.S. culture, he or she will be predisposed to use assimilation in adjusting to the organizational culture as well.

Consistent with this perspective, Baek (1989) identified a close relationship between the acculturation patterns of Korean employees to the U.S. national culture and the corresponding patterns they employed in adjusting to U.S. organizational cultures. In addition, Baek demonstrated that individual differences, such as gender, educational level, age, English fluency, and nationality, affected the patterns of acculturation used for both the national and organizational cultures. Accordingly, we likewise expect several basic demographic variables (e.g., gender, education, number of years lived and worked in the United States) to be related to the acculturation patterns of Muslim immigrants to the United States. Based on this literature and reasoning, we advance

> *Hypothesis 1*: Demographic attributes (e.g., gender, education, number of years lived and worked in the United States) account for differences in the acculturation patterns used by Muslim immigrants in adjusting to U.S. national and organizational cultures.
> *Hypothesis 2*: The acculturation patterns employed by immigrant employees in adjusting to the national culture will be positively related to the patterns selected for acculturating to organizational cultures.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

Although Baek (1989) did not consider the effects of cultural dimensions on acculturation processes, other studies suggest that these effects are strong (Adler, 1977; Bhagat, 1983; Kim, 1978; Krau, 1981; Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985; Weinstock, 1964; Yum, 1982). While researchers have identified a variety of cultural dimensions (Hall, 1976; Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961), individualism-collectivism is considered to be one of the most important bases for cultural variation (Triandis et al., 1986). Individualism involves one's emotional independence from organizations, groups, or other collectives (Hofstede, 1984, 1991). Collectivism is defined as "a set of feelings, beliefs, behavioral intentions, and behaviors related to solidarity and concern for others" (Hui, 1988, p. 17). Hence, collectivism is a measure of interdependence. Western Europe and

North America are classified as individualistic cultures (Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Inkeles, 1983), whereas Asian, Latin, Middle Eastern, and African cultures are collectivistic (Abraham, 1983; Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Marin & Triandis, 1985). In the United States, Anglo Americans tend to be individualistic, whereas Hispanics, Asians, and African Americans tend to be collectivistic (Cox et al., 1991; Marin & Triandis, 1985; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). Social psychologists call these dimensions idiocentric and allocentric and reserve the terms individualism and collectivism for cultural research (Triandis et al., 1985).

The findings of a recent study by Kim et al. (1996) suggest that culture-level individualism encourages individuals to formulate independent *self-construals*, which, in turn, elevate the perceived importance of outcome-oriented conversational constraints, such as concerns for communication clarity and effectiveness. In contrast, culture-level collectivism appears to foster interdependent self-construals, which, in turn, raise the perceived importance of other-oriented conversational constraints, including concerns about hurting the hearer's feelings, avoiding negative evaluations by the hearer, and minimizing impositions (Kim et al., 1996). Interestingly, people who maintain high levels of both independent and interdependent self-construals (biculturals) perceive both types of conversational constraints as important. These results illustrate that the individualism-collectivism dimension of national culture influences how individuals conceive of themselves and their relations with others (independent versus interdependent), which, in turn, affects what they consider to be important when conversing (outcomes versus relations with others).

As noted above, national and organizational cultures tend to covary. This is true in general and with respect to individualism-collectivism. For example, Japanese culture is collectivistic, as are the cultures of Japan's organizations. Similarly, the cultures of most U.S. organizations reflect the individualism of its national culture (Hofstede, 1984; Hofstede et al., 1990; Pascale & Athos, 1981). Still, within a nation, organizational cultures vary with respect to their values, attitudes, beliefs, performance expectations, and ritu-

als (Harris & Moran, 1991). In many cases, the ethnicity, gender, or beliefs of employees can create an organizational culture that differs substantially from the national macroculture.

Cox et al. (1991) examined the effects of cultural norms and values among Anglo-Americans and three other ethnic groups on the groups' work behaviors. Employees from collectivistic cultures exhibited cooperative behaviors, whereas those from individualistic cultures were more competitive. Unfortunately, Cox et al. treated both the native- and foreign-born ethnic minorities as being equally collectivistic. This approach is deficient because it fails to recognize the extent to which individualism and collectivism vary across individuals and within cultures. Indeed, the U.S.-born minority subjects may have been much more individualistic and less collectivistic than their foreign counterparts. To avoid this shortcoming, the current study employs Earley's (1993) individual level measure of individualism-collectivism to explore the relationships between the subjects' personal preferences for individualism-collectivism and their patterns of acculturation to both the national and organizational culture. Specifically, we propose that immigrants with preferences for individualism-collectivism that are consistent with the prevailing national and organizational cultures will be more inclined to accept these cultures. For example, because the United States and its organizations tend to be individualistic (Hofstede, 1984, 1991), we anticipate that Muslim immigrants with preferences for collectivism as opposed to individualism will be less inclined to accept U.S. national and organizational cultures and more likely to retain the more collectivistic cultures of their original nations and organizations. However, given that there are variations in all cultures and Arab Americans differ culturally from one another (Al-Deen, 1994), not all Muslims are expected to be collectivistic. Thus, we advance the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: The degree of individualism-collectivism of Muslim employees is negatively related to their acceptance of U.S. national and organizational cultures and positively related to retention of their original national and organizational cultures.

DEGREE OF RELIGIOSITY

Almost 38% of new immigrants to the United States are projected to be from Asia and the Middle East (Mandel & Farrell, 1992). With the new wave of immigrants, the role of religion in U.S. organizations may grow. For most of these immigrants, and Muslims in particular, the influence of religion on their daily activities is extremely strong (Ball & McCulloch, 1985). The major religion of the Middle East is Islam, with Buddhism and Hinduism being most prominent in Asia.

Max Weber (1958) argued that the Protestant work ethic serves as the foundation for modern capitalism. Furthermore, the separation of the church from economic and political activities is a basic principle of modern capitalism. Although Nord, Brief, Atieh, and Doherty (1988) agree that religion has traditionally exerted strong effects on U.S. work, they view these effects as purely extrinsic. That is, although Protestantism glorifies the importance of work, it is indifferent to the work content.

For other religions, however, this is not always the case. For instance, Muslims believe that the effects of their religion are both extrinsic and intrinsic. Based on the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed, work is viewed as a means of worshiping God. Therefore, work is an obligatory activity (Ali, 1988), which makes the content of work important. For example, Islam forbids some common trade practices, such as interest charges on loans and alcoholic beverage sales. Islam also provides a complete set of guidelines for conducting business in accordance with Islamic teachings. Indeed, *Islamic management* and *Islamic economics* (Baali & Wardi, 1981) specify how to deal with such problems as unemployment and inflation. Muslims believe that following the teachings of Islam at work will create honesty, harmony, success, and justice for all.

Given the differences between the teachings of Islam and Western religions on such subjects as work, usury, and women, we anticipate that Muslims who are more, as opposed to less, religious will be more likely to employ separatism as a mode of acculturation, rejecting U.S. national and organizational cultures while retaining their original cultures. Accordingly, we propose

Hypothesis 4: Degree of religiosity is negatively related to Muslim employees' willingness to accept U.S. national and organizational cultures and positively related to their willingness to retain their original national and organizational cultures.

PERCEIVED DISCREPANCY

When people compare two cultures, the differences in their perceptions is called perceived discrepancy. Research documents that immigrants' previous work experiences in their home countries have a strong impact on their perceptions of and capacity to adapt to new organizational cultures (Baek, 1989; Kossoudji, 1988; Pooyan, 1984). Baek (1989), for example, found that many new immigrants tend to initially retain the practices of their prior organizational cultures, instead of adjusting to the cultures of U.S. firms. Gradually, however, they do adapt. Kossoudji (1988) asserts that adaptation to a new work environment depends on the immigrants' tenure within the United States; those who arrive before schooling tend to perceive fewer discrepancies and have better experiences than those who were schooled and perhaps worked in their native cultures.

Consistent with the logic presented above with respect to acculturation processes, we expect demographic attributes (e.g., gender, education, number of years lived and worked in the United States) to account for differences in the perceived discrepancies experienced by Muslim immigrants to the United States (Baek, 1989). Moreover, we predict that immigrants' level of individualism-collectivism and religiosity are positively related to the extent to which they perceive U.S. work cultures as being discrepant from their original work culture. That is, we expect more collectivistic and religious, as opposed to less collectivistic and religious, employees to perceive greater discrepancies in the predominantly individualistic work culture of the United States, which separates business from religion (Abraham, 1983; Ali, 1988; Ball & McCulloch, 1985; Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Marin & Triandis, 1985). Finally, we expect Muslim employees who perceive greater discrepancies to be less accepting of U.S. organizational cultures and more likely to

retain their original organizational culture, because they see the former as being less consistent with their values and accepted cultural and work practices.

Hypothesis 5: Demographic attributes (e.g., gender, education, number of years lived and worked in the United States) account for differences in the level of perceived discrepancy in work cultures experienced by Muslim employees.

Hypothesis 6: Individualism-collectivism and degree of religiosity are negatively related to the level of perceived discrepancy experienced by Muslim employees.

Hypothesis 7: The perceived discrepancy in work cultures experienced by Muslim employees is negatively related to their willingness to accept U.S. national and organizational cultures and positively related to their willingness to retain their original national and organizational cultures.

A GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF EMPLOYEE ACCULTURATION PROCESSES WITHIN ORGANIZATIONS

Based on the above literature and hypotheses, the theoretical framework depicted in Figure 2 is advanced. For conceptual purposes, the model states in general terms the key variables that are expected to influence the acculturation patterns of immigrant employees to a host country's organizational cultures. The model asserts that the demographic attributes (e.g., gender, education, years lived in the host country, and years worked in the host country), degree of individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Hofstede et al., 1990; Inkeles & Levinson, 1969), and religiosity (Jacobson, Heaton & Dennis, 1990; Weber, 1958) of immigrants are related to their preferred modes of acculturation to both the national and organizational cultures of the host country, as well as perceived discrepancy. The model also indicates that the preferred mode of acculturation to the host country's national culture, and the degree of perceived discrepancy, will be related to the preferred mode of acculturation for organizational cultures. These acculturation patterns are determined by the individuals' willingness to accept new organizational cultures and/or retain their original organizational cultures. Thus, we predict that the extent to
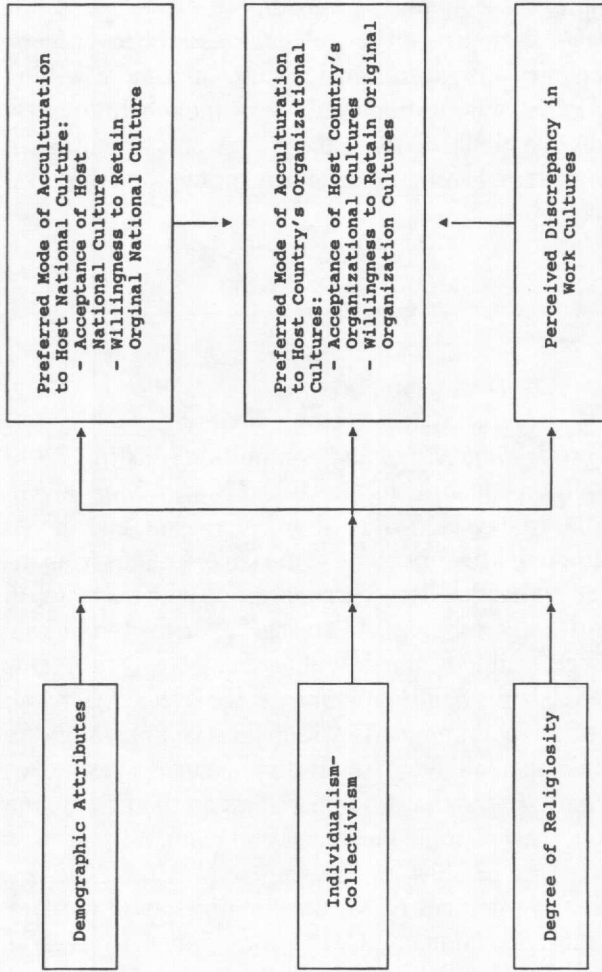
Figure 2: A General Framework of Employee Acculturation Processes Within Organizations

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which immigrant employees accept the host country's national culture and/or are willing to retain their original national culture will be related to their acceptance of the host country's organizational cultures and their willingness to retain their original organizational culture, respectively. Moreover, we expect people who perceive greater discrepancies in work cultures to be less accepting of the host country's organizational cultures and more willing to retain their original organizational culture. Although this model can be applied across national cultures, the present study focuses on the acculturation of a single religious minority group, Muslims, to U.S. organizations.

METHOD

POPULATION

According to *Islamic Horizons* ("Six million Muslims," 1992), there are 6 million Muslims in the United States. Most are from Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Turkey, Iran, Indonesia, and the Arab countries. Although Muslims come to the United States from many countries, they are a rather homogeneous group with respect to their religion. The Islamic religion is a strong factor for binding these countries under a single Islamic culture and law. For example, members of the Islamic Arab community in the United States would prefer to have their children marry within their Islamic religion and ancestral homeland, although interreligious marriages do exist (Al-Deen, 1994). The major differences among the Islamic members arise from their national languages and cultures.

There are several reasons for focusing on Muslims. The first is the ever increasing number of Muslim immigrants to the United States. Whereas the number of U.S. immigrants from Islamic countries such as Egypt, Pakistan, and Iran increased by more than 100% during the 1980s, the total number of immigrants from Western European countries decreased by more than 50% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). More important, it is expected that many more people from Muslim countries will immigrate in the

near future as political and economic problems continue in their homelands. Second, this group contributes to the demographic trends resulting in workforce diversity (Cox, 1993). Third, few social studies and almost no organizational studies have focused on this segment of the U.S. population.

SUBJECTS

Sample selection. The sample was selected from a database of Muslims residing in the United States created by the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).[1] The basic mission of ISNA is to establish an Islamic environment for Muslims who reside in North America. Judgment sampling was used to select subjects who appeared to be well suited to provide the required information (Sekaran, 1989). Two criteria were used to screen potential subjects. First, they were required to be U.S. residents, because the study focuses on U.S. Muslims. Second, employees of small firms (e.g., small and independent retailers) were excluded, because such firms may lack strong and permanent organizational cultures. People who met these criteria were selected until a total sample of 4,000 subjects was obtained. ISNA mailed the questionnaires to these subjects. To encourage subjects to respond, an Islamic pocket calendar was included with each questionnaire as a gift.

Respondents. Completed questionnaires were returned by 364 subjects, for a response rate of 9%. Among the 364 questionnaires, 339 were usable; questionnaires were excluded if the subjects indicated that they had never worked for a U.S. organization, or if questionnaires were only partially completed. Eighty-two percent of the respondents were born outside the United States, and 18% were U.S.-born Muslims. Because this study focused on the acculturation patterns of Muslim immigrants, the 62 U.S.-born subjects were removed from the sample for all tests of the hypotheses, producing a reduced sample of 277 subjects.

Table 1 summarizes the demographic attributes of the immigrant Muslims. Most subjects reported being male (84.1%), married (89.2%), and professionals (46.9%) with graduate degrees (78.6%).

TABLE 1:   Demographic Attributes of Immigrant Muslim Employees (n = 276)

Variable	Number	Percentage
Gender		
Male	232	84.1
Female	44	15.9
Education		
High school or less	5	1.8
Some college	21	7.6
College degree	33	12.0
Graduate degree	217	78.6
Marital status		
Single	21	7.6
Married	247	89.2
Divorced	5	1.8
Widowed	3	1.1
Other	1	.4
Occupation		
Clerical	8	2.9
Engineering	44	15.9
Executive	33	11.9
Marketing	10	3.6
Professional	130	46.9
Semiskilled	9	3.3
Skilled craft	8	2.9
Supervision	20	7.4
Other	10	3.7

The high levels of these attributes can be attributed to the fact that ISNA's members are largely middle-aged (mean age = 43.23 years) male professionals who supply most of its financial support (ISNA Annual Report, 1992). Common birthplaces for Muslim immigrants included Pakistan (33%), India (29.2%), Arab countries (19.3%), and other nations (18.5%). On average, the Muslim immigrants had lived and worked in the United States 17.8 years (SD = 7.4) and 12.8 years (SD = 8.3), respectively.

MEASURES

A questionnaire was designed to measure the demographic and cultural variables included in the theoretical framework as they apply to Muslim employees of U.S. organizations. The instrument

was pretested using 45 Muslim students and employees. Respondents' feedback and preliminary psychometric assessments of the scales lead to several refinements. The final measures are described below.

Degree of individualism-collectivism. Earley's (1993) individualism-collectivism Likert-based scale was selected because it appeared to be the best measure of an individual's, as opposed to a group's, standing on this cultural dimension. To assess this scale's underlying dimensionality, a principal components analysis with varimax rotation was performed. The full sample of 339 subjects was included, because the individualism-collectivism construct is applicable to both the immigrant and minority Muslims.

Contrary to the results reported by Earley (1993), a three-factor solution was initially obtained. Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (327.92, $p < .00001$), and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .64, which is acceptable (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). The first factor appeared to be tapping individualism and the second collectivism. A third factor, containing Item 2 (If a group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone) and Item 9 (In society, people are born into extended families or clans who protect them in shared necessity for loyalty), was difficult to interpret. Item 1 (Employees like to work in a group rather than by themselves) loaded relatively high on both factors 1 (.39072) and 2 (.34048). Given the difficulty in interpreting the third factor and the fact that a two-item scale is not statistically viable (Lehmann & Hulbert, 1972), a second principal components analysis that omitted Items 1, 2, and 9 was conducted. This analysis yielded the final two-factor solution presented in Table 2, with the factors reflecting individualism and collectivism, respectively. Once again, Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (220.35, $p < .00001$), and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (.62) is acceptable. Although the Cronbach alpha coefficients for the resultant individualism (.74) and collectivism (.50) scales are considerably lower than that obtained by Earley of .91, the former is acceptable (Nunnally, 1978). Given the exploratory nature of this study, we have included both scales as

TABLE 2:   Principal Components Factor Matrix: Individualism-Collectivism (n = 339)

Item	Individualism Factor 1	Collectivism Factor 2
3. To be superior, a person must stand alone.	.78	.07
4. One does better working alone than in a group.	.74	.19
10. Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life.	.57	-.24
5. I would rather struggle through a personal problem alone by myself than discuss it with my friends.	.51	-.23
7. Problem solving by groups gives better results than problem solving by individuals.	.18	.76
6. An employee should accept the group's decision even when personally he or she has a different opinion.	-.14	.72
8. The needs of people close to me should take priority over my personal needs.	.03	.59
Eigenvalue	1.79	1.60

NOTE: The response scale for these items was the following: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *somewhat disagree*, 3 = *neither agree nor disagree*, 4 = *somewhat agree*, 5 = *strongly agree*. Italics indicate the item loaded strongly on the corresponding factor.

separate variables in testing the hypotheses pertaining to individualism-collectivism. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the reliability of the collectivism scale is suspect, although not unusual for a three-item scale. It is noteworthy that these scales are not significantly correlated ($r = .02$, n.s.).

Schwartz (1990) points out that operationalization of the individualism-collectivism construct is imperfect at best. Indeed, there are three areas in which individualism-collectivism measures have been shown to have shortcomings: (a) values that focus on conflict between personal and in-group goals could possibly serve both individualism and collectivism, (b) values that are collective but not necessarily in-group values are sometimes overlooked, and (c) the construct of individualism-collectivism implies polar opposition. The first shortcoming may explain why Item 1 loaded on both individualism and collectivism. In addition, the third shortcoming of assuming that collectivism and individualism are polar opposites is readily apparent in the present study, because these constructs emerged as separate factors. Note that this result is also consistent with Kim et al.'s (1996) findings regarding the separate effects of individualism and collectivism.

Degree of religiosity. To measure degree of religiosity, selected portions of a questionnaire developed by the Islamic Resource Institute (IRI) were employed, with some modifications. The IRI questionnaire was originally distributed to Muslims at ISNA's 1992 convention. The resultant measure included four 5-point Likert-type scales that asked subjects to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with various religious statements, as well as six questions about their religious practices.

Higher points on the Likert-type scales indicated stronger agreement with the statement, and lower points indicated stronger disagreement. Consider, for example, the statement, "Interest gained from a savings account is forbidden by Islam, even if it comes from a non-Islamic bank in a non-Islamic country." Responses of 1 or 2, respectively, indicate that the subject *strongly* or *somewhat* disagrees with this statement, whereas responses of 4 or 5, respectively, indicate that he or she *somewhat* or *strongly* agrees; a response of 3 indicates that the subject neither agrees nor disagrees with the statement.

A principal components analysis with varimax rotation revealed a two-factor solution (see Table 3). The full sample of 339 subjects was employed in this analysis because the degree of religiosity construct is applicable to both minority and immigrant Muslims. One item (How many miles away is the Islamic center from your home?) was deleted because it did not load on either of the factors obtained. Bartlett's test of sphericity for the resultant 9-item religiosity scale was significant (645.92, $p < .00001$), and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (.79) was very good (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). The first factor reflects the extent to which the respondents engaged in specific religious practices, whereas the second indicates their agreement with certain religious beliefs. The Cronbach alpha coefficients obtained for these scales of .70 and .73, respectively, are acceptable, suggesting that they are internally consistent. Because the conceptual distinction between religious practices and beliefs is of interest, both scales are included as separate variables in testing the hypotheses regarding degree of religiosity.

TABLE 3:   Principal Components Factor Matrix: Degree of Religiosity ($n = 339$)

Item	Religious Practices Factor 1	Religious Beliefs Factor 2
5. How often do you pray the daily prayers?	.84	−.12
7. How often do you attend Friday prayer?	.75	−.19
6. Do you fast during Ramadan?	.70	.11
8. How often do you participate in the Islamic center?	.69	.08
9. Think of your five closest friends or acquaintances, not including your relatives. How many of them are Muslims?	.48	.17
2. Even if they are in a non-Islamic country, Muslims should only eat Halal meat.	−.00	.82
3. Interest gained from a savings account is forbidden by Islam, even if it comes from a non-Islamic bank in a non-Islamic country.	.13	.74
4. Women should not be seen in public without Hijab.	.32	.68
1. A good Muslim must work to establish a strong Muslim community and spread the message of Islam.	.19	.68
Eigenvalue	3.35	1.50

NOTE: Italics indicate the item loaded strongly on the corresponding factor.

Adjustment to U.S. national and organizational cultures. In Baek's (1989) study, single-item, multiple choice scales were used to measure the modes of acculturation Korean immigrants and minorities adopted in adjusting to the U.S. national and organizational cultures. We adopted these scales from Baek to serve as one means of measuring subjects' acculturation patterns. For example, to identify their preferred mode of acculturation to the U.S. national culture, subjects were instructed to select from the following response options, the *one* that best described how they adjusted to the U.S. environment:

1. I attempted to learn about the U.S. culture and follow the U.S. culture. Sometimes, I attempted to get rid of my old culture. I just paid attention to how I could become a member of the U.S. culture. (*assimilation*)
2. I tried to learn about the U.S. culture, but I did not want to lose my own culture. I attempted to keep my own culture and look for ways to harmonize (integrate) both cultures. (*integration*)

3. I tried to keep my own culture. Sometimes, I attempted to introduce my culture to American people and friends. I tried to live by my own culture only. (*separation*)
4. Because I could not belong to either my culture, or the U.S. culture, I tried to find some unique ways that will suit my desired way of life. (*deculturation*)
5. None of the above describes how I adjusted (am adjusting) to the U.S. culture.

A similar, although simplified, multiple choice scale was taken from Baek to measure subjects' adjustment to U.S. work cultures.

As an alternative to Baek's (1989) multiple choice measures, two multi-item, interval level scales were created to tap the underlying dimensions and modes of acculturation as specified by Berry (1983, 1984, 1990). Specifically, two original 10- and 9-item scales were developed to ascertain the subjects' patterns of acculturation to U.S. national and organizational cultures, respectively. These scales measure the extent to which respondents are willing to accept U.S. national and organizational cultures and/or retain their original national and organizational cultures. Sample items from the adjustment to U.S. national culture scale include "Trying to convince Americans of the strength of your culture" and "Trying to lose your own culture." Sample items from the adjustment to U.S. organizational cultures scale include "Convincing your colleagues and supervisors to perform their work as people from your own culture do" and "Attempting to learn more about the U.S. work culture." Subjects indicated the extent to which they behaved in the manner described, using a 5-point Likert-type scale with the following anchors: 1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little*, 3 = *some*, 4 = *much*, and 5 = *very much*.

Principal components analysis with varimax rotation (see Tables 4 and 5) was performed to assess the underlying dimensionality of these scales. The reduced sample of 277 Muslim immigrants was employed because the acculturation constructs are not necessarily applicable to U.S.-born Muslims. All of the items loaded on the intended factors, except for two ("Trying to convince Americans of the strength of your culture" and "Introducing your culture to the

TABLE 4:   Principal Components Factor Matrix: Respondents' Adjustments to U.S. National Culture ($n = 277$)

Item	Acceptance of American (U.S.) Culture Factor 1	Retention of Original Culture Factor 2
10. Trying to interact with American people	.84	.15
6. Trying to make American friends	.80	.09
8. Attempting to learn more about the U.S. culture	.79	.08
3. Paying attention to how to become a member of U.S. culture	.70	−.20
1. Attempting to follow the U.S. culture	.65	−.32
9. Trying to follow your own culture	−.03	.90
2. Trying to keep your own culture	−.02	.88
7. Trying not to lose your own culture	.10	.81
Eigenvalue	2.88	2.43

NOTE: The response scale for these items was the following: $1 = not\ at\ all$, $2 = a\ little$, $3 = some$, $4 = much$, $5 = very\ much$. Italics indicate the item loaded strongly on the corresponding factor.

Americans you meet") from the national culture scale and two ("Disagreeing with the ways people from your own culture perform their work" and "Disagreeing with the way Americans perform their work") from the organizational culture scale. These items were subsequently deleted. Bartlett's test of sphericity for the national ($916.1, p < .00001$) and organizational culture scales (371.43, $p < .00001$), as well as the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measures of sampling adequacy (.74 and .71), were very good (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). Finally, the Cronbach alpha coefficients for the *Acceptance of American Culture* (AAC), *Retention of Original Culture* (ROC), *Acceptance of U.S. Organizational Culture* (AOC), and *Retention of Original Organizational Culture* (OOC) scales of .81, .78, .68, and .70, respectively, indicate that these scales achieved an acceptable level of internal consistency (Nunnally, 1978).

In addition to providing continuous measures of acculturation preferences, the Likert-type scales described above were used to create alternative measures of the subjects' preferred modes of acculturation. Specifically, the AAC and ROC scales were used in tandem to identify the subjects' preferred modes of acculturation

TABLE 5:   Principal Components Factor Matrix: Respondents' Adjustment to U.S. Organizational Cultures ($n = 277$)

Item	Acceptance of American (U.S.) Organizational Culture Factor 1	Retention of Original Organizational Culture Factor 2
3. Introducing your work culture to your colleagues and supervisors	.79	.05
9. Observing ways in which your own work culture is more productive	.76	.09
7. Convincing your colleagues and supervisors to perform their work as people from your own culture do	.71	−.11
1. Trying to do your work the way people from your own culture do their work	.63	−.21
5. Attempting to learn more about the U.S. work culture.	.07	.84
2. Discovering ways in which the U.S. work culture is more productive	.03	.83
8. Agreeing with the way Americans do their work	−.36	.62
Eigenvalue	2.34	1.73

NOTE: The response scale for these items was the following: 1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little*, 3 = *some*, 4 = *much*, 5 = *very much*.

to the U.S. national culture, whereas the AOC and OOC scales were similarly employed to identify their preferred modes of acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures. For each of these scales, response anchors above the midpoint (4 = *much*, 5 = *very much*) indicate a clear tendency to engage in the behavior specified by the item, whereas those below the midpoint (1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little*) suggest a tendency to not engage in the behavior. Because the anchor associated with the midpoint (3 = *some*) reflects neither, the midpoints (3.0) of the aggregated scales were used as the cutoff points for categorizing subjects as primarily accepting or rejecting national and organizational cultures. Subjects who scored at the midpoint on the aggregated scales were classified as neutral, because they indicated no clear preferences. Thus, the following decision rules were used to determine the modes of acculturation to the U.S. national culture:

If AAC > 3.0 and ROC < 3.0, Mode = Assimilation
If AAC > 3.0 and ROC > 3.0, Mode = Integration
If AAC < 3.0 and ROC > 3.0, Mode = Separation
If AAC < 3.0 and ROC < 3.0, Mode = Deculturation
If AAC = 3.0 or ROC = 3.0, Mode = Neutral

Similarly, the modes of acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures were determined as follows:

If AOC > 3.0 and OOC < 3.0, Mode = Assimilation
If AOC > 3.0 and OOC > 3.0, Mode = Integration
If AOC < 3.0 and OOC > 3.0, Mode = Separation
If AOC < 3.0 and OOC < 3.0, Mode = Deculturation
If AOC = 3.0 or OOC = 3.0, Mode = Neutral

Although the preferred modes of acculturation as indicated by both the multiple choice and Likert-based scales are reported in the results section, the continuous scales described above were selected for the inferential analysis. Indeed, the creation of the interval level scales to measure the subjects' acculturation preferences, enabled us to perform a more sophisticated multivariate analysis, multiple regression, than would have been possible using the single item, nominal scales created by Baek (1989). However, to take full advantage of both scales and the information provided by the respondents, two combined scales were created. The combined scales used the Likert-type classifications of subjects' preferred modes of acculturation to the U.S. national and organizational cultures in all instances except 36 and 52 cases, respectively, that were originally coded as neutral on the Likert-type scales. For these neutral cases, Baek's nominal scales were employed to determine the subjects' preferred modes of acculturation.

Perceived discrepancy. This measure's 5-point Likert-type scale items were developed from examples of the U.S. cultural orientation as specified by Adler (1991). Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which these attributes of U.S. organizations resembled the typical attributes of organizations located in their

native country. Sample items include "An emphasis is placed on innovation and adaptation to a dynamic environment" and "Short-term performance goals are emphasized." Subjects indicated the extent to which the attributes specified were representative of the typical organizational characteristics of their native country or a comparable culture using the following scale: 1 = *very unrepresentative*, 2 = *unrepresentative*, 3 = *neither unrepresentative or representative*, 4 = *representative*, and 5 = *very representative*.

Principal components analysis with varimax rotation revealed a three-factor solution. Again, the reduced sample of 277 was used because the perceived discrepancy in work cultures construct is only applicable to immigrants. Bartlett's test of sphericity for this scale was significant ($722.8, p < .001$) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (.78) was very good (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). However, Items 3 and 7 loaded highly on more than one factor, and the factors are difficult to interpret in a manner that is conceptually meaningful. Moreover, the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the complete scale of .84 indicates that it is reliable and provides an appropriate measure of perceived discrepancy. Accordingly, subjects' scores on the entire scale were used in the analysis.

Power analysis, response rate, and tests for nonresponse bias. Effect size is important in determining power and the required sample size to find a significant relationship (Cohen, 1988). An examination of Cohen's Effect Size tables indicated that the sample of 277 usable questionnaires included in the multivariate analysis is sufficient to find effects if they exist in the population. For a medium effect size of .5 to have a 99+ power level, a sample return of 200 questionnaires is all that is necessary.

Although the sample size provides adequate power for our analysis, it should be noted that the response rate of 9% was unexpectedly low. One possible explanation for this low response rate is the timing of the study. The questionnaires were mailed about 6 months after the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. During 1993, Muslim communities around the United States were under scrutiny by the government and media. As a

result, many prospective respondents may have been reluctant to provide personal information to others. This possibility was made apparent by several telephone calls from prospective respondents who inquired about the researchers' identities, the parties who would have access to the data, and the potential for the data to be used against Muslims.

In light of the low response rate, an analysis was conducted to appraise the potential for nonresponse bias. The procedure employed is based on the interest hypothesis, which is described by Armstrong and Overton (1977, p. 397) as a "widely recommended basis" for exploring nonresponse bias. The fundamental assumption of this approach is that subjects who are especially interested in the research topic will respond more readily; subjects who respond less readily are deemed to be similar to nonrespondents because both seem to be less interested. To investigate this possibility, we used the record numbers that were assigned to completed questionnaires on arrival as a measure of the order of survey receipt. Pearson correlations of this continuous measure with the continuous predictor and criterion variables for the 277 questionnaires in the reduced sample were then examined to ascertain if the order of receipt measure was systematically related to subject responses (see Table 6).

Nearly all of these correlations were nonsignificant, indicating that, for the most part, the data from early and late respondents were similar. The only exception occurred for religious practices; this variable correlated significantly ($r = .18$, $p < .01$), albeit very weakly, with the order of receipt measure. Hence, there was a slight tendency for late respondents, and by implication nonrespondents, to be more active in practicing their religion than early respondents. This correlation is not surprising, because one would expect Muslims who are more religious to be most suspicious of the researchers' motives in light of the World Trade Center bombing and community actions against people from the Middle East and Muslims. Nevertheless, it would be inappropriate to overstate this tendency because the correlation with the order of receipt measure is extremely weak. Thus, from a practical standpoint, the threat of nonresponse bias does not appear to be serious.

TABLE 6: Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlations ($n = 277$)

Variables[a]	Mean / SD	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
(1) Acceptance of American Culture	3.0/.81	1.00												
(2) Retention of Original Culture	4.2/.78	-.00	1.00											
(3) Acceptance of U.S. Organizational Culture	3.7/.81	.50**	.07	1.00										
(4) Retention of Original Organizational Culture	2.2/.81	.12	.26**	-.14*	1.00									
(5) Individualism	3.0/.87	.05	-.07	.01	.09	1.00								
(6) Collectivism	3.8/.82	.21**	.13*	.32**	.10	.02	1.00							
(7) Religious practices	4.0/.87	-.06	.22**	.03	.13*	.06	.24**	1.00						
(8) Religious beliefs	4.0/.91	-.19**	.21**	-.09	.09	.06	.11	.39**	1.00					
(9) Perceived discrepancy	3.1/.65	-.02	-.08	.03	-.21**	.00	-.05	-.00	-.02	1.00				
(10) Gender[a]		-.18**	-.00	-.12*	.07	.08	-.11	-.07	-.11	.04	1.00			
(11) Education[a]		.20**	-.07	.19**	-.00	-.01	.09	.09	-.15*	.14*	-.22**	1.00		
(12) Years lived in United States	17.8/7.4	.16**	-.24**	-.00	-.02	.02	.01	-.01	-.25**	.04	-.06	.21**	1.00	
(13) Years worked in United States	12.8/8.3	.11	-.15*	.05	-.04	.07	-.00	-.03	-.16*	-.07	-.15*	.22**	.65**	1.00
(14) Order of receipt		-.11	.08	.00	-.02	-.02	.03	.18**	.10	.06	.10	.08	-.04	-.12

a. Although the Pearson product-moment correlation was designed for continuous variables, several social science methodologists have suggested that Pearson correlation coefficient can be properly employed with categorical data (Labovitz, 1970; Kerlinger & Pedhazur, 1973).

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

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RESULTS

The means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of the independent and dependent variables are summarized in Table 6. As this table indicates, the intercorrelations among the variables are, for the most part, small. With the exceptions of the correlations between acceptance of U.S. national culture (AAC) and acceptance of U.S. organizational cultures (AOC), and between the number of years lived and worked in the United States, none exceed .5. These weak intercorrelations suggest that, in general, (a) multicollinearity among the independent variables is not a problem, and (b) the measures appear to be tapping distinct constructs, which provides evidence of discriminant validity. To avoid multicollinearity with respect to years lived and worked in the United States, only one of these variables was included in the regression analyses at a time. The number of years lived in the United States was most pertinent and hence was included in the analysis for acculturation processes at the national level, whereas number of years worked in the United States was more relevant for the analysis of acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures.

PREFERRED MODES OF ACCULTURATION

The 277 immigrant Muslim subjects' preferred modes of acculturation to U.S. national and organizational cultures as measured by the multiple choice, Likert-based, and combined scales are reported in Table 7. Each measure revealed that immigrant Muslim employees prefer integration and separation over assimilation and deculturation as modes of acculturation to the U.S. national culture. However, the multiple choice scale indicated a strong preference for integration (57.7% to 27.9%), whereas the Likert-based (40.8% to 36.5%) and combined (46.6% to 40.4%) scales suggested a slight preference for separation. Greater differences were obtained for the preferred modes of acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures; the multiple choice scale suggested a very strong preference for integration (62.6%), whereas the Likert-

TABLE 7: Preferred Modes of Acculturation to U.S. National and Organizational Cultures (n = 277)

	Frequency			Percentage		
Mode	Nominal Scale	Likert-type Scale	Combined Scale	Nominal Scale	Likert-type Scale	Combined Scale
Variable: Acculturation to U.S. National Culture[a]						
Assimilation	6	6	8	2.2	2.2	2.9
Integration	157	113	129	57.7	40.8	46.6
Separation	76	101	112	29.7	36.5	40.4
Deculturation	17	21	24	6.3	7.6	8.7
None/Neutral	16	36	4	5.9	13.0	1.4
Variable: Acculturation to U.S. Organizational Culture[b]						
Assimilation	35	161	162	12.8	58.3	58.7
Integration	171	29	66	62.6	10.5	23.9
Separation	5	7	8	1.8	2.5	2.9
Deculturation	30	27	32	11.0	9.8	11.6
None/Neutral	32	52	8	11.7	18.8	2.9

a. In the nominal scale for this variable, n is reduced to 272 due to missing values.
b. In the nominal scale for this variable, n is reduced to 273 due to missing values. In the Likert scale and combined sale, n is reduced to 276 due to missing values.

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based (58.3%) scale and combined (58.7%) scales revealed a strong preference for assimilation.

Although it is impossible from the available data to determine whether the multiple choice or Likert-based scale is most accurate, we have greater confidence in the Likert-based scales for three basic reasons. First, these scales were derived from more basic continuous scales, which were shown to be reliable. In contrast, the reliabilities of the multiple choice measures cannot be determined because they are each confined to a single item. Second, several of the options from the multiple choice scales appear to be double-barreled (Sekaran, 1989), because subjects may agree with one part of the response (e.g., I tried to keep my own culture) but disagree with another (e.g., I attempted to introduce my culture to American people or friends). By separating these parts to create distinct items, the Likert-type scales avoided this problem. Third, we believe the Likert-based scales are less susceptible to social desirability biases, because they are derived from multiple items designed to measure the extent to which respondents' engaged in specific acculturation behaviors. With multiple and separate items, the researchers' goal of identifying the subjects' preferred modes of acculturation is not readily apparent. In contrast, because interrelated sets of behaviors reflective of particular modes of acculturation are grouped together for particular response options of the multiple choice measures, the purpose of the measure is far more transparent. As a consequence, the nominal measures are likely to be biased toward integration, because accepting U.S. culture while retaining one's original culture appears to be more socially desirable than the alternatives. Thus, we believe that the Likert-based measures of the modes of acculturation represent a psychometric improvement over the multiple choice measures employed by Baek (1989). Furthermore, we believe that the combined scale provides the best estimate of the preferred modes of acculturation because it incorporates all of the information provided by the respondents regarding these preferences. For purposes of testing the hypotheses, however, the interval level scales represent superior measures of acculturation preferences because they permit more sophisticated methods of analysis.

Accordingly, the AAC, ROC, AOC, and OOC scales were used in the regression analyses described below to test the hypotheses.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Acceptance of U.S. national culture. As Table 6 indicates, the mean ($M = 3.0$) for the willingness to accept American culture (AAC) variable falls exactly at the midpoint of the 5-point Likert-type scale, suggesting that, on average, Muslim immigrants are not overly willing or reluctant to accept the U.S. national culture. To assess the relationships between the independent variables and AAC, a stepwise multiple regression analysis was performed. Table 8 displays the unstandardized regression coefficients (B), the standardized regression coefficients (β), the total correlations, the F values, and R^2. The R^2 of .13 indicates that, together, the independent variables explained 13% of the variance in AAC. The independent variables of collectivism ($F = 12.83$, $p < .001$), religious beliefs ($F = 13.13$, $p < .001$), gender ($F = 6.76$, $p < .01$), and education ($F = 3.96$, $p < .05$) each contributed significantly to the prediction of AAC. The beta weights (.21, –.21, –.15, .12, respectively) for these variables indicate the relative degree of association between these variables and AAC. The positive beta weights for collectivism and education suggest that more collectivistic and educated Muslim immigrants are more willing to accept the U.S. national culture. The negative beta weights imply that more religious and female Muslims are less accepting of U.S. national culture than less religious and male Muslims. Thus, these results provide partial support for Hypotheses 1 and 4, respectively, which predicted that demographic attributes (e.g., gender, education) and degree of religiosity would be related to acceptance of the national culture. However, the results obtained for individualism and collectivism were inconsistent with our predictions. Recall that Hypothesis 3 posited that more individualistic Muslims would be more accepting of the U.S. national culture, and more collectivistic immigrants would be less accepting. Instead, more collectivistic as

TABLE 8:   Results of the Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses

Variable	R^2	B	β	Total Correlation	F
Willingness to Accept U.S. National Culture (AAC)	.13***				
Collectivism		.20	.21	.21	12.83***
Religious beliefs		−.19	−.21	−.19	13.13***
Gender		−.34	−.15	−.18	6.76**
Education		.14	.12	.20	3.96*
Willingness to Retain Original National Culture (ROC)	.10***				
Years lived in United States		−.02	−.23	−.23	15.76***
Religious practices		.19	.21	.22	13.52***
Perceived discrepancy	.02*				
Education		.13	.14	.14	5.53*
Willingness to Accept U.S. Organizational Cultures (AOC)	.30***				
AAC		.45	.45	.50	77.35***
Collectivism		.22	.22	.31	18.84***
Willingness to Retain Original Organizational Cultures (OOC)	.12***				
ROC		.25	.25	.26	18.52***
Perceived discrepancy		−.23	−.19	−.21	10.82**
AAC		.12	.11	.12	3.98*

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

opposed to less collectivistic Muslims were more accepting of U.S. national culture, and individualism was unrelated.

Retention of original national culture. The high mean for ROC of 4.2 on a 5-point scale (see Table 6) implies that most Muslim immigrants prefer to retain their original national culture. To assess the relationships between the independent variables and ROC, a stepwise regression analysis was performed (see Table 8). The R^2 of .10 (see Table 8) indicates that the independent variables explained 10% of the variability in the respondents' willingness to retain their original national culture. Only years lived in the United States ($F = 15.76$, $p < .001$) and religious practices ($F = 13.52$, $p < .001$) were significantly related to ROC. Years lived in the United States had the largest beta weight (β = −.23), which suggests that

Muslim immigrants' willingness to retain their original national culture weakens over time. Thus, some additional, although limited, support for the assertion of Hypothesis 1 that demographic attributes account for differences in acculturation processes was obtained. Consistent with Hypothesis 4, the positive beta weight (β = .21) obtained for religious practices indicates that people who are more active as opposed to less active in practicing their religion are more likely to retain their original national culture. Contrary to Hypothesis 3, however, individualism and collectivism were unrelated to the immigrants' willingness to retain their original national culture.

Perceived discrepancy. The relationship between the independent variables and perceived discrepancy was examined using multiple regression. The R^2 of .02 indicates that only 2% of the variance in perceived discrepancy was accounted for by the regression equation. The lone variable to emerge as a significant predictor was education ($F = 5.53, p < .001$). The positive beta weight (β = .14) indicates that more educated as opposed to less educated Muslims perceive greater discrepancies between the U.S. and original work cultures. Thus, very limited support for Hypothesis 5 was obtained.

Acceptance of U.S. organizational cultures. The mean of 3.7 obtained for AOC scale implies that, on average, Muslim immigrants are inclined to accept U.S. organizational cultures. To examine the relationships between the independent variables and AOC, a stepwise regression analysis was performed. The R^2 of .30 suggests that the independent variables explained 30% of the variability in AOC. The independent variables of AAC ($F = 77.35, p < .001$) and collectivism ($F = 18.84, p < .001$) were significantly related to AOC. The highest beta weight (β = .45) was obtained for AAC, which suggests that Muslims' willingness to accept U.S. national culture is positively related to their willingness to accept U.S. organizational cultures, as posited by Hypothesis 2. The positive beta weight (β = .22) for collectivism indicates that more collectivistic as opposed to less collectivistic Muslims are more accepting

of U.S. organizational cultures. As was the case for AAC, this result is contrary to Hypothesis 3, which posited that more individualistic and less collectivistic Muslims would be more accepting of U.S. organizational cultures. The demographic variables, religious beliefs and practices, and individualism did not emerge as significant predictors of AOC.

Retention of original organizational cultures. The relatively low mean of 2.2 on the willingness to retain original organizational cultures (OOC) scale suggests that, on average, Muslim immigrants are not inclined to retain their original organizational cultures. To assess the relationships between the independent variables and OOC, a stepwise regression analysis was performed. The R^2 of .12 indicates that the independent variables accounted for 12% of the variability in OOC (see Table 8). The independent variables of ROC ($F = 18.56, p < .001$), perceived discrepancy ($F = 15.75, p < .001$), and AAC were significantly related to OOC. The highest beta weight ($\beta = .25$) was obtained for ROC, suggesting that Muslims are more inclined to retain their original organizational cultures if they are willing to retain their original national culture, as predicted by Hypothesis 2. The negative beta weight for perceived discrepancy ($\beta = -.23$) is inconsistent with Hypothesis 6, because it indicates that Muslims who perceived greater discrepancies were less willing to retain their original organizational cultures. Finally, the positive beta weight ($\beta = .12$) for AAC suggests the counterintuitive conclusion that Muslims who are more accepting of the U.S. national culture are more willing to retain their original organizational culture. Possible explanations for these unexpected findings are considered below.

DISCUSSION

MUSLIMS' ACCULTURATION TO U.S. NATIONAL CULTURE

Modes selected. Each measure of the modes of acculturation employed by Muslims in adapting to the U.S. national culture

revealed far stronger preferences for integration and separation than assimilation and deculturation (see Table 7). As Figure 1 indicates, both of these modes reflect a strong preference for retaining one's original culture, as does the high mean ($M = 4.2$) for ROC (see Table 6). Thus, whether Muslims accept or reject the U.S. national culture, most report trying to retain their original national culture.

Predictor variables. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, acculturation patterns differ for national and organizational cultural adjustments due to the demographic attributes (e.g., gender, education, years lived in the United States) of Muslim immigrants. Gender and education, for example, were related to the willingness of Muslims to accept the U.S. national culture, with male and more educated immigrants being more accepting than female and less educated Muslims. The results for gender may be attributable to the fundamental differences in the dress and behavior exhibited by Muslim and non-Muslim women at work. For example, Islamic religion stipulates that women must dress very conservatively, wearing the *chado* and loose dresses that cover their arms and legs. However, with this type of attire, Muslim women may have a difficult time finding jobs in U.S. organizations, causing many to resent and reject the U.S. national culture.

With respect to education, the fact that more educated as opposed to less educated Muslims are more accepting of the U.S. national culture suggests that as Muslim immigrants acquire knowledge, they become more open-minded about the U.S. national culture and/or more capable of reconciling discrepancies or incongruities between the cultures. Moreover, many Muslim immigrants who earn advanced degrees do so in the United States, where they gain greater knowledge of the U.S. culture along with their technical training. As immigrants' understanding of the United States grows, their willingness to accept the U.S. national culture may likewise increase. Unfortunately, this explanation cannot be formally assessed in the current study, because information on where the respondents received their education was not collected. Still, this finding suggests that both the level and source of immigrants'

education should be considered in future studies, as suggested by Kossoudji (1988).

The finding that number of years lived in the United States was negatively related to Muslims' willingness to retain their original national culture suggests that Muslim immigrants become less inclined to hold onto their cultural customs and practices with the passage of time. Although this finding makes intuitive sense, it differs somewhat from the findings obtained by Kim (1978) in a study of the acculturation patterns of Korean immigrants. Kim found a curvilinear relationship between acculturation and time spent in the host country. Specifically, communication ties with host country members steadily increased to a certain point and then leveled out, at which time ties with members of the same ethnic group increased. Although the current study did not focus directly on communication ties, the results suggest that the efforts of Muslim immigrants to retain their native culture decline over time.

Contrary to Hypothesis 3, collectivism, rather than individualism, was found to be positively related to acceptance of both U.S. national and organizational cultures. To interpret this finding requires a reexamination of the assumption underlying Hypothesis 3, that Muslim immigrants with more individualistic values will find it easier to acculturate to the U.S. individualistic culture, because such individuals are neither more nor less accepting of the U.S. national and organizational cultures. Instead, immigrants with more collectivistic values expressed a greater willingness to accept these cultures, presumably because they are, by definition, more oriented toward and likely to gravitate toward other people and the collective, *regardless of the culture*. Thus, in retrospect, it is not surprising that more collectivistic as opposed to less collectivistic Muslims were more open to and accepting of the U.S. national and organizational cultures, despite the individualistic orientations of those cultures. These findings should be interpreted with care, however, because the reliability of the three-item scale that was employed as a measure of collectivism is suspect. Clearly, additional research with more reliable measures of collectivism is needed to assess the validity of these findings. In addition, the fact that separate factors emerged for individualism and collectivism

suggests that the assumption that these constructs are polar opposites requires a conceptual and an empirical reevaluation, as suggested by Schwartz (1990).

Finally, the prediction of Hypothesis 4, that degree of religiosity would be negatively related to Muslim employees' willingness to accept U.S. national and organizational cultures and positively related to their willingness to retain their original national and organizational cultures, received partial support. Specifically, the subjects' religious beliefs were found to be negatively related to acceptance of the U.S. national culture, whereas the degree to which they actively engaged in religious practices was positively related to their retention of their original national culture. These results reveal the central role that religion plays in many Muslims' lives and its potential impact on their acculturation to new cultures. Contrary to Hypothesis 4, however, neither religious beliefs nor practices were related to Muslims acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures; thus, religion does not appear to play a key role in Muslims immigrants' adjustment to U.S. work cultures.

The distinction between religious beliefs and practices and their relationships to the acculturation dimensions also are of interest. Apparently, the strength of Muslims' religious beliefs is the key determinant of their acceptance of U.S. national culture, with less religious as opposed to more religious immigrants demonstrating greater acceptance. This implies that Muslims whose religious beliefs are more as opposed to less ingrained find it more difficult to accept the U.S. national culture, presumably because of inconsistencies between this culture and their beliefs. In contrast, the extent to which Muslims' actually practice their religion appears to be more important in accounting for their willingness to retain their original culture. Here, the implication is that Muslims who express a greater desire to retain their original culture are more actively involved in practicing their religion.

PREDICTORS OF PERCEIVED DISCREPANCY

Only limited support was obtained for the prediction of Hypothesis 5 that demographic attributes would account for differ-

ences in the degree of perceived discrepancy in work cultures reported by Muslim immigrants. Specifically, education was positively related to perceived discrepancy, with more educated immigrants reporting greater perceived discrepancies. The other demographic variables (gender, years lived in the United States) included in the regression equation were unrelated to perceived discrepancy. Moreover, no support was obtained for the predictions of Hypothesis 6 that individualism, collectivism, and degree of religiosity would be related to perceived discrepancy.

Consistent with our earlier discussion of education, one possible explanation for this finding regarding education is that more as opposed to less educated immigrants are more knowledgeable about a wider range of attributes of both their original and the U.S. work cultures, and hence more aware of the differences. Indeed, many of these immigrants may have originally worked in their native country but received their professional training in the United states; hence, they may have compared the differences between these work cultures continuously while pursuing their degrees. Again, to assess the merits of this explanation would require information on where the subjects were educated, which was not collected in the current study. Future studies should measure both the level and source of the subjects' education, as suggested above.

MUSLIMS' ACCULTURATION
TO U.S. ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES

Modes selected. The multiple-choice, Likert-based, and combined measures of Muslims' preferred modes of acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures yielded markedly different results (see Table 7). The former identified integration (62.6%) as the dominant mode, whereas the latter two suggested assimilation (58.3% and 58.7%, respectively) is favored most often. As Figure 1 indicates, however, each of these modes of acculturation reflects a strong preference for accepting U.S. (host) organizational cultures, as does the moderately high mean for the AOC scale ($M = 3.7$). Thus, although these measures disagree somewhat on the extent to which

Muslims retain their native organizational cultures, each indicates a willingness to accept U.S. work cultures.

Predictor variables. The Muslim employees' patterns of acculturation to the U.S. national culture were related to the acculturation patterns they selected for adapting to U.S. organizational cultures. This is apparent from the significant relationship between their willingness to accept U.S. national culture and their desire to accept U.S. organizational cultures. Similarly, their willingness to retain their original national culture was significantly related to their acceptance of U.S. organizational cultures. Thus, our prediction that the acculturation patterns used by Muslim immigrants to adjust to the national culture will be positively related to those used in acculturating to U.S. organizational cultures (Hypothesis 2) was completely supported. However, the counterintuitive finding that acceptance of U.S. national culture is positively related to Muslims' willingness to retain their original organizational culture was unexpected. Apparently, there is a slight tendency for Muslims who are more, as opposed to less, accepting of U.S. national culture to express a greater willingness to retain their original organizational cultures.

No support was obtained for the predictions that the demographic attributes of gender, education, and years worked in the United States (Hypothesis 1), as well as the immigrants' religious beliefs and practices (Hypothesis 4), would be related to the acculturation patterns chosen in adjusting to U.S. organizational cultures. Because gender, education, and degree of religiosity are significantly related to Muslim immigrants' acculturation to the U.S. national culture, which is in turn predictive of their acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures, an indirect relationship between these variables is implied.

Contrary to Hypothesis 3, a direct rather than an inverse relationship between collectivism and Muslim employees' acceptance of U.S. organizational cultures was identified. As was the case for AAC, collectivism was found to be a significant predictor of AOC; no relationship between individualism and AOC was found. These

results imply that Muslim immigrants who are more, as opposed to less, collectivistic are more open to and accepting of U.S. organizational cultures, presumably due to their tendency to join and become part of the collective, which in this case, is the organization.

Finally, the results revealed that perceived discrepancy was significantly related to willingness to retain original organizational cultures, although it was unrelated to acceptance of U.S. organizational cultures. Contrary to Hypothesis 6, however, Muslim immigrants who perceived greater discrepancies in work cultures were less willing to retain their original culture. Although the direction of this relationship was not anticipated, it is consistent with previously discussed findings for education and perceived discrepancy. Recall that more as opposed to less educated Muslims were more accepting of the U.S. national culture and more likely to perceive discrepancies between their original and U.S. work cultures. In light of these findings, it is less surprising that such individuals are less willing to retain their original work cultures. It also should be noted that the low mean obtained for the OOC variable implies that the majority of Muslim employees did not wish to retain their original work cultures. Overall, these findings suggest that Muslim immigrants who perceive greater discrepancies in work cultures do not try to retain their original organizational culture, perhaps because they see it as less effective, or simply less appropriate, for their new work environment.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS
AND RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The findings of this study are timely and especially relevant to managers of culturally diverse workforces. Their timeliness is apparent from worldwide demographic trends that are causing the modern workforce to become ethnically heterogenous. For instance, Jamieson and O'Mara (1991) report that, in 1990, the population of all minorities in the U.S. workforce already exceeded 25% in a quarter of the companies surveyed. As such, modern managers must have a basic understanding of the ways in which minorities perceive and adapt to alternative work cultures.

This study is the first to focus on the acculturation patterns that Muslims exhibit in adjusting to U.S. organizational cultures. Hence, it provides managers with insights into the ways in which Muslims adapt to U.S. work cultures. Awareness of their preferred modes of acculturation to organizational cultures, which are integration and assimilation, should help managers to match people with job requirements, motivate Muslim employees, and support the Muslim lifestyles.

Muslim immigrant employees hold fundamentally different social and work values from their fellow U.S. employees. Given that Muslim females and more religious Muslims are less accepting of U.S. national culture than males and their less religious counterparts, employers should learn about their Muslim employees and find out specifically what is difficult for them to accept in the U.S. culture. Here, it is particularly noteworthy that whereas religious beliefs were negatively related to Muslims' acceptance of U.S. national culture, and religious practices were positively related to their desire to retain their original national culture, neither variable was related to their acceptance of U.S. organizational cultures or their desire to retain their original organizational culture. This implies that the religious beliefs and practices of most Muslim immigrants have little impact on their receptivity to U.S. organizational cultures, including the work ethic and policies of U.S. organizations.

There are at least two important implications of these findings for U.S. managers. First, it is critical that managers realize that Muslim immigrants are typically very accepting of U.S. organizational cultures and that their religious beliefs and practices have relatively little impact on this level of acceptance. Recognition of this fact should reduce the likelihood of employers discriminating against Muslim immigrants because of a presumption that their religious beliefs and practices will interfere with their work and adaptation to U.S. organizations. Second, we believe that it is nevertheless important for U.S. employers to recognize the desire of most Muslim employees to retain much of their original national culture, if employers are to truly value diversity. Indeed, managers may find it advantageous to learn about the Islamic religion so that

they can make their Muslim employees feel more comfortable. Part of learning about Islam involves making other employees aware that (a) during Ramadan, Muslims fast during the daylight hours; (b) Islam believes in the stories of the Bible but interprets them differently from Western religions; (c) there are reasons for Muslims' dietary differences; and (d) work is important for the glory of God. It also should be recognized that, just as the Judaic and Christian religions share many customs and beliefs, the Islamic religion shares many customs and beliefs with the Judaic and Christian religions.

Contrary to expectations, collectivism, rather than individualism, was positively related to Muslim immigrants' acceptance of both U.S. national and organizational cultures. One implication of this finding is that an individual level measure of collectivism could prove to be useful in making job assignments for Muslim employees. Specifically, more collectivistic as opposed to less collectivistic Muslims may be better suited for jobs that require extensive interactions with non-Muslim employees and immersion within U.S. organizational cultures, because of their tolerance of differences and apparent concern for building and preserving relations with others through communication (Kim et al., 1996). Note that this finding, if replicated with Muslim and other immigrant groups, would indicate that collectivism is an important attribute to consider when making job assignments for immigrants in general. Of course, before any measure of collectivism could be adopted for such a purpose, its reliability and validity must be established. Given the shortcomings of current measures of collectivism (Schwartz, 1990), it is clear that substantial psychometric refinements first would be required.

It is also noteworthy that more educated Muslim immigrants perceived greater discrepancies in work cultures and that perceived discrepancy was related negatively to retention of immigrants' original organizational cultures. Despite its tentative nature, this finding implies that well-educated Muslim immigrants are especially likely to recognize and value the strengths of U.S. organizational cultures and practices and consequently are more inclined to accept the prevailing culture. Note that if this interpretation is

correct, it could potentially have implications beyond the present focal group, because higher levels of education may likewise increase appreciation of U.S. organizational cultures and practices by other immigrant groups. Thus, this finding suggests additional reasons for considering level of education as a critical selection criterion, and for providing Muslim and other immigrants with educational opportunities. Moreover, it suggests that managers should reinforce aspects of work that are consistent with Muslim and U.S. values. In light of these findings and tentative explanations, future research into the relationships between immigrants' education, perceptions of their employing organization's effectiveness, and acceptance of U.S. organizational cultures appear to be warranted.

Muslim employees working in the United States also may consider these findings to be especially timely and relevant. Many are concerned about an upsurge in anti-Muslim feelings, especially in the wake of the Gulf War and the World Trade Center bombing. Negative attitudes too often result in harassment of Muslims. Indeed, the lead article of the September 1993 issue of *Islamic Horizons* was titled, "Muslims, Guilty Until Proven Innocent?" The author argues that the media generalizes the actions of selected Muslim individuals or factions to the entire U.S. Islamic community. Such practices by the press create misconceptions about Islam and Muslims in general. In turn, such misperceptions can intensify many Muslims' feelings of resentment, while adversely affecting their productivity. Muslims need to help educate the people they work with as to the similarities between Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. In addition, education by the media concerning the tenets of Islam could serve to reduce the mystique that surrounds the Islamic religion for many Americans.

The present study is intended to help dispel some of the common misconceptions about Muslims. To the extent that the results provide insights into the viewpoints and preferred modes of acculturation of Muslim employees, U.S. and other managers should be able to interact with them more effectively. Supportive managerial behaviors may, in turn, help to lessen the acculturative stress that

Muslim employees frequently experience in non-Islamic work settings.

Finally, it is hoped that our results will help communication practitioners and consultants to develop cultural training programs and interventions to assist immigrant employees, in general, and Muslims in particular. Cultural training programs targeted at the managers of these employees could likewise prove to be beneficial. Such programs would be designed to help both managers and employees to communicate and interact effectively and more fully value the diversity of their workplaces.

CONCLUSION

Although Muslim employees appear to be more willing to retain their original national culture than to accept the U.S. national culture, most are quite willing to accept U.S. organizational cultures. Collectivism, religious beliefs and practices, education, and gender relate significantly to Muslims' acculturation to U.S. national culture. In turn, these patterns of acculturation to U.S. national culture, coupled with collectivism and perceived discrepancy, shape their acculturation to U.S. organizational cultures.

Although the directions of some of the hypothesized relationships were the opposite of those anticipated, the fact that every major category of predictor variables (demographics, collectivism, religious beliefs and practices, and perceived discrepancy) was found to account for variance in Muslim immigrants' acculturation to U.S. national and organizational processes implies that this framework succeeded in identifying key relationships to be examined. Additional research is needed to assess its applicability to other immigrant groups and national cultures. For example, given the role that religion appears to play in the acculturation of Muslim immigrants to the U.S. national culture, it may be beneficial to examine the role that other prominent religions (e.g., Buddhism, Hinduism) play in the acculturation process. It is possible that

researchers will conclude, as Chen and Chung (1994) suggested after examining the impact of Confucianism on organizational communication, that immigrants with certain religious or philosophical values do not want to be acculturated. Furthermore, efforts to ascertain if collectivism is positively related to the acceptance of national culture using other immigrant groups and host countries are needed to ascertain the generalizability of the results obtained in this study. Thus, for example, a study of the modes of acculturation favored by immigrants from other collectivistic cultures (e.g., countries from the Far East) to other individualistic cultures (e.g., other Anglo countries such as the United Kingdom or Australia) (Hofstede, 1984) would constitute a valuable extension of the current research.

Such studies could also clarify the causal relationships among the variables. To ascertain causal relationships, however, longitudinal designs should be employed. Ideally, such studies would initially measure these variables when immigrants first arrive in the host country and then collect successive waves of data at subsequent points in time (e.g., annually for 2 or more years). Such an extended period of time would allow immigrants to more completely progress through the acculturation process, if they wanted to be acculturated (Chen & Chung, 1994). Another wave of data collection after 5 to 10 years would likewise provide further insights. Through such a program of study, substantial knowledge of the long-term challenges involved in managing cultural diversity could be secured.

NOTE

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