Relations industrielles Industrial Relations



A Cross-Cultural Study of Worker Attitudes in a Bicultural Economic Environment Attitudes des travailleurs dans un milieu économique biculturel

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Volume 28, Number 1, 1973

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/028370ar DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/028370ar

See table of contents

Publisher(s)

Département des relations industrielles de l'Université Laval

ISSN

0034-379X (print) 1703-8138 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

Kothari, V. (1973). A Cross-Cultural Study of Worker Attitudes in a Bicultural Economic Environment. *Relations industrielles / Industrial Relations*, 28(1), 150–165. https://doi.org/10.7202/028370ar

Article abstract

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A Cross-Cultural Study of Worker Attitudes in a Bicultural Economic Environment

Vinay Kothari

This research study examines the attitudes of French and English workers of New Brunswick, and it attempts to show similarities and differences in the attitudes of the two cultural groups. Specifically, the worker's attitudes towards his coworkers, economic benefits, administrative practices, physical conditions, and the work itself are examined and analyzed. Overall, the study points out that there are no significant differences between the attitudes of French and those of English. But the differences are likely to increase in the years to come because of social trends.

INTRODUCTION

The growing involvement of business in multicultural environments makes it necessary for management to understand, and adapt to, the culture of its workers. The understanding of the culture would provide it with measures that would achieve industrial harmony and a high level of productivity among its work force. To attain these objectives in the organization is often difficult but not impossible.

The relative importance of understanding the culture is that culture influences individuals needs, wants, desires, aspirations, and overall work

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^{*} The author is grateful to the Research Council of the University of Moncton for a grant which made this study possible. The author is also grateful to those who kindly assisted him in the investigations for this study.

motivations and behavior. Since the primary function of management is to motivate employees and to influence their behavior, it is essential for management to analyse constantly the dominant needs which employees strive to fulfill. Once the needs have been determined, management could take actions that would satisfy the needs and enhance « productive mood » in the organization.

The determination and management of the dominant needs and wants of the employees in a unicultural organization is relatively simple. But when the organization has people representing two or more distinct cultures and working together side-by-side, the task becomes quite difficult because the human needs and wants are likely to vary from one culture to another. For example, one culture may stress individual financial and social security, while another may regard it as irrelevant and insignificant. ¹ By differences of this nature, the managerial tasks are frequently made harder to perform.

In situations involving significant cultural differences management, ideally, as many research studies suggest, should adopt different sets of management policies and practices, each aiming to satisfy a specific cultural group. Quite contrary to this, as pointed out to the present author by an executive of a large Canadian manufacturing firm, management generally tends to ignore differences and hopes that the differences would not create any major organizational problems. Such attitude is obviously unhealthy for the organization, for it is likely to bring unsatisfactory results.

Undoubtedly, a separate set of management policies and practices for each cultural group could achieve good results. But to have two or more sets within the same organization and in the same geographical area is rather impractical and perhaps undesirable. Instead, what is essential is the management awareness of similarities and differences between the cultures; also, essential is sincere management effort to find factors which are common to all and which could be useful to influence behavior throughout the organization. In other words, management in a multicultural environment must continuously study similarities and differences in attitudes held by each cultural group about their work surroundings. Such study most likely would point out appropriate mea-

¹ For discussion on the impact of culture on human needs and wants, see: Ross A. Webber, Culture and Management, Homewood, Ill., Irwin, 1969, pp. 15-27.

sures and actions required of management. According to Rensis Likert, only through the assessment of attitudes toward factors such as, supervision, peer group, job satisfaction, and others, can management measure the impact of its actions in the organization.²

In order to determine similarities and differences in attitudes of different cultural groups toward their work environment, a study was carried out in New Brunswick — the Canadian province widely known for its bicultural feature resulting from the province's large number of French and English people. Some of the major findings of the study are presented in this report.

The purpose of the study was to investigate attitudes of French and English workers and to determine similarities and differences between their attitudes.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the study 10 business firms with a large number of both French and English employees were selected from *Directory of Products and Manufacturers*, a publication of Department of Economic Growth, Province of New Brunswick. Only three out of 10 gave their consent for the research.

The study was conducted through a questionnaire which was distributed to the employees of the three firms with the assistance of their management. One hundred and six managers and employees of the firms also were interviewed randomly.

The questionnaire was designed in both French and English languages and was developed on the basis of a pilot study in the area and on the basis of literature on the subject. ³ The questionnaire was rather

² Rensis Likert, New Patterns of Management, New York, McGraw Hill, 1961.

³ See: Fred E. WILL and D. C. KING, « A Factor Analytic Approach to the Construct and Content Validation of a Job Attitude Questionnaire, » Personnel Psychology, Spring 1965, pp. 81-90; James E. Estes, « An Analysis of Employees' Attitudes Toward Their Work Environment, » Personnel Psychology, Spring 1963, pp. 55-67; J. H. Foegen, « Why Attitude Surveys Fail To Measure Attitudes, » Personnel, March 1963, pp. 69-75; L. L. Thurstone, The Measurement of Values, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1959.

lengthy and consisted of questions which could be answered with ease in about 30 minutes; almost all the questions required a check mark from the respondent.

In general, the questions dealt with attitude factors such as, job satisfaction, supervision, economic conditions, physical conditions of the job, opportunities for advancement, relationships with the supervisor and with the peer group, and communications. The respondent was also asked to provide information about himself, including his mother tongue, age, sex, education, salary and wages, and number of days absent in the preceding six months; furthermore, he was asked to indicate his opinion on absences in his group and reasons for being absent.

The interviews with the managers and employees covered almost the same areas as did the questionnaire. The interviews were largely non-directive, and the managers and employees had complete freedom to discuss anything related to the subject matter. The discussions mainly centered around employee productivity, turnover rates, problems and policies about absences, supervisory styles, organizational policies, attitudes in relation to each cultural group, wages and salary, opportunities for advancement, grievances, and many others.

It might be pointed out that the cooperation from individuals was strictly on the voluntary basis and each respondent was assured of the secrecy of the answers.

RESULTS AND ANALYSES

Over 2,000 copies of the questionnaire were distributed between the three firms. Of these, 693 were received by mail either directly from the respondent or from a member of the organizations. The total of 693 represented 524 respondents from Firm A, 139 from Firm B and 30 from Firm C.

It is obvious that the number of persons responding from Firms B and C was very small. Such small number could not provide an accurate picture of employee attitudes in the respective firms. Furthermore, it would be improper to include them with the responses of Firm A; for each organization generally has features quite distinct from those of other firms, and these features have significant bearing on employee attitudes. So the responses from Firms B and C were excluded from the study.

Seven questionnaires from Firm A were also excluded from the study. Three were discarded because these respondents neither had French nor English as their mother tongue; four others were discarded as many questions were omitted by the respondents.

Thus, altogether 517 questionnaires from the same business organization were found to be useful in the analysis. Of the 517 respondents, 238 were French and 279 were English.

Characteristics of Respondents

As indicated, all respondents were members of a large manufacturing firm. Almost all were involved in manual work requiring some or no skills. With the exception of four per cent all respondents were male.

Of the 238 French workers, 42 per cent were single and 48 per cent married. The average age of this group was 26 years. On the average, they had an annual income of \$4,300 approximately. Fifty eight per cent of the French group had some high school education, 22 per cent had less than high school, and six per cent had above high school education, approximately 62 per cent had attended vocational of trade school.

Of the 279 English workers, 36 per cent were single and 59 per cent married. The average age of this group was 29 years. On the average their annual income was about \$4,900. Fifty one per cent of the English respondents had some high school education, 27 per cent had less than high school, and none had any college; roughly 64 per cent had attended vocational or trade school.

The data on the respondents' characteristics indicate that both cultural groups were almost alike in many aspects. Their age, sex, education, marital status were relatively just about the same. The significant difference was found between their annual incomes; the average income of French was \$600 lower than that of their counterpart. As salary and wages are further discussed later on, the discussion on the attitudes of the respondents follows.

ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS

The attitudes of the workers were examined largely in terms of five specific areas related to the work environment: 1) supervision and

administrative practices, 2) co-workers, 3) economic benefits, 4) physical conditions of the employment, and 5) job itself.

Supervision and Administrative Practices

Most English and French workers, in general, had a favorable opinion about the supervision and overall administrative practices. They appeared to be satisfied with the supervisor as a person, his qualifications, his ability to get along with people, and his treatment of employees.

Almost 90 per cent of the respondents in both the cultural groups were satisfied with the treatment they were getting from their supervisor. Sixty eight per cent of English and 76 per cent of French workers felt that they were treated equally by their supervisor.

The supervisor was viewed as an average person by more English than French respondents. Sixty seven per cent of English, as opposed to 36 per cent of French, thought of their supervisor as an average « boss ». But more French workers (46 per cent) than English (21 per cent) found their supervisor very kind and cooperative; some also believed that their supervisor was the nicest boss they had ever had. Thus, although both groups were fairly satisfied with the supervisor as a person, the French respondents seemed to have high regards for their supervisor.

There was no significant difference between the groups in their views concerning the qualification of the supervisor. Sixty seven per cent of English and 56 per cent of French respondents did not feel that they had qualifications to carry out the supervisor's duties; one-fifth of the respondents in each group felt that they had such qualifications but they did not wish to accept the supervisor's responsibilities.

With respect to the ability of the supervisor to get along with people, most respondents were satisfied with his ability. Ninety eight per cent of French and 97 per cent of English workers believed that their supervisor got along quite well with his superiors. A large proportion in both the groups also believed that the supervisor got along well with most people under him; in fact more than 80 per cent felt that the supervisor was just like one of them in most instances, and as a result, they appeared to be happy with him.

There was apparent satisfaction in communicating with the supervisor about the matters related to work. Eighty per cent of English and

71 per cent of French felt free in most cases to discuss job problems with the supervisor. Often, over 60 per cent in each group felt, the supervisor would ask for opinions of the workers before the assignment of jobs, and frequently he would seek advice of people under him about certain matters. Furthermore, 85 per cent of English and 82 per cent of French workers felt that the suggestions from them were welcomed by the supervisor.

Although many respondents found it easy to discuss the job matters with the supervisor, they apparently did not feel at ease to discuss personal problems. Only just over 30 per cent in each group felt free to discuss personal matters most of the times. The majority of the respondents were found to be uneasy about discussing such matters. Perhaps this feeling is a result of a belief that it is of nobody's concern except the individual himself about his private life; or perhaps the feeling is a result of a morale problem in the organization.

Obviously, the organization does seem to have the problem of employee morale resulting from the supervision and administrative practices. The problem, however, does not appear to be very serious.

A small number, less than 10 per cent in some cases, of respondents in each of the cultural groups apparently were dissatisfied with some aspects of the supervision and administrative practices. For example, four per cent of English and 10 per cent of French workers found their supervisor « too demanding »; seven per cent of English and four per cent of French even described him as the person they would least like to associate with. Some (nine per cent English and 10 per cent French) were dissatisfied with the treatment they were getting from their supervisor; a few believed that they were being treated by their supervisor worse than most others. Fifteen per cent English and 22 per cent French believed that they were as good as or better than the supervisor in relation to performing the supervisory tasks. There were 14 per cent of the English and 24 per cent of the French respondents who rarely felt free to discuss job problems with the supervisor; and in terms of personal matters, the number was larger — 56 per cent English and 60 per cent French. About 12 per cent in each group felt that their suggestions to their supervisor were often not welcomed.

Other factors with which some respondents were dissatisfied are shown in Table 1 which summarizes the attitudes of the French and English workers toward their supervisor and many related aspects; the attitudes are presented in terms of the employee's satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

As the table points out, there is no significant difference in attitudes between the French and English respondents. Generally, the attitudes of the workers were favorable towards their supervisor and his administrative practices. A few respondents were dissatisfied, but this cannot be attributed to any particular culture.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY CULTURE AND BY ATTITUDES

EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION TOWARDS

FACTORS RELATED TO SUPERVISION AND PRACTICES *

Factors		Attitudes	
		Satisfactory	Unsatis- factory
1.	Supervisor as a person		
	English	88	11
	French	82	14
2.	Treatment received from supervisor		
	English	91	9
	French	90	10
3.	Treatment received in relation to that of others		
	English	68	5
	French	76	4
4.	Supervisor's ability to handle people		
••	English	68	17
	French	54	28
5.	Supervisor's ability to get along with subordinates	3	
٠.	English	93	6
	French	94	6
6.	Supervisor's ability to get along with superiors		
	English	97	0
	French	98	2
7.	Supervisor's qualifications		
	English	84	15
	French	76	22

TABLE 1 — Continued

Factors		Attitudes	
		Satisfactory	Unsatis- factory
8.	Supervisor as a group member English French	88 82	5 12
9.	Discussion of job problems with supervisor English French	80 71	14 24
10.	Discussion of personal problems with supervisor English French	33 32	56 60
11.	Supervisor as an example for organizational behavior English French	91 94	5
12.	Supervisor's appreciation of employee suggestions English French	85 82	12 19
13.	Supervisor's efforts to find suitable work for employees English French	89 94	11 6
14.	Supervisor's efforts to seek advice of workers English French	75 64	25 36
15.	Delegation of authority by supervisor English French	47 52	47 42
16.	Employee freedom to set own work pace English French	95 90	5 10
17.	Supervisory consultation with workers before assigning jobs English French	67 60	32 38

^{*} Percentages are based on the number of respondents in each group. The total may not be equal to 100 because the figures are rounded to the nearest number and because of the omission of the « not answered » responses.

Co-Workers

Similarly, no significant differences existed in the attitudes of the cultural groups toward their co-workers. Almost all the respondents indicated that they were able to get along well with other members of their group. Furthermore, more than 90 per cent in each group felt that the people in their group got along fairly well with each other. This particular feeling was also expressed in the interviews with some employees who emphatically pointed out that there were no problems resulting from the cultural differences; only a few encountered difficulties in their association because of the language differences. Many workers even frequently participated together in social activities. Overall, the culture did not seem to have any impact in their relations with each other; and the relationships were generally found satisfactory by the respondents.

Economic Benefits

There was some difference between the cultural groups in terms of their satisfaction with the salary and wages they were getting for their services to the organization. Fifty one per cent of the English workers, in contrast with 36 per cent of the French, were fairly satisfied with their salary and wages; and 47 per cent of the English and 56 per cent of the French were fairly dissatisfied with the salary and wages. This was expected to a certain degree, for, as was pointed out earlier, the average income of the English workers was higher than that of the French workers.

In spite of the dissatisfaction, there was apparently some satisfaction among the groups with the salary and wages particularly in relation with others in the group and in relation with other organizations for similar work. Around 80 per cent of the respondents in each of the groups considered their salary and wages average or above in comparison with those of others in their group or in comparison with those of other organizations. About 20 per cent, however, did find their salary and wages below average or poor.

The fringe benefit programs were regarded as adequate by a large proportion of the respondents. More than 65 per cent of the respondents in each group were satisfied with the programs; 35 per cent of the English and 24 per cent of the French workers were not satisfied with such programs.

Physical Conditions

Most French and English respondents were satisfied with the general working conditions in the organization. Only eight per cent of the English and two per cent of the French workers described the conditions as poor. The plant in general was regarded satisfactory. More than 60 per cent in each group considered the facilities of the plant adequate in all respects. Specifically, the plant layout, lighting, ventilation, parking facilities, material handling facilities, washroom facilities, and other physical conditions were found adequate and satisfactory by a large number of respondents in both groups.

Job Itself

It was apparent that the respondents were generally satisfied with the job they had. In fact, 76 per cent of the English and 68 per cent of the French workers enjoyed their work and considered it as one of the reasons for working for the organization. There was little or no pressure felt by most respondents; more than 90 per cent in each group felt fairly free to set their own pace.

Only seven per cent of the English and four per cent of the French workers indicated some dissatisfaction with the work by stating that they would accept another job even at a slightly less salary if they were offered a better type of work.

Although many were satisfied with their job, the job seemed to have no promising future for the majority of the respondents in both groups. Sixty one per cent of the English and 52 per cent of the French workers were willing to accept another job provided they were promised a better future.

Overall, however, most respondents in both cultural groups appeared to be satisfied with the job itself.

In general, most French and English workers with some exceptions had favorable attitudes toward their supervisor, co-workers, economic rewards, physical environment of the job, and the job itself.

This was further evident in their rates of absenteeism which were 2.4 per cent for the English and 2.59 for the French workers. ⁴⁵ Only 24 per cent of the English and 28 per cent of the French workers indicated that they would stay home if they did not feel too well; the remainder would go to work if they possibly could. Even many supervisors pointed out that they had no significant problem of absenteeism among the French or the English workers. The absences in the organization largely were regarded as normal or below normal by about 90 per cent of the French and English respondents and by many managers.

A large number of the respondents in both groups, furthermore, appeared to be quite satisfied with their organization. The respondents were working for the organization for various reasons, including good salary and wages, enjoyable work, liking for the supervisor, existence of the friendship made on the job, and the inability to find job elsewhere.

Many, however, would accept another job for the following reasons: higher salary, better future, better type of work, and even the same work and salary.

It may be noted that the inability to find job elsewhere as a reason for working was given by only 17 per cent of the English and 16 per cent of the French workers. But only three per cent of the English and 10 per cent of the French respondents were willing to accept another job outside if they were offered the same kind of salary and work. With the exception of better future, all the reasons for accepting another job were given by 10 or less per cent of the French and English workers. The following table summarizes the reasons for working and the reasons for accepting another job as given by the respondents.

The rate of turnover in the organization, as pointed out by one executive, did not represent a serious problem. Although 30 per cent of the respondents had been with the organization for two years or less, this was not due to the high turnover rate. The organization had expe-

⁴ The relationship between job attitudes and the rate of absenteeism has been established by many studies, including a study by A. Kornhauser and A. Sharp, « Employee Attitudes: Suggestions From A Study In A Factory, » Personnel Journal, Vol. 10, 1932, pp. 393-401.

⁵ The rates of absenteeism are based on the formula devised by Caleo. See, Robert A. Caleo, «Absenteeism: Why It Happens and How to Reduce It, » Administrative Management, June 1963, pp. 22-29.

rienced growth in the past few years and was, thereby, forced to increase its work force. The management of the organization was reluctant to give an accurate number of people who left the organization in the past year, but it did indicate that the number was small; the similar impression was held by many workers in the organization. The reasons for leaving were described as follows: sickness, going away, high welfare benefits, shiftwork, better opportunities elsewhere, and perhaps dissatisfaction with some aspects of the organization.

Table 2

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Reasons for Working & Reasons for Accepting Other Job

Reasons	English	French				
For Working *						
1. This is a good paying job.	51	32				
2. I enjoy my work.	76	68				
3. I have made friends here.	35	36				
4. I like my boss.	20	38				
5. I can't find job elsewhere.	17	16				
For Accepting Another Job **						
1. If I am offered a higher salary.	9	10				
2. If I am promised a better future.	61	52				
3. If I am offered a slightly less salary but a better type of work.	7	4				
4. If I am offered the same kind of salary and work.	3	10				

^{*} Two or more reasons may be given by the same respondents.

Obviously, there were some respondents who were dissatisfied with their work environment in general. This certainly reflects a morale problem in the organization requiring managerial attention.

The satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the work environment was apparently not significant in relation to any cultural group, French or

^{**} The total is less than 100 because of the omission of « not answered » responses.

English. Both groups held almost similar opinions about many facets of their work environment. Overall, culture did not seem to have any bearing on the attitudes of the workers.

One explanation for the absence of cultural impact on the work attitudes could be that there are no significant differences between the cultures particularly in New Brunswick. It is very likely that the French people in New Brunswick have just about the same values and life styles as their English counterparts. It is a fact that until only a few years back, the French people could not get services in their own language. Largely they had to get their education in English; there were no French newspapers, radio or television stations, and most activities away from home and close relatives and friends were carried out in the so-called English styles. In other words, as some social critics put it, the French people were thoroughly indoctrinated into the values and styles of the English majority of Canada. And, of course, this could have reduced the differences, if any between the French and English cultures and, consequently making the responses of the employees more homogeneous than what they would have been otherwise.

In the last few years, however, the French people have succeeded in their demand to pursue their education, interests, and the life style in general in the manner of their choice. There are now French schools, radio and television stations, and newspapers; the French people now can get almost all types of services in French. As a result, the cultural differences are likely to become far apart.

CONCLUSION

Briefly, then, although this study does not point out significant differences in the attitudes of the French and English workers of New Brunswick toward their work environment, it is quite apparent that the differences would be greater in the years to come. The impact of culture on the attitudes is probably greater than this study suggests, and, therefore, management must make constant effort to study and understand cultures of their work force in order to be successful.

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UNE ÉTUDE DES ATTITUDES DES EMPLOYÉS DANS UN ENVIRONNEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE BICULTUREL

La participation croissante des affaires dans des milieux multiculturels rend nécessaire, de la part des administrateurs, une connaissance et une certaine adaptation à la culture de ses employés.

L'importance relative que l'on attache à la connaissance d'une culture découle du fait que la culture influence les besoins de l'individu, ses désirs, ses aspirations, ses motivations ainsi que son comportement. Puisque la fonction primaire de l'administrateur est de motiver ses employés et influencer leurs comportements, il est essentiel pour l'administrateur d'analyser constamment les besoins dominants que ses employés visent à satisfaire au travail.

La détermination et l'administration des besoins des employés dans une organisation uniculturelle sont relativement faciles à faire. Mais lorsqu'une organisation est formée de gens qui représentent deux cultures distinctes ou plus, qui travaillent ensembles, la tâche devient difficile car les besoins humains vont vraisemblablement variés d'une culture à l'autre.

Dans les situations ou environnements où des différences culturelles marquées existent, l'administrateur, idéologiquement devrait, comme le suggèrent maintes recherches, adopter des politiques administratives différentes, chacune visant à satisfaire un groupe culturel en particulier.

En réalité cette solution n'est pas tellement pratique appliquée à une même organisation surtout dans la même région géographique. Par contre il est essentiel que l'administration fasse un effort sincère en vue de comprendre les différences culturelles et qu'elle cherche à trouver des facteurs communs à tous qui pourraient influencer le comportement des travailleurs à travers toute l'organisation. En poursuivant des études dans ce sens, on pourra signaler les mesures et les actions requises de la part des administrateurs.

Une étude de ce genre a été entreprise au Nouveau-Brunswick, province canadienne reconnue pour son caractère biculturel. Dix firmes du Nouveau-Brunswick furent sélectionnées, trois seulement ont offert leur collaboration. Au delà de 2,000 copies d'un questionnaire furent distribuées parmi ces trois firmes.

D'après l'information retenue sur les caractéristiques des répondants, une assez grande homogéniété au point de vue âge, sexe, éducation et statut marital

existait. La différence significative entre les deux groupes apparut par rapport aux revenus annuels moyens.

Les attitudes des travailleurs furent examinées surtout en relation avec les cinq champs spécifiques reliés à l'environnement du travail qui sont mentionnés cidessous:

- 1 pratiques administratives et de supervision
- 2 confrères de travail
- 3 bénéfices économiques
- 4 conditions physiques du travail
- 5 le travail lui-même

En analysant le résultat on remarque qu'il ne semble y avoir de différence significative parmi les attitudes des travailleurs anglophones et francophones visà-vis leur superviseur et ses pratiques administratives. Parmi les deux groupes on retrouve une attitude généralement favorable.

De même façon, aucune différence significative existait entre les attitudes des différents groupes culturels en ce qui concerne leurs confrères de travail. Presque tous semblaient indiquer qu'ils pouvaient bien s'entendre avec les membres de l'organisation.

Il y avait cependant une différence entre les groupes culturels en ce qui concerne leur satisfaction provenant des rémunérations. Ceci était un peu prévisible attendu que le salaire moyen du travailleur anglais était d'environ \$600. de plus que celui du travailleur français.

Du point de vue des conditions physiques de travail la plupart des répondants français et anglais étaient satisfaits des facilités existantes de l'organisation.

Aussi, en général les répondants des deux groupes culturels semblaient satisfaits du travail lui-même que chacun faisait.

Les taux normaux et même relativement bas d'absentéisme et de roulement du personnel semblent ajouter aux preuves d'une certaine satisfaction de da part des travailleurs.

Si l'on considère le résultat de cette étude il semble que la satisfaction ou l'insatisfaction face à l'environnement du travail n'est pas reliée directement à un groupe culturel en particulier. De façon globale, la culture pour ces groupes ne semble pas avoir tellement d'impact sur les attitudes des travailleurs.

Une explication à ce phénomène pourrait laisser entendre qu'il n'y a aucune différence marquée entre les cultures étudiées, particulièrement au Nouveau-Brunswick. Comme certains critiques sociaux l'affirment, la population française aurait été endoctrinée aux valeurs et styles de la majorité anglaise au Canada.

Cependant durant les dernières années les francophones ont réussi à faire fonctionner leurs propres écoles, radio, télévision, journaux, tous les services dont ils étaient privés auparavant. Le résultat de la possession de ces services publics aura probablement l'effet de rendre les différences entre les deux cultures beaucoup plus marquées.

En conclusion, il va sans dire que l'administration doit faire de plus en plus, un effort constant afin de connaître et de tenir compte de la culture des travailleurs si elle veut réussir sa tâche première.