

# Bridging the Gap: Disparity among Cultures and OCB

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**Abstract-** Organizations throughout the world are faced with understanding the importance of having a culturally diverse workforce. Research on Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) may hold the key to cultivating the next generation of proactive and involved workers, yet the literature on the cultural components of OCB is lacking. This potential inspired the purpose of this study, to add to the literature of cross-cultural differences as it relates to the display of OCB. Participants were recruited through a convenient snowball sampling method and limited to employed individuals 18 years or older. The participants were asked to complete a set of demographic questions in addition to Likert scale type questions from an instrument designed to quantify levels of OCB activity. A total of 417 respondents completed the survey. Participants were predominantly Hispanic (N = 343) and over 30 years of age (N = 254). Results indicated no significant differences between Immigrants and Nonimmigrants; nor between Hispanics and Non-Hispanics on reported levels of OCB. Results also indicated that there are differences in levels of OCB among certain Hispanic nationalities. The study contributes to existing literature by providing more understanding and insight on ethnic and racial differences that may influence OCB.

**Index Terms-** organizational citizenship behavior, OCB, race, ethnicity, Hispanics, culture.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Culturally diverse workforces have become a competitive advantage for businesses in the 21st century. Globalization and immigration have been two of the driving forces behind the need for diversity in the workplace. A culturally mixed workforce can bring both opportunities and challenges to employers. The main benefit of cultural diversity in the workforce is the added value that emerges from blending new ideas, contrasting perspectives, and different skills and talent. Thus, understanding these cultural differences sometimes becomes a challenge for organizations. Regardless of the challenges, the efforts to achieve diverse workforces in organizations continues to grow. The research team set out to explore interactions between cultural and ethnic diversity and another driver of organizational effectiveness, Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (OCB). OCB are identified as behaviors which promote the efficacy of the organization, are discretionary, and are not recognized by the formal reward system (Organ, 1988). These behaviors have been shown to correlate to different aspects of organizational success (Podsakoff & Mackenzie, 1994). The literature has shown support for cross-cultural differences within OCB (Ayatollahi & Ayim, 2015). As such, the purpose of this study is to explore OCB differences between

ethnic groups and varying Hispanic nationalities. The following sections detail the fundamentals of OCB and highlights the existing literature knowledge on potential ethnic and cultural components of it.

## II. ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR: CONSTRUCT HISTORY & VALUE

**Overview of OCB.** The construct of OCB was born out of a need from employers to identify behaviors outside of the job requirements that have positive effects on organizational effectiveness (Organ, 1997). Organ (1997) shares that employee assessments at the time were too narrow in their scope, focusing strictly on duties of the role and not the employee. Organ (1988) addressed what he felt was missing in his seminal work on OCB as behaviors that promote efficacy of the organization, are discretionary, and are not recognized by the formal reward system.

The definition has three major components that helps differentiate this construct from similar ones such as contextual performance and prosocial organizational performance (Organ, 1988). Firstly, the behavior must not be required in the job description and the lack of engagement in the behavior would not result in punishment. Secondly, the behavior must not be recognized in the formal reward system; that the employees engaging in the behavior should not expect to be given a guaranteed material or social reward for the action. Lastly, is the notion that over time engagement in the behavior will improve the effectiveness and productivity of the organization.

**Dimensions of OCB.** Smith, Organ, & Near's (1983) publication prior to the Organ's (1988) monograph provided an early framework which helped to operationally categorize citizenship behaviors. In the publication one of the two dimensions, Altruism, concerns itself with all discretionary non-rewarded behaviors that provide assistance to others in the organization with relevant tasks. This can include helping a fellow employee unload equipment in the parking lot or taking on one of their assignments if they appear overworked. The other major dimension, generalized compliance, relates to behaviors that adhere to the current rule structure and behavioral norms of the organization. This can include consistently being on time, not taking unexpected time off, and not using company equipment and paid time for anything other than organizationally relevant tasks. Smith et. al. (1983) dimensions were later explicated and expanded on by Organ (1988) to create five new dimensions, altruism, conscientiousness, civic virtue, courtesy, and sportsmanship that are still used to this day to assess OCB engagement.

Organ (1988) kept altruism as a dimension with no changes to its definition. Generalized compliance was converted

to conscientiousness, which included not only following rules and norms but also the degree to which one exceeds them such as, staying past normal hours and producing beyond expectations. Courtesy is much like its literal definition of behaving in a polite and respectful manner towards others. Behaviors high in "courtesy" concern themselves with decreasing the probability of conflict with others and includes actions such as maintaining constant communication with departments and individuals that may be affected by their actions prior to engaging in them. Civic virtue concerns behaviors that show an employee's identification with and desire to be connected to the activities of the organization. This could include volunteering for meetings, participating in company events, and proudly upholding company policies. Lastly, sportsmanship is characterized by an employee's ability to adjust and comply with circumstances and changes that the individual may not agree to without complication. This is evident in employees who are unlikely to complain and are willing to endure inconvenient challenges for the sake of the organization such as making due with an internet interruption or broken air conditioning. Williams and Anderson (1991) sought to further group the dimensions with OCB-I and OCB-O. Courtesy and altruism, as behaviors that benefit individuals, are placed in the OCB-I category. Conscientiousness, civic virtue, and sportsmanship, as behaviors that benefit the organization, are in turn placed in the OCB-O category.

**Economic motivation and value of OCB research.** The strongest motivator for the research and implementation of OCB related interventions is the evident connection with organizational effectiveness. In a review of findings published after his seminal work, Organ (1997) determined that while the latter research done was mostly cross-sectional, the majority was supportive of the notion that OCB and organizational effectiveness are positively correlated. Podsakoff and Mackenzie (1994) found a positive correlation between OCB and improved individual level performance while Nielsen, Hrivnak, and Shaw (2009) found a strong positive relationship at the group level. Research has also shown that OCB can improve individual productivity (Turnipseed, 2002). Walz and Niehoff (2000) found that the altruism dimension was significantly related to several key performance indications in the service industry such as customer satisfaction and operational efficiency.

**OCB Today.** Throughout the years, the construct of OCB has gained more attention from research and practitioners (Floman, 2012). The history of research on OCB shows that during the 80's, only approximately 10 journal articles examined OCB. However, that figure rose to 181 journal articles during the 90's. More recently, from years 2000 to 2005, 243 peer reviewed scientific articles investigated citizenship behavior (Floman, 2012). The increase in journal articles studying the construct of OCB shows a trend in interest on OCB (Floman, 2012). According to Floman (2012), OCB will continue to be a construct of interest for future research. Organ (1997) suggests, OCB is a construct that can change often and the definition of what constitutes OCB behaviors can change on a regular basis depending on who is measuring the construct.

OCB is sometimes linked to contextual performance. Contextual performance is referred to as the extra-role behaviors employees' display at work. This concept was created to

distinguish extra-role behaviors from in-role behaviors (Organ, 1997). In-role behaviors such as job duties are categorized under task performance. Task performance is limited by job descriptions (Organ, 1997). There has also been an interest in measuring OCB work behaviors and understanding what motivates employees to display OCB behaviors. This interest is due to research that has demonstrated that supervisors include and weigh task and contextual performance almost equally when evaluating employee performance (Borman & Motowild, 2009). Such research findings make the construct relevant to organizational performance. Although contextual performance is not a synonym for OCB, it contains elements of the behaviors measured by the construct. As a result, researchers have continued to focus studies on understanding how workplace attitudes and behaviors influence employee outcomes.

### III. CULTURE AND OCB

**Culture.** In (1952) Kroeber and Kluckhohn collectively defined culture in 164 different ways. The various definitions of culture were organized into the following broad categories: content, social tradition/heritage, normative/rules/ways of doing things; psychological/problem solving adjustment, culture in patterns and organizations, genetics and metaphorical definitions of culture. Defining culture is complicated as there are many definitions of culture. The review of the literature views culture as emerging adaptive interaction between the human and the environment (Cohen, 2009). Cohen (2009), further explains that culture also consists of shared elements which are disseminated across different time periods and generations. A most recent definition of culture (Fiske, 2002) tell us that it is socially developed and manifests itself in society in forms such as symbols, practices, values, norms, and institutions. Triandis (1994), argued that cultures are not the same as countries. Triandis (1994), defined culture as a syndrome of patterns of shared beliefs, norms, attitudes about values for those in that time period who spoke the language and resided in the same geographic location. Research evidence suggests that individuals define and view OCB in various ways (Kwantes, Karam, Kuo & Towson, 2008). Many psychologists who have studied the interest of culture have primarily focused on the differences between Western and Eastern world views in terms of individualism versus collectivism (Cohen, 2009).

**Culture as OCB antecedent.** Research implications suggest there is evidence of the various way individuals define, view and measure OCB (Morrisson 1994; Vandenberg, Lance & Taylor, 2005). The variations of how OCB is viewed can be seen in how individuals may perceive specific behaviors as extra-role and others consider it in-role behaviors. Kwantes et. al. (2008), affirmed that one possible contributing factor behind the disparity is related to the effect of culture and other culture (i.e. social beliefs) related variables. Triandis (1994) concluded that social cultures help shape, perception, expectations and behavioral norms. Turnipseed (2002), concluded that ethics and individual values also play a role in whether or not an employee will display OCB behaviors. Additionally other factors to consider (i. ethics/personal values/norms) and individual belief systems may influence how employees view OCB and the extent of how much OCB behaviors may be expressed at work by the

employee (Kwantes et. al, 2008). Past research included empirical and theoretical literature, completed by Podsakoff, Mackensie, Paine & Bachrach (2000), do not believe culture variables are in fact antecedents of OCB. In a study conducted by Moorman and Blakely (1995) findings show higher levels of OCB from individuals from collectivist cultures as opposed to those individuals from individualist cultures. Empirical work on OCB is limited, and the research of Turnipseed and Murkison (2000) serves as only one example of the few publications showing an interest on this framework.

**Variation of OCB between cultures.** In review of the current literature, findings show differences in how different cultures view OCB. Research conducted by Hofstede, Bond and Luk (1993), shows how the different variables relating to culture can be measured and conceptualized at different levels. In (2004) Hui, Lee, and Rousseau (2004) studied the relationship between OCB in the Chinese culture and the national context. In Hui et al. (2004), study findings indicated that the Chinese culture provided a work environment where employees viewed their employment based on mutual support, trust and relationships. The results of the study suggested that the employees exhibited more motivational behaviors while at work as a way to enhance the relationship with the direct employer. This study reflects how nationality served as a representation for culture; implying that a collectivistic culture would amplify the likelihood and frequency of OCB in the workplace. On the contrary, there is a gap in the literature when examining the relationship between the Hispanic culture and OCB because there are no studies conducted that help explore and examine the gap.

**Individualism, Collectivism and OCB.** Our culture plays an important role in our behaviors. One of the most popular studies of cultural values at organizations is Hofstede's (1980). This model serves as the foundation and guide to compare the components of different cultures. Hofstede's (1980) seminal work identifies the basic differences in which individuals define their own worlds. The work created by Hofstede (1980) consists of a group of dimensions that describes the differences between the various cultures and clarifies the reasons for such differences (Cohen & Avrahami, 2006). One of these dimensions is collectivism vs. individualism.

Individualism is defined as the degree to which people give priority to their own interests over those of their group to which the individual belongs to. Individualist value self-reliance and tend to evade or disregard the benefit of the group if it is not in accordance with one's best interest (Cohen & Avrahami, 2006). On the contrary, collectivism is a cultural characteristic in which the focus is on the best interest of the group and not the individual. The prosperity of the group supersedes the wants of the individual. The groups tend to be close and cohesive. Employees with collectivist traits tend to be more committed to the company because of their connections with the employer and their colleagues rather than the actual work, incentives, or compensation (Cohen & Avrahami, 2006). Collectivism has been linked to OCB as collectivistic employees tended to show OCB more than individualistic employees (Cohen & Avrahami, 2006). According to a research conducted by Gomez (2003) the Hispanic culture is described as having collectivist principles and behaviors. The loyalty of the groups surpasses the personal and often conflicts are avoided to benefit the group (Cohen &

Avrahami, 2006). Therefore, it is hypothesized that there is a difference in OCB levels between Immigrants and Nonimmigrants. It is further hypothesized that Hispanics will report higher levels of OCB than Non-Hispanics; and that Hispanic nationalities will differ on reported levels of OCB.

#### IV. METHOD

##### Participants

A sample of 417 participants from South Florida and Puerto Rico was collected using a convenience sampling method. Participants recruited for the study were eighteen years or older and limited to current full or part-time employment. The participants consisted predominantly of females 269 (64.5%) and 148 males (35.5%). The participants' age ranged from 19 - 74 years old. The mean for female respondents was 38.03 and 35.87 for male. The mode age of the sample was 23 (SD = 12.80) years. The participants educational background consisted of a mean score of 15.55 of at least a High School degree or 2 years of college. Participants held a median educational attainment level of a Bachelor's Degree, (M = 16, SD = 2.78). Participants in the sample size were categorized into four ethnic identities: White/Non-Hispanic, Hispanic/Latino, African American or other. The majority of the respondents were Non-Immigrants (N = 261, SD = 8.398). There were a total of 156 (N = 156, SD = 8.310) immigrants who responded to the survey. The majority of the respondent were Hispanic/Latino 82.3 % (N = 343); White/Non-Immigrants 10.6 % (N = 44); African American 3.4% (N = 14) and Others 3.8 % (N = 16). The distribution of Hispanic nationalities were predominantly Cuban (N = 144). The remaining sample size consisted of Colombians (N = 57), Puerto Ricans (N = 35), Venezuelan (N = 31), and other Hispanic groups (N = 76).

##### Materials and Procedures

A survey was created in English for purpose of this non-experimental design using Google Forms. Participants received a recruitment message by either text, email, or a social media post (e.g. Facebook or LinkedIn) informing the purpose and intent of the research. Before participants completed the survey, they were provided with the informed consent form that contained detailed information concerning the survey. The time to complete the anonymous survey was estimated to be ten to fifteen minutes. The survey included a demographic questionnaire in a multiple choice and fill-in answer format. The survey contained a total of 26-items. Participants completed a self-report questionnaire via the Internet through a Google Forms Survey. Respondents for this study were not compensated for their participation. The informed consent form explained and ensured participants responses to the questionnaire were completely anonymous. Respondents were informed that their participation is completely voluntary and that there are no known risks to the study. Participants had the right to withdraw their participation at any time without penalty. Contact information for the researchers was provided in the informed consent form and at the end of the survey, should participant have any questions or comments. The researcher obtained results via Google Forms software which were then exported to SPSS for computation.

## Instrumentation

The participants were asked to complete a self-report questionnaire measuring the construct of Organizational Citizenship. The construct was measured using existing reliable and validated scales.

*Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB)*. OCB was examined using the Organizational Citizenship Behavior Scale developed by Spector, Bauer and Fox (2010). The scale is comprised of ten items that measure the frequency of exhibiting OCB behaviors in the workplace (See Appendix D). The responses are rated based on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (extremely often or always). This instrument has a coefficient alpha reliability of .80 (Spector, Bauer, & Fox 2010).

## V. RESULTS

### ANOVA

To compare the levels of reported Organizational Citizenship Behavior amongst the Hispanic groups (N=343) the researchers used a one-way ANOVA. The groups (Total N=343) were identified under Cubans (M = 33.70, SD = 8.14), Colombians (M = 29.04, SD = 8.36), Puerto Ricans (M = 32.03, SD = 6.18), Venezuelans (M = 30.55, SD = 9.22), and all other Hispanics under the grouping "Other" (M = 31.24, SD = 7.76). Pre-Test conditions for normality, sample size (n), and homogeneity of variance were satisfied for all groups. Results were significant ( $\alpha = .05$ ,  $p = .004$ ). Findings supported the hypothesis that there is a significant difference between the groups (Table 6). A Sidak post-test was run to identify the which groups had the statistically significant difference. The post test revealed that participants of Cuban nationality had a significantly higher level of reported OCB behavior than those of Colombian nationality ( $\alpha = .05$ ,  $p = .002$ ); 4.66 points greater.

### Independent Sample t-test

An Independent sample t-test was implemented by the researchers to examine if Hispanics (M = 31.92, SD = 8.16) and Non-Hispanics (M = 32.77, SD = 9.66) differentiated on levels of reported OCB behavior (Total N=417). Pre-Test conditions for normality, sample size (n), and homogeneity of variance were satisfied for all groups. The results for the independent samples t-test (Table 5) showed that there is no statistically significant difference between the groups ( $\alpha = .05$ ,  $p = .060$ ).

An Independent sample t-test was implemented by the researcher to examine if immigrants (M = 31.22, SD = 8.31) and Non-immigrants (M = 32.59, SD = 8.39) differentiated on levels of reported OCB behavior (Total N=417). Pre-Test conditions for normality, sample size (n), and homogeneity of variance were satisfied for all groups. The results for the independent samples t-test (Table 4) showed that there is no statistically significant difference between the groups ( $\alpha = .05$ ,  $p = .541$ ).

## VI. DISCUSSION

The literature review suggests that currently there is a lack of research studying the relationship between culture and Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB). More specifically,

there are gaps in the literature for research studies addressing the possible influence of nationality and immigrant status on OCB. According to Kwantes, Karam, Kuo and Towson (2008), there is an insufficiency of empirical research directly examining work performance, OCB and culture-related variables. This research study aimed to explore the possible relationship between some of these variables with the goal of contributing to close the existing literature gap.

The central finding of this study is that there is no difference between U.S. Immigrants and U.S. Nonimmigrants and the frequency in which they exhibit OCB. The results suggest that both groups are equally likely to engage in OCB. This finding also fails to support the first hypothesis, which predicted that there would be a difference between Immigrants and Nonimmigrants and their reported OCB levels. Further findings show that there is no difference between Hispanics and Non-Hispanics and the frequency in which they exhibit OCB. This finding fails to support the second hypothesis, which predicted that the Hispanic culture would report higher levels of OCB as compared to Non-Hispanics. This finding also contradicts the literature review. According to Hofstede (1980), most Hispanic countries are collectivistic and as such; its members value the opinion of the group they belong to more and will make the well-being of the group their priority. On the other spectrum, there are individualistic societies. In individualistic societies members tend to take care of themselves and their immediate family members only (Hofstede, 1980). The existing literature may lead one to conclude that Hispanic cultures would be more likely to exhibit OCB. However, the results indicate that this difference does not exist within this sample.

The third hypothesis was supported by the data. Research findings suggest that there is a difference between two of the Hispanic groups and the reported levels of OCB. In this sample, Cuban respondents reported higher OCB levels as compared to Colombian respondents. This finding is consistent with the existing literature review. Cubans are considered a collectivistic-oriented culture (Schneider, Gruman, & Coutts, 2012), and Colombians are amongst the most collectivistic cultures in the world (Hofstede Insights, 2017). Nevertheless, Cuba, with its communist government, forces its members to work together for the greater good of the country regardless of what their individual needs are. Therefore, the social experiences of Cubans are structured around social groups, which causes the culture to be ultra-collectivistic (Schneider, Gruman, & Coutts, 2012). Research has shown the importance of exploring OCB in the workforce. The findings from this study suggest that cultural differences could influence workplace behavior. Therefore, understanding, respecting, and embracing cultural differences in the workplace can be of benefit to organizations and serve as a tool in obtaining positive outcomes and outputs. Enhancing the study of culture will have greater implications for future research on OCB. One suggestion for future research is to replicate this study by conducting a longitudinal study where the demographics include National and International participants.

## VII. LIMITATIONS

The study was conducted using a convenience snowball sampling method. Therefore, the results cannot be generalized to

the entire population. Subsequent limitations are geographic. The majority of the participants primarily reside in Florida and Puerto Rico; as such, this sample does not represent the entire U.S. adult population. Additionally, our Immigrant sample was predominantly Hispanic (89.9%). Also, the age mode was 23. Furthermore, although 423 participants completed the survey, 6 respondents failed to meet the inclusion criteria.

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## Appendix

Table 1 Descriptive Characteristics - Age  
**AGE**

### Statistics

What is your age in years? [ I am  
" \_\_\_\_\_ " years old ]

N	Valid	417
	Missing	0
Mean		37.266
Median		34.000
Mode		23.0
Std. Deviation		12.8015
Variance		164.878
Range		55.0
Minimum		19.0
Maximum		74.0

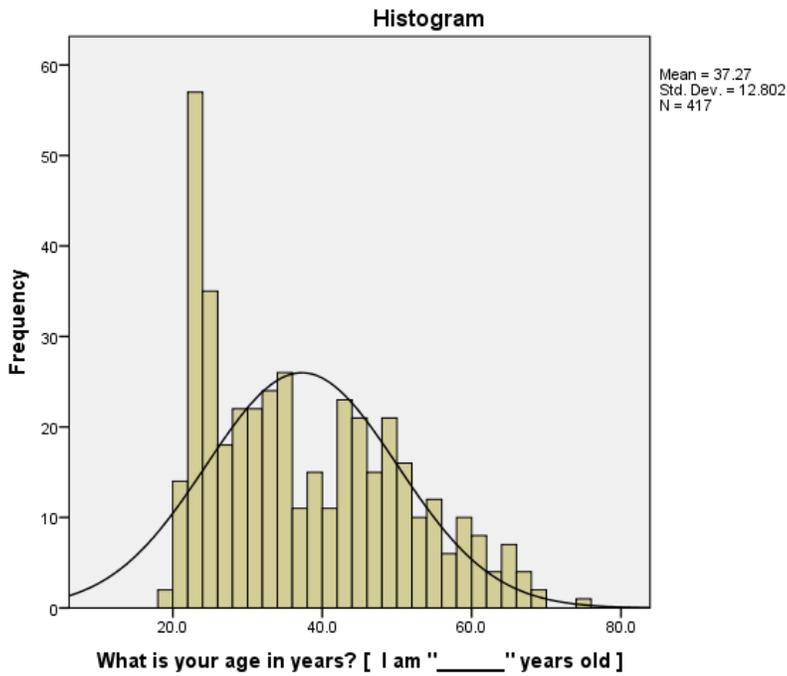


Table 2 Descriptive Characteristics - Education  
**Years of Formal Education**

**Statistics**

How many years of formal education have you completed?  
 (If you finished high school you would answer 12, if you have bachelor's degree you would answer 16, a doctoral degree would be 20) [ I have " \_\_\_\_ " Years of formal education ]

<b>N</b>	<b>Valid</b>	<b>417</b>
	<b>Missing</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Mean</b>		<b>15.553</b>
<b>Median</b>		<b>16.000</b>

<b>Mode</b>	<b>16.0</b>
<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>2.8019</b>
<b>Variance</b>	<b>7.851</b>
<b>Range</b>	<b>19.0</b>
<b>Minimum</b>	<b>2.0</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>21.0</b>

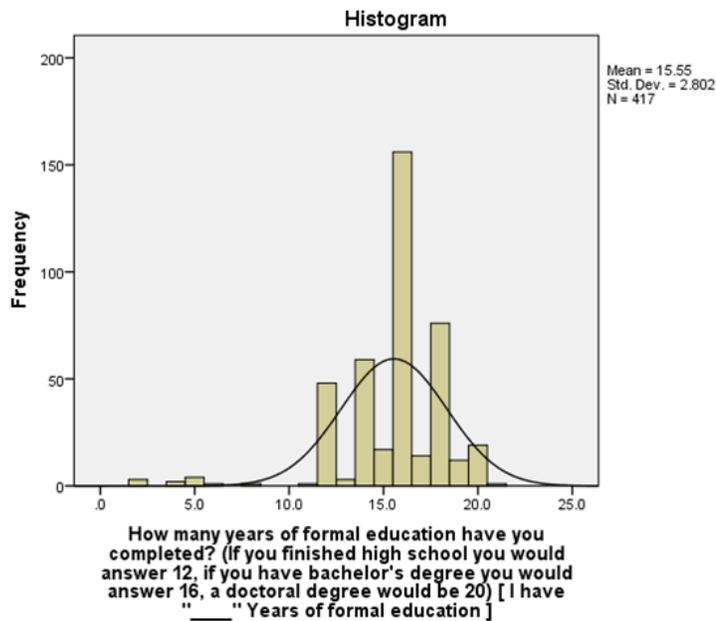


Table 3 Descriptive Characteristics - Race/ethnic identity

**Race**

**What best describes your racial/ethnic identity?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	White/Non-Hispanic	44	10.6	10.6	10.4
	Hispanic Latino	343	82.3	82.3	92.8

<b>Black/African American</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>96.2</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>417</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

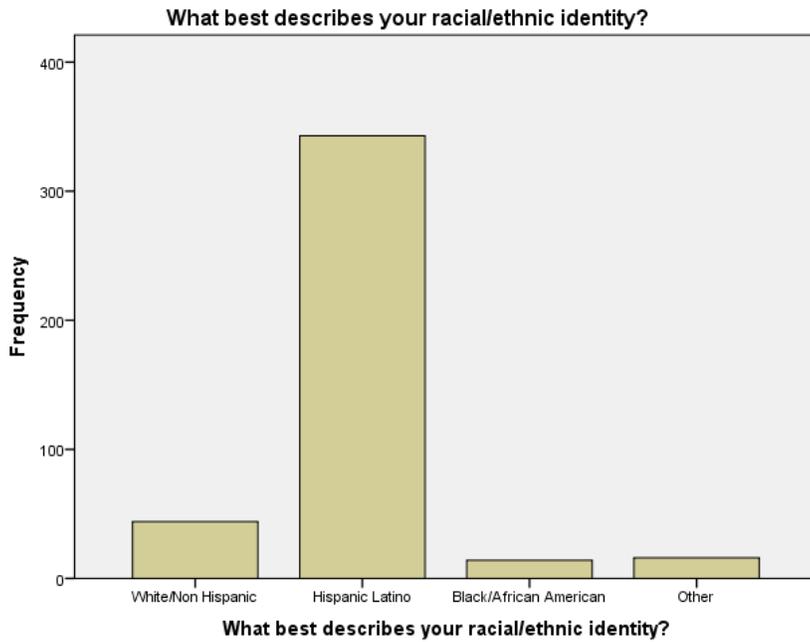


Table 4 Results - T-Test for Immigrant/Non-Immigrant

**Group Statistics**

Are you a US immigrant?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
OCB Index	No	261	32.59	8.398	.520
	Yes	156	31.22	8.310	.665

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means	
		F	Sig.	t	df
OCB Index	Equal variances assumed	.375	.541	1.616	415
	Equal variances not assumed			1.621	328.924

t-test for Equality of Means

		Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference
					Lower
OCB Index	Equal variances assumed	.107	1.368	.847	-.296
	Equal variances not assumed	.106	1.368	.844	-.293

t-test for Equality of Means

95% Confidence Interval of the Difference

Upper

OCB Index	Equal variances assumed	3.032
	Equal variances not assumed	3.029

Table 5 Results - T-Test for Hispanic Non-Hispanic

**Group Statistics**

What best describes your racial/ethnic identity?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
OCB Index	Non Hispanic	74	32.77	9.336	1.085
	Hispanic	343	31.92	8.167	.441

**Independent Samples Test**

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means	
		F	Sig.	t	df
OCB Index	Equal variances assumed	3.556	.060	.787	415
	Equal variances not assumed			.722	98.523

### Independent Samples Test

t-test for Equality of Means

		Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference
					Lower
OCB Index	Equal variances assumed	.432	.846	1.075	-1.267
	Equal variances not assumed	.472	.846	1.171	-1.479

Table 6 Results - ANOVA for Hispanic Nationalities

### Descriptives

OCB Index

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Cuban	144	33.70	8.147	.679	32.36	35.04
Colombian	57	29.04	8.362	1.108	26.82	31.25
Puerto Rican	35	32.03	6.186	1.046	29.90	34.15
Venezuelan	31	30.55	9.226	1.657	27.16	33.93
Other	76	31.24	7.768	.891	29.46	33.01

Total	343	31.92	8.167	.441	31.06	32.79
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### Test of Homogeneity of Variances

OCB Index

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
1.829	4	338	.123

### ANOVA

OCB Index

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1025.554	4	256.388	3.977	.004
Within Groups	21788.475	338	64.463		
Total	22814.029	342			

### Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: OCB Index

Sidak

(I) With which of the follow Nationalities do you most identify with?	(J) With which of the follow Nationalities do you most identify with?	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
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Cuban	Colombian	4.666*	1.256	.002
	Puerto Rican	1.673	1.513	.957
	Venezuelan	3.153	1.590	.389
	Other	2.465	1.138	.271
Colombian	Cuban	-4.666*	1.256	.002
	Puerto Rican	-2.993	1.724	.582
	Venezuelan	-1.513	1.792	.994
	Other	-2.202	1.407	.717
Puerto Rican	Cuban	-1.673	1.513	.957
	Colombian	2.993	1.724	.582
	Venezuelan	1.480	1.980	.998
	Other	.792	1.640	1.000
Venezuelan	Cuban	-3.153	1.590	.389
	Colombian	1.513	1.792	.994
	Puerto Rican	-1.480	1.980	.998
	Other	-.688	1.711	1.000
Other	Cuban	-2.465	1.138	.271
	Colombian	2.202	1.407	.717

Puerto Rican	-792	1.640	1.000
Venezuelan	.688	1.711	1.000