Religious Motivation, Nepotism and Conflict Management in Jordan

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Abstract

Purpose - The purpose of this research paper is to investigate the role of individual and cultural differences, specifically religious motivation and attitudes toward nepotism, in the selection of conflict management styles (obliging, avoiding, forcing, integrating, and compromising), in the Middle-Eastern context.

Design/methodology/approach - The research surveyed a sample of 588 individuals (both Muslims and Christians), representative of the Jordanian population. Data were analyzed through multiple ANOVAs and Multiple Regressions.

Findings - Results suggest that both religious motivation and attitude toward nepotism affect the choice of conflict management styles, while demographic variables, such as age and gender, do not seem to have an effect.

Originality/value - This paper constitutes one of the first attempts to investigate the conflict management style preferences of a Middle-Eastern society and the role of two important cultural variables, namely religious motivation and attitudes toward nepotism, which have not been previously investigated by conflict management research.

Keywords: Conflict Management Styles, Nepotism, Religious Motivation, Middle East, Individual Differences

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1. Introduction

Jordan is a culturally and religiously diverse country, with a strategic position in the midst of turmoil. Neighboring Iraq, Israel, Palestine, Syria and Saudi Arabia, Jordan was able to create many relations and play different strategic roles through its eventful years as an independent country. Those dynamics highly influenced both the society and its demographics. Jordan has an estimated population of 7,930,491, which is highly comprised of refugees. Specifically, 25.9% of its population comprises Palestinian refugees (UNRWA, 2013), 17.8% consists of Syrian refugees, and 0.294% is comprised of Iraqi refugees (UNHCR, 2013). The remainder of the population is made up by Jordanian citizens and non-refugee foreigners living in the Country. This eclectic population has grown throughout the years as a result of wars and disputes dating back to the Arab-Israeli war in 1948. Arabs constitute about 98% of the population, while Circassians and Armenians both constitute about 1% each, respectively. In a climate of multiculturalism and respect Sunni Muslims comprise about 92% of the population, while Christians comprise about 6% of the population; the remaining 2% is made up of Shia Muslims and Druze (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). The Jordanian society is collectivist, paternalistic, patriarchal, and tribal. Religion plays an important role in its governance, with the society exhibiting a predominance of the Muslim religion. While the way Islam is practiced may vary from country to country in the region, the Islamic religion has an important influence over societal norms, political systems and is considered to be a way of life (Caputo et al., 2016). Indeed, the Jordanian legal system is also based on the Sharia (religious) law.

Jordan is a service-based economy home to a number of multinational organizations, NGOs and International Institutions (e.g. UN agencies). At the same time, Jordan is known for being a country based on tribal affiliations: social status, political life and business life are strongly affected by a system of "soft influences" in which tribal and religious affinity are intertwined (Rowland 2009). In the words of Rowland (2009, p. 6): "the social system in Jordan is still largely based on tribalism and kinship relations, particularly in rural areas. This social structure is less prominent in urban areas, as the Palestinian-Jordanians that are concentrated there are considered to be less tribal. This system is traditionally patriarchal, though remarkably egalitarian when it comes to economic status, and inspires a fierce loyalty to the tribe from all members. In Jordan more so than some other countries in the region where ethnic and religious conflicts have dominated politics, tribalism plays an extremely significant role in the political process". As a consequence, it is quite accepted that "everything, no matter how simple it is, requires a wasta in Jordan" (El-Said and McDonald, 2001, p. 77). The word wasta is the core concept related to tribalism: favoritism based on family and tribal relations. The same mechanisms can be found across other Arab countries, where wasta is referred to as ma'arifa ("who you know") or *piston* ("pulling strings") (Yahiaoui and Zoubir, 2006).

This study, through a survey of 588 individuals living in Jordan, is a comparative analysis of conflict style preferences in Jordan, as a case study for the Middle East, which is especially concerned with the differences between the major religious motivations and nepotistic attitudes within the country. The history of the Middle East has been heavily influenced by both religious and ethnic conflict, yet little research has led to a greater understanding of the effects such a history has had on the present environment. Conflict management in the Middle East has been extensively researched in political science and in the area of global geopolitics. However, it is still under-researched in the organizational behavior field.

The paper has the following structure. The next section presents a literature review to build the theoretical background on conflict management and its relationships with religious motivation and nepotism. Then the methods are presented and results discussed. Finally, the paper offers both theoretical and practical implications.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Conflict Management Styles

Conflict is a widely researched and defined topic. Tjosvold (2006) defined conflict as arising "from opposing interests involving scarce resources and goal divergence and frustration" (p. 88). Conflict can have negative results (dysfunctional conflict) or positive results (functional conflict), depending on the situation and on the individuals involved (De Dreu, 2008). Managing conflict effectively either in the working environment or in day-by-day life is one of the challenges that everyone faces on a regular basis, regardless of their position. As such, conflict management is an understanding of conflict as a whole, its triggers, the conflict cycle, and the conflict management styles and behaviors involved (Ayoko et al., 2002). Despite individual characteristics and differences in contexts, i.e. the fact that every configuration of situation and actors is different, individuals tend to adopt certain patterns, or styles, when managing conflict situations (Euwema et al., 2003; Oetzel, 1998; Ting-Toomey et al., 2001). A conflict style, or behavior, is a general pattern of actions and behaviors an individual tends to adopt in order to handle situations of conflict (Brew and Cairns, 2004; Van de Vliert and Kabanoff, 1990).

In other words, the conflict management style adopted is the result of the decisions we made when aiming to manage the conflict. Hitherto, the main model used in categorizing conflict management behaviors is the dual concern model (Blake and Mouton, 1964; Rubin et al., 1994). This framework differentiates the styles of handling conflict into two distinct dimensions: concern for self and concern for others. The concept of concern for self explains the degree to which a person tries to fulfill and satisfy his or her own goals. Combining these two dimensions is represented in the five different styles or behaviors of handling conflict (e.g., Rahim, 1983; Thomas and Kilmann, 1978): dominating (also referred as competing or

contending), obliging (also referred as yielding or accommodating), integrating (also referred as problem-solving or collaborating), avoiding (or inaction), and compromising.

The dominating behavior involves high concern for self and low concern for the others; each party tries to pursue its own interests. Such style follows a win-lose approach where high levels of competition are found. There is no cooperation between parties, and the main aim is to win at any cost to satisfy personal concern, regardless of the concerns of others. The obliging style refers to "giving in to the opponent" (Euwema et al., 2003), and manifests when there is low concern for self and high concern for others. Avoiding involves low concern for self and low concern for others, and it is characterized by avoiding confrontation on the conflict issue with the other party. The integrating style takes place when there is an attempt to integrate the interests of the parties involved to reach a joint solution. Individuals who pursue this style show high concern for self and high concern for others. As a result, cooperation and collaboration is needed to reach acceptable solutions that will satisfy both parties. Finally, the compromising style represents a moderate effort to pursue one's personal interests and a moderate effort in helping the other party to also achieve his or her outcomes; the compromising style therefore refers to "settling through mutual concessions" (Euwema et al., 2003). That is, both parties give up something to obtain an acceptable decision.

This five part taxonomy derived from the dual concern model has been widely criticized due to concerns over its comprehensiveness (Conrad, 1991). For example, Van de Vliert and his colleagues (1995) pointed out how in reality people do not engage in single and separated conflict behaviors, rather they deploy behaviors that encompass a mix of the characteristics from problem solving to competing. Van de Vliert et al. presented a model of seven components of what they called "conglomerated" conflict behaviors. Although promising, the complexity behind this framework prevented a broad usage of it in conflict research (Euwema and Van Emmerik, 2007). Other scholars have tried to improve the dual concern model, by adding or integrating new styles (Leung and Kim, 2007; Ting-Toomey et al., 2001). However, a new and superior dominant framework is yet to emerge (Ayoko and Konrad, 2012). Therefore, for the purposes of this study and to allow for comparison, a refined instrument based on the dual concern model and its five conflict management styles was utilized (Oetzel, 1998). As the study is investigating conflict management styles in Jordan, which is a multi-cultural and multireligious environment, Oetzel's instrument is the most appropriate for the purposes of the present analysis, as it has been developed to take into consideration cultural diversity and it has been already used in research in similar contexts (e.g., Croucher et al., 2011).

2.2. Conflict Management Styles and Cultural Background

Among the many theories to explain how conflict emerges and is managed across different cultures, researchers in the field usually employ three related theories to explain such phenomena: the similarity and attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971), social categorization theory (Billig and Tajfel, 1973; Turner et al., 1987) and social identity theory (henceforth SIT, Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1981). The similarity attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971) predicts that similarities between attributes (e.g. attitudes, values) increase the tendency for interpersonal attraction and liking such that individuals with similar backgrounds may share common values and may find their interactions easier and more reinforcing than those with different values. Thus, the operation of similarity attraction paradigm may lead to difficult communication and interaction processes between different cultures (Harrison et al., 1998). Furthermore, Turner et al. (1987) described self-categorization theory as the process by which people define their selfconcept in terms of their membership of various social groups. Markus and Cross (1990) also suggest that self-categorization may be context dependent, because different aspects of a person's self-concept may become salient in response to the characteristics of others that are also present in a given environment or context. Similarly, the proponents of SIT (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1981) suggest that group members establish a positive social identity and confirm affiliation by showing favoritism to members of their own social category (Billig and Tajfel, 1973). Affiliation and favoritism to members sharing similar socio-cultural characteristics often result in biases, prejudices, and stereotypes.

Such mechanisms impact both the antecedents of conflict as well as its management (Ayoko and Härtel, 2003). For example, studies suggest how conflict management styles are learned during socialization processes in a group or a culture (Ting-toomey and Kurogi, 1998). In building their identities, individuals are influenced by learned behaviors which are activated through socialization and influenced by the cultural context in which the group is embedded (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1981). Indeed, conflict management styles differ across different cultural backgrounds, which has fueled research on viewing conflict as a cultural behavior (Kaushal and Kwantes, 2006; Triandis, 2000). Accordingly, differences in conflict management styles are explained based on cultural differences and group identity, rather than individual differences. High versus low-context scheme of cultural variability (Hall, 1976) has also been used to explain the reason behind the fact that different conflict management styles are adopted by individuals in different cultures (Ting-Toomey, 1985). In high-context cultures, the instrumental issue of a message is intertwined with the individual in whom the issue itself originated, while in low-context cultures a message and its sender are not necessarily intertwined (Hall, 1976).

Similarly, differences in cultural orientations can explain diverse conflict behaviors among different cultures. Hofstede (1994) showed how people coming from different cultures look at events in different ways, which impacts on their perceptions. Cultural orientations (i.e. small vs. large power distance, individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity vs. femininity, weak vs. strong uncertainty avoidance, and long vs. short term orientation) are particularly likely to affect individuals' behavior in multicultural contexts. In this regard, the same event or behavior can be seen in a diametrically opposite way from two coworkers coming from a collectivistic and an individualistic culture. People from western countries, such as Americans and Australians, are generally assumed to be individualistic – emphasizing their individual identity over a broader group identity –, while people from eastern, often developing, countries, such as Africans, Asians and South Americans, are assumed to be collectivistic, collaborating and following social norms rather than focusing on their own needs (Cai and Fink, 2002; Oetzel et al., 2006). Studies comparing conflict management in individuals from different cultures have shown that individuals from high-context, collectivistic cultures tend to prefer styles that are more characterized by avoidance and accommodation than those of people from individualistic cultures (Adair et al., 2001; Chua and Gudykunst, 1987; Zhang, 2007). Accordingly, people from predominantly Muslim countries (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Jordan, India, Turkey and Pakistan) are assumed to be collectivistic (Croucher et al., 2011; Oetzel et al., 2006). Indeed, values tend also to vary by national culture, for example, eastern nations are more likely to endorse collectivism, while western nations are more likely to endorse individualism. In this regard, it is expected that cultural orientations have implications for conflict management styles (Morris and Fu, 2001). Indeed, culture will more likely affect not only the conflict cycle itself but also the individual perceptions of the conflict and its triggers (Ayoko et al., 2003). Differences in culture may also impact the (mis)interpretations and the associated emotions (Ayoko and Konrad, 2012; Kumar, 2004) that may impact the evolution of the conflict processes and conflict management behaviors during conflict (Kaushal and Kwantes, 2006).

The concern for the "self" and for the "other" (groups) represents the two key aspects in the interpretation of cultural differences and the key concerns categorizing the five conflict management styles. The focus is on whose needs are generally emphasized by individuals in conflict situations. Most of the existing studies on culture and conflict explore comparisons between two or more different cultures, usually categorized as high- versus low-context and individualistic versus collectivistic cultures (Gelfand et al., 2002; Holt and DeVore, 2005; Morris and Fu, 2001; e.g. Sadri, 2013). This body of research shows a consistent relationship between one's culture and its respective and related conflict management styles. Nevertheless, the focus of the present study is not to compare differences, but rather to investigate how specific cultural facets act in relation to the chosen conflict management style. In doing so, the study aims to contribute to the understanding of the antecedent dynamics of the relationships

between cultural differences and conflict management styles. Accordingly, using the same interpretations of "self" and "other", the attention is on two facets of the Middle Eastern culture: religious motivation and attitude toward nepotism, which are further explained in the following sections.

RQ1. What is the overall conflict management style preference in Jordan?

2.3. Conflict Management Styles and Religious Motivation

Jordan and other countries in the Middle East are generally understood to be highcontext, collectivistic countries (Oetzel et al., 2006). However, in addition to the classical cultural variables that are traditionally analyzed in cross-cultural studies, religion has also been found to play a role in influencing conflict styles (Croucher et al., 2011). The role of religion is particularly important in the Middle East, where sociopolitical changes have increased the importance of religious identity over and above national identity (Srour et al., 2013). For example, Polkinghorn and Byrne (2001) found significant differences in conflict styles based on the religious identity of participants from societies affected by conflict, namely South Africa, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Israel and Northern Ireland. Yet, most of those studies, as per the studies analyzing cultural differences, refer to comparisons between different religions (e.g., Croucher, 2011, 2013; Croucher et al., 2011; Polkinghorn and Byrne, 2001; Srour et al., 2013). For example, Croucher and colleagues (2011) investigated the conflict style preferences in India among Muslims and Hindus. In their study, they found that conflict style preferences differ between the two groups, with Hindus preferring integrating and dominating styles, whilst Muslims prefer integrating and compromising styles. These results were lately confirmed in another study, which found Hindus to be more prone toward dominating conflict situations, while Muslims tended to either avoid conflict or prefer integrating styles (Croucher, 2013). Similar results were also found when analyzing the conflict management styles of Muslims and Christians in Western Europe (Croucher, 2011), confirming the importance of the role of religious identity in explaining the choice of conflict management styles.

Within Jordan, the dominant religion is Sunni Islam, while Christians and other faiths constitute minorities. As is the same in many other predominantly Muslim countries, in Jordan freedom of religion is not only guaranteed but respected and preserved. Contradictory to the stereotypical view of all Arabs being Muslim which has been portrayed by western media in the last fifteen years, most of the countries in the Middle East respect diversity. Indeed, it is quite common to see a Church built in front of a Mosque. Nevertheless, religion plays a major role in social life in many of the Arab countries. However, there are many similarities between Islam and Christianity (Wilson and Power, 2004); for example, both religions believe in the one, true deity who sent messengers to guide human beings to salvation (Martin, 1998). These

similarities result in similar social norms and behaviors across groups belonging to different faiths. For these reasons, in this study it was decided not to differentiate between different religions, rather the aim is to focus on how the interpretation and status of being a religious person influence conflict management styles.

Given the aforementioned dynamics predicted by Social Identity Theory (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1981) and based on personal knowledge of the context, it is argued that more than an affinity to a certain religion, people are characterized by the religious behaviors that they display. In social settings, respect and acceptance by the group is mostly gained by the extrinsic show of religious behavior; namely being known to practice a religion or participate in group praying and religious conversation in society is more of a determinant for acceptance into a group than the affinity to a certain religion. For example, in a university it is expected that academics participate in daily group prayers with colleagues if they are Muslim, while if they are of a different faith it is socially expected and assumed that the observance of one's own religion is maintained; it is rather frequent to be engaged in religious conversations in the workplace as in other social contexts, a characteristic of society that is different from western societies, where the practice of religion is considered to be a private matter. In this vein, some studies have investigated the role of religiosity, or the extent to which an individual believes in a higher power, has in affecting conflict styles. Among those, Wilson and Power (2004) compared Australian Christians and Muslims, distinguishing between practicing and non-practicing individuals within each group. Their findings showed that individuals with low religiosity tended to be more collaborative, while Muslims with high religiosity preferred the compromising style. For these reasons, and following recent calls for future research to deepen our understanding of how individual religiousness affects conflict management styles, this study focuses on investigating the religious motivation of an individual, rather than its religious identity.

Religious motivation can be defined as a measurement of how an individual approaches his or her religion; it is regarded as the drive behind each individual's perspective on religion. Accordingly, an individual can be classified as having either intrinsic or extrinsic religious motivation. An intrinsically motivated individual views religion as an end in itself (Neyrinck et al., 2010). He or she thrives by their religion and considers it to be a major motivating factor in life (Allport and Ross, 1967). An intrinsically motivated individual will go to a Mosque or Church because of his or her beliefs, realizing the importance of praying to his or her religion and recognizing it as a good deed. Conversely, an extrinsically motivated individual views religion as a method of acquiring personal gains such as security, sociability, status, self-justification, and business contacts (Worthington Jr et al., 1996). He or she will "use religion for their own ends" (Allport and Ross, 1967, p. 434). An extrinsically motivated individual will engage in religious behaviors to maintain social contacts, to create a preferred image in society,

or even for personal comfort. There have been studies in the past relating religious motivation to personality traits; intrinsic religiousness has been associated with agreeableness and conscientiousness (Saroglou, 2002), as well as with more integrated social behavior, less insecurity, and less anxiety (Baker and Gorsuch, 1982). In contrast, extrinsic religiousness has been associated with neuroticism (Saroglou, 2002), as well as with less integrated social behavior, more insecurity, and more anxiety (Baker and Gorsuch, 1982). Despite the lack of studies investigating the role of religious motivation in conflict management, it could be argued that the more religious an individual is, the more a focus might be placed on dealing with the issues as soon as possible, as clearing the air would be the 'right' thing to do (Kaushal and Kwantes, 2006). A belief in spirituality, rooted in a 'do good for others' approach, could be associated with the dimensions of intrinsic religious motivation, and as such might result in conflict management styles which are more prone toward integrating or obliging. Indeed, Kaushal and Kwantes (2006) found spirituality to be negatively related to the avoiding style of conflict management. Given the novelty of the present paper and lack of previous research on the subject, the following broad research question is posed.

RQ2. Is intrinsic religious motivation a predictor of conflict management styles?

2.4. Conflict Management Styles and Nepotism

Nepotism may be defined as a form of favoritism shown to relatives, as by giving them positions because of their relationship rather than their merit (e.g., Ford and McLaughlin, 1985). Different research perspectives in the field of organizational behavior and political science have contributed to further define nepotism. Different perspectives are identified, such as, for example, the employment of a family member by the owner or manager of a business, the employment of a spouse of an existing employee, or in a political setting, putting one's family members into political positions of favor, and finally the employment of an individual associated with an existing employee, other than the owner of the organization (Arasli et al., 2006). In general, nepotism is associated with favoring someone based on a common affinity to a specified group that is shared with the decision maker rather than based on individual skills and expertise. Accordingly, nepotism can be identified as a form of conflict of interest, relating to a situation where a person would use his or her position of power to create an opportunity in favor of a group member (Abdalla, Maghrabi, & Raggad, 1998).

Nepotistic behaviors are more or less present in every culture in different forms. In the United States, belonging to a certain fraternity, society or having attended a certain university might result in favoritisms toward individuals sharing a similar background. The same can be said for British clubs, Chinese Guanxi and Brazilian Jeitinho (e.g. Chan et al., 2002; Ferreira et

al., 2012). In Italy, nepotistic behaviors take place in the form of network recommendations for jobs, positions or business deals, political and religious affiliations contribute too. This results in the exploitation of the "world in the middle" to favor individual interests, often resulting in corruptions and crime. In the Middle East, most of the societies have the traits of tribalism, which favors nepotism according to tribe networks, religion and political affinity.

Nepotistic behavior can easily be related to both conflict creation and management. Favoritisms toward in-group members have been reported to increase the level of conflict in an organizational setting due to perceived or real differences of treatment among participants to a given organization (e.g. Druckman, 2006; Vanhoomissen and Van Overwalle, 2010). In the Middle East one of the main forms of nepotism is represented by the term "wasta". As Cunningham and Sarayrah (1993) explain, Wasta refers to situations when relationships between people are used to achieve goals through linking middle people who share common benefits, favors, interests, background, and/or characteristics. Similarly, the term pulling strings is common in the United Kingdom, and is based on gaining favors through networks, which may be either long-term connections, such as family, or short-term connections, such as acquaintances. It involves a middle person who gives a particular benefit for a certain party. This benefit can be mutual or a returned favor. According to Van de Vliert et al. (1993), a favor may be done according to the relation of tribal background and origin. The main use of Wasta back in the 1930s was for conflict resolution, after which it evolved like any cultural aspect (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993). Still nowadays, Wastas are used to deal with complex conflicts, particularly between tribes (Abdalla, 1996). Often portrayed as an example of corruption, Wasta is also seen by some authors as valuable for the society in giving "individuals a sense of belonging to a social entity that provides unconditional acceptance, and assistance to the novice in solving problems that are commonplace to someone more experienced. These functions are positive for the individual and for society" (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993, p. 191). Being, highly embedded in the society, it is expected that attitude toward nepotism is a major player in determining the conflict management styles of Jordanians. Surprisingly, no study to date has approached the relationship between attitudes toward nepotism and conflict management style preferences, and therefore the following broad research question is posed.

RQ3. Is attitude toward nepotism a predictor of conflict management styles?

2.5. Conflict Management Styles and individual differences (e.g. demographic)

Differences in conflict management style preferences across demographic variables have been widely revealed in research. It is generally understood that women's preferences for conflict management styles are distinct from men's (Ting-Toomey et al., 2001). Indeed, many studies have found that males are usually more prone than women to adopt the dominating style (Berryman-Fink and Brunner, 1987; Brewer et al., 2002; Thomas et al., 2008). These findings were later confirmed by several other studies (e.g. Croucher et al., 2011). Yet, there is less agreement in the field as to how females generally manage conflict. Some have found that females are more likely to choose the compromising style (Berryman-Fink and Brunner, 1987; Holt and DeVore, 2005), while others have found that other styles are preferred, such as accommodating (Rosenthal and Hautaluoma, 1988) and avoiding (Brewer et al., 2002). Differences in conflict management styles can be related to the diverse traits that each gender holds. Males, for instance, are found to be more assertive, more aggressive, and higher in locus of control than females. As a result, males make more use of the dominating style. Females, on the other hand, are found to be more warm, friendly, and socially sensitive. In general, both males and females tend to use conflict management styles that parallel their gender-role expectations (Wachter, 1999).

Other studies investigated inter-generational differences among different cultures, finding that there were distinct conflict management style preferences within young and old generations (e.g. Zhang, 2007). Croucher and colleagues (2011) found in their study in India that older people prefer dominating styles over compromising styles. Conversely, a study of 303 managers and future managers conducted in Singapore by McKenna and Richardson (1995) showed that older respondents preferred the compromising style. Other studies concluded that no relation exists between age and conflict management styles (e.g., Konovsky et al., 1989; Krumov et al., 1997).

There are significant differences regarding how individuals manage conflict according to their educational backgrounds (Morris et al., 1998; Ting-Toomey, 1985; Ting-Toomey et al., 2000). However, there has been no agreement so far on the effect of this variable. For example, a study of airline and journalism sectors in the U.S. found that higher levels of education were associated with the dominating conflict management style (Pinto and Ferrer Jr, 2002), yet studies conducted in India (Croucher et al., 2011) and Croatia (Vokić and Sontor, 2009) showed a decrease in preference for the dominating style associated with an increased level of education. Furthermore, individuals with lower levels of education also fail to choose the right conflict management style at the right time, as opposed to their counterparts with higher levels of education (Kurdek, 1991).

These findings from previous research show that individual differences are related to differences in conflict management styles preferences. The contradictions found among different variables seem to be explained by the fact that studies undertaken in different cultures have obtained different results. Interestingly, little research has been done in the Middle East

on the subject, while the majority of the findings tend to come from the United States, East Asia and India (Croucher et al., 2011; Ting-Toomey et al., 2001). Given the contradictory findings and the limited research done on the Arab culture, the following research question is proposed to investigate whether or not previously demonstrated patterns apply in Jordan, and the Middle East.

RQ4. To what extent are age, gender, religion and level of education predictors of conflict management style preferences?

3. Method

3.1. Participants

Participants for a self-reported survey came to a total of 588 individuals, with diverse backgrounds in terms of education, religion, culture and geographical origin. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 73 years of age (M = 26.82, SD = 9.19). Participants were recruited via network sampling, a data collection technique based on researchers' personal contacts and snowball sampling in order to recruit respondents from the working adult population (Croucher et al., 2011; Demerouti and Rispens, 2014; Petrou and Bakker, 2015). To include all aspects of the Jordanian society, questionnaires were distributed to students, employees, and unemployed individuals through different means. Participants were recruited by email, through announcements on online social networks and paper distribution to organizations. Participants were informed of the research purpose of the study, written consent was obtained from all participants and all responses were kept entirely anonymous. Therefore, the overall number of contacted individuals is unknown. In addition to demographic data, questionnaires contained self-assessment scales on conflict styles, religious motivation and nepotism as described below. Descriptive statistics of the sample are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 - Participants' characteristics

	Gende	er	Educational	Educational background					Religious background		
			High	Colleg	Bachelo						
Items	M	F	school	e	r	Master	PhD	Muslim	Christian	Others	
No	292	296	26	77	424	46	15	468	92	28	

Notes: For educational background, High school means High school degree or below; College means college degree or other non-higher education degree; Bachelor means Bachelor's degree; Master means Master's degree or other post-graduate education (excluded PhD); PhD means PhD's degree or above.

3.2. Instruments

Questionnaires were administrated in both Arabic and English to allow respondents to participate with the language that best fit their capabilities. The established three-step process for translation was followed (Ekinci, 2015; Saunders et al., 2011) and comprehension of Arabic questions was also ensured through a panel of experts. The survey contained a total of 58 5-point Likert scale questions ranging from 1, being "strongly disagree", to 5, being "strongly agree". A 5-point Likert scale was adopted due to the characteristics of the observed sample and maintains consistency with previous research adopting this form of measurement scale (Dawes, 2008; Krosnick and Presser, 2010; Norman, 2010).

Conflict Management Styles (CMSs). In order to measure CMSs, Oetzel's (1998) 38-item conflict style instrument was adopted. The instrument was chosen as it has been widely validated in other cross-cultural studies (e.g. Kim et al., 2007; Komarraju et al., 2008; Oetzel et al., 2008; Vollmer and Wolf, 2015), particularly within the Middle-East (e.g., Al-Hamdan et al., 2011; Özkalp et al., 2009), and it has also been used to compare differences within the same country (e.g. Croucher et al., 2011). The results that the instrument produces allows for the understanding of preferred CMSs, such as avoiding, obliging, dominating, compromising, or integrating. The combined Cronbach's alphas for Oetzel's (1998) instrument ranged between 0.75 and 0.90. In this study, the combined Cronbach's alphas scored similar values. Table 2 shows reliability estimates for each conflict management style.

Religious Motivation. For the assessment of an individual's religious motivation, Hoge's (1972) intrinsic religious motivation scale was used. For the purpose of this study the ten intrinsic items were used. This instrument focuses on religious activity and its motivation, and is considered particularly appropriate for the analysis of samples of diverse religious traditions (Croucher et al., 2011; King and Crowther, 2004). Table 2 shows reliability estimates for the intrinsic religious motivation variable.

Attitude toward Nepotism. In order to ascertain an individual's attitude toward nepotism, the 20 questions used in this survey were derived from Ford and McLaughlin (1985), which have already proven to be valid on previous studies about nepotism in Jordan (Hayajenh et al., 1994). Ford and McLaughlin's instrument measures attitudes of individuals – originally human resources managers – towards the impact of nepotism on their own jobs. This scale has been widely validated and adopted across different research domains (e.g., Abdalla et al., 1998; Arasli and Tumer, 2008; Kragh, 2012; Sidani and Thornberry, 2013). Table 2 shows reliability estimates for the attitude toward the nepotism variable.

Table 2 – Means, standard deviations, correlations and Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for each instrument

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Avoiding	1.00						
2	Obliging	0.373*	1.00					
3	Dominating	0.284*	0.121*	1.00				
4	Compromising	0.288*	0.588*	0.124*	1.00			
5	Integrating	0.036	0.534*	-0.025	0.797*	1.00		
6	Intrinsic Religious Motivation	0.175*	0.110*	-0.079	0.158*	0.168*	1.00	
7	Nepotism	0.151*	0.125*	0.293*	0.006	-0.048	-0.050	1.00
	Mean	3.09	3.63	3.03	3.91	4.20	3.77	2.70
	SD	0.67	0.54	0.70	0.53	0.55	0.73	0.66
	Alpha reliability	0.757	0.704	0.655	0.756	0.873	0.844	0.802
No	Note: * $p < 0.01$, n = 588							

To test the research questions, multiple regression models were constructed for each conflict management style, using each conflict management style as the dependent variable, and religious motivation, nepotism and a series of control variables (age, gender, education and religious background) as independent variables. Dummy variables were created for gender, religion and education. Gender was dummy coded with "female" as the reference group, and religion was coded with "Muslim" as the reference group. In the case of education, due to the distribution of the sample responses were aggregated in two groups: those with a university degree (Bachelor's degree and above) and those without a university degree (High school and college). As a result, education was dummy coded with "university degree" as the reference group.

4. Results

The results of the analyses carried out with a series of multiple regression models targeting each conflict management style are reported in this section. The analysis of the means demonstrates that the preferred conflict management style in Jordan is the integrating style (M = 4.20, SD = 0.55), followed by compromising (M = 3.91, SD = 0.53) and obliging (M = 3.63, SD = 0.54).

RQ2, RQ3 and RQ4 asked whether intrinsic religious motivation (IRM), nepotism (NEP) and demographic variables, such as age, gender, education and religious background, have an impact on the choice of conflict management style. The multiple regression equation for the avoiding conflict management style is $R^2_{\rm adj} = 0.061$; Y = 2.122 + 0.007(Age) + 0.001(Female) – 0.062(University) – 0.095(Muslim) + 0.171(IRM) + 0.171(NEP). Model 6 was the most significant (F = 7.323, p < 0.0001). Among all variables only age, intrinsic religious motivation

and attitude toward nepotism were found to be significant. See Table 3 for complete regression models for the avoiding style.

Table 3 - Regression models predicting avoiding style

Regressor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	
Intercept	2.939	2.914	3.179	3.199	2.705	2.122	
Age	0.006^{+}	0.006*	0.007*	0.007*	0.005	0.007*	
Female		0.037	0.031	0.030	0.007	0.001	
University			-0.076+	-0.076+	-0.078+	-0.062	
Muslim				-0.023	-0.096	-0.095	
IRM					0.167^{+}	0.171***	
NEP						0.171***	
F	3.754+	2.102	2.56+	1.945	5.258***	7.323***	
R^2	0.006	0.007	0.013	0.013	0.043	0.070	
R^2_{adj}	0.005	0.004	0.008	0.006	0.035	0.061	
Notes : $^+p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.0001$, n = 588							

For the obliging conflict management style the multiple regression equation is $R^2_{\rm adj} = 0.020$; Y = $3.035 - 0.001({\rm Age}) - 0.003({\rm Female}) + 0.020({\rm University}) - 0.026({\rm Muslim}) + 0.090({\rm IRM}) + 0.105({\rm NEP})$. Model 6 was the most significant (F = 2.973, p < 0.0001). Among all variables only intrinsic religious motivation and attitude toward nepotism were found to be significant. See Table 4 for complete regression models for the obliging style.

Table 4 - Regression models predicting obliging style

Regressor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	
Intercept	3.660	3.652	3.641	3.630	3.376	3.035	
Age	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.002	-0.001	
Female		0.012	0.012	0.012	0.001	-0.003	
University			0.013	0.013	0.001	0.020	
Muslim				0.012	-0.027	-0.026	
IRM					0.088**	0.090**	
NEP						0.105**	
F	0.238	0.153	0.118	0.100	1.625	2.973**	
R^2	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.014	0.030	
R^2_{adj}	-0.001	-0.003	-0.005	-0.006	0.005	0.020	
Notes : $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.0001$, n = 588							

For the dominating conflict management style the multiple regression equation is $R^2_{\rm adj}$ = 0.089; Y = 2.599 - 0.004(Age) - 0.068 (Female) - 0.070(University) + 0.075(Muslim) - 0.059(IRM) + 0.296(NEP). Model 6 was the most significant (F = 10.550, p < 0.0001). Among all variables only attitude toward nepotism was found to be significant. See Table 5 for complete regression models for the dominating style.

Table 5 - Regression models predicting dominating style

Regressor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6		
Intercept	3.253	3.296	3.413	3.373	3.556	2.599		
Age	-0.008**	-0.009**	-0.009**	-0.009**	-0.008*	-0.004		
Female		-0.066	-0.069	-0.066	-0.057	-0.068		
University			-0.131+	-0.131+	-0.123 ⁺	-0.070		
Muslim				0.045	0.073	0.075		
IRM					-0.064	-0.059		
NEP						0.296***		
F	6.966**	4.143*	3.774*	2.928*	2.822*	10.550***		
R^2	0.012	0.014	0.019	0.020	0.024	0.098		
R^2_{adj}	0.010	0.011	0.014	0.013	0.015	0.089		
Notes : * <i>p</i> <	Notes : $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$, n = 588							

For the compromising conflict management style the multiple regression equation is $R^2_{\rm adj} = 0.024$; Y = 3.525 - 0.004(Age) - 0.004 (Female) + 0.052(University) - 0.015(Muslim) + 0.123(IRM). Model 5 was the most significant (F = 3.875, p < 0.01). Among all variables only intrinsic religious motivation and age were found to be significant. See Table 6 for complete regression models for the compromising style.

Table 6 - Regression models predicting compromising style

Regressor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	
Intercept	3.984	3.978	3.917	3.882	3.525	3.513	
Age	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003	-0.004	-0.004+	
Female		0.008	0.010	0.013	-0.004	-0.004	
University			0.068	0.068	0.052	0.052	
Muslim				0.040	-0.015	-0.015	
IRM					0.124***	0.124***	
NEP						0.004	
F	1.525	0.780	0.991	0.874	3.875**	3.226**	
R^2	0.003	0.003	0.005	0.006	0.032	0.032	
R^2_{adj}	0.001	-0.001	0.000	-0.001	0.024	0.022	
Notes : $p < 0.10$; $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$, n = 588							

For the integrating conflict management style the multiple regression equation is $R^2_{\text{adj}} = 0.029$; Y = 3.696 - 0.002(Age) - 0.035 (Female) + 0.116 (University) - 0.040(Muslim) + 0.134(IRM). Model 5 was the most significant (F = 4.479, p < 0.01). Among all variables only intrinsic religious motivation and university education were found to be significant. See Table 7 for complete regression models for the integrating style.

Table 7 - Regression models predicting integrating style

Regressor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Intercept	4.202	4.216	4.097	4.080	3.696	3.796
Age	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.002	-0.002
Female		-0.022	-0.018	-0.017	-0.035	-0.034
University			0.134*	0.133*	0.116*	0.110+
Muslim				0.018	-0.040	-0.040
IRM					0.134***	0.133***
NEP						-0.031
F	0.005	0.115	1.737	1.327	4.479**	3.862**
R^2	0.000	0.000	0.009	0.009	0.037	0.038
R^2_{adj}	-0.002	-0.003	0.004	0.002	0.029	0.028
Notes : $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.0001$, n = 588						

In the next section the results of the study will be discussed and then conclusions will be drawn.

5. Discussion

Conflict and conflict management in Jordan has its own characteristics, due to the influences on Jordanian societies that came from colonialism, a diverse population and the more recent geopolitical events, which increased diversity and cultural tensions, due to the large influx of refugees in the country. Moreover, the Jordanian society is known for being based on tribal affiliations and rules, often leading to favoritism and nepotism based on family and tribal relations (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1993). Accordingly, conflicts are often managed and mediated through traditions rather than standard forms of mediation. It is therefore important to understand the conflict management styles toward people in such contexts tend. However, it is also important to understand the role of cultural characteristics, such as nepotism and religious motivation, in selecting different conflict management styles. By taking those cultural elements into consideration, the results of this study expand our understanding of conflict management styles among individuals with different religious motivations and nepotistic

attitudes in multicultural, and multi-religious, environments. The results of this study also contribute to the growing body of literature investigating conflict management in a less western environment and using employees as samples, rather than college students (e.g., Croucher, 2013; Croucher et al., 2011).

Results of this study suggested that the integrating and compromising styles of conflict management were the preferred conflict management styles in Jordan. This result is consistent with previous research linking the styles more prone to collaboration to cultures where collectivism is supposed to be among the main cultural dimensions (Adair et al., 2001; Chua and Gudykunst, 1987; Zhang, 2007). Indeed, Jordan is considered a collectivistic society, where individuals are usually more inclined toward helping others and finding common solutions to problems. Interestingly, the obliging style was the style which followed the collaborative. This result can be explained by the fact that the Jordanian society has a patriarchal structure. Therefore, people in dominant positions might tend to adopt more collaborative styles to resolve conflicts among families, while people in lower societal positions might tend to oblige when handling conflicts as a form of respect toward the others. It might be interesting for future research to investigate whether these style choices change depending on the social status of the respondents. A further explanation of the integrative style being prevalent relates to a typical characteristic of the Jordanian culture. We know from the literature that culture is an integral part of shaping an individual's perceptions, attitudes, and judgments of others (Brew and Cairns, 2004); and Jordanian culture emphasizes that individuals tend to always show the positive side of things, potentially enabling the existence of false self-perception, a concept called "Mujamaleh".

Religious motivation was found to have a significantly positive effect on all styles except for the dominating one. The highest effect was found on the avoiding style, while the smallest on obliging. These results contradict Kaushal and Kwantes (2006) and Polkinghorn and Byrne (2001), which found religiosity negatively related to the avoiding style of conflict management. However, the findings confirmed the results of Wilson and Power (2004), who found that the most religious groups preferred the use of the avoiding style. This can be explained by the fact that individuals who are intrinsically motivated toward religion will tend to avoid confrontation, adhering to the values of good will of their religion. Future studies could help in deepening the understanding of the relationship between conflict management styles and religious motivation, religiosity and religious identification. In a world that is becoming increasingly more intercultural and inter-religious, where tension between groups of different religious identity is mounting in the West as in the East, it is important to understand how religion impacts conflict management to effectively mitigate the negative effects of conflict.

It seems that individual attitudes toward nepotism tend to polarise the choices of how to handle conflict toward one of two main styles; either styles where the actor passively concede to the other party, or where the actor tends to be competitive and aggressive to force its will on the other party. It is interesting to note that attitude toward nepotism did not have any effect on styles that tend toward collaboration. This might be explained as people prone to nepotism either accept it passively, so they know that their fate is in the hand of someone they know, or they actively enforce it, being the agent of nepotism. If that is true, these results are explained because the individuals favouring nepotism will tend to either use it to their advantage (dominating) or will passively accept (avoiding, obliging). A better understanding of the role of attitudes toward nepotism and its predictive nature in conflict management styles may help to mitigate the negative effect of conflict by taking actions, and deploying tactics, that are more consistent with the cultural context in which conflict management actors operate.

Contradictory to previous research, it is noted that individual characteristics did not provide many significant results from the investigated sample. Only a limited effect of University education on the integrating style and a limited effect of age on avoiding and compromising were found. Similarly, it is interesting to note how religion, specifically being Muslim, has a consistent effect on the conflict management style adopted, although this result was not found to be statistically significant. Being Muslim had a negative impact on all conflict management styles, apart from the dominating style. Such results, if found significant in future studies, might support previous studies on the dominant social group. Indeed, Muslims account for the majority of the Jordanian population, therefore might prefer a dominating style when handling conflict as they may feel more secure in their social dominance (e.g., Croucher et al., 2011).

Another interesting result obtained from this research is the similarity of effects found with reference to the two cooperative styles (integrating and compromising), consistently different from the uncooperative styles (such as dominating). This result, if supported by further study could help support the emergence of a different view of conflict management styles, leading to an improved framework that evolves from the dual concern model.

5.1. Limitations

Due to the exploratory nature of this work and the peculiarity of the investigated constructs and contexts, there are some limitations to the study and these must be addressed. The first limitation of this study is in the use of self-reported measures. Although this practice is widely used in conflict management, communication or negotiation research (e.g., Caputo, 2013; Croucher et al., 2011; Oetzel, 1998; Ting-Toomey et al., 2001), the nature of the questions asked in the revised conflict management style instrument (Oetzel, 1998) may influence individual responses. Particularly, previous studies addressed the issues of individuals' tendencies to answer questions in a way that reflects more favorably on them (Croucher et al., 2011). Moreover, sensitive issues were addressed in this study, such as

religion, nepotism and religious motivation, which could have increased the extent of this limitation, because individuals responded according to their self-perceptions, as opposed to how they are in reality. Nevertheless, not employing self-reported instruments would be extremely difficult due to the trade-off between accuracy of measures and sample size. Moreover, as previously addressed by similar studies, the use of established and validated self-reported instruments allows for comparisons of findings across time and geography, which balances the limitation (Cai and Fink, 2002; Croucher et al., 2011).

A secondary limitation to the study arises from the nature of the sample. Although the sample has similar characteristics with the Jordanian population, it may not be completely representative. Indeed, despite the diversity in geographical origin of respondents, the majority of data were collected from the capital Amman. This in turn may have contributed to reducing the variety of the educational and cultural backgrounds of the participants. Such limitations are unfortunately common in exploratory studies in developing countries, where data collection procedures mostly rely on the personal network of the researchers (Croucher et al., 2011); a procedure that has the advantage of making participants feel more comfortable in sharing their information. Nevertheless, this limitation can provide interesting insights for future research, which could build on these findings and investigate a more diverse sample.

6. Conclusions

Conflict management is an under-researched topic in Arab countries, and yet at the same time it is one of the most important issues in the current dilemmatic circumstances, and this study contributes to our understanding of how cultural and religious variables affect conflict management styles. Several studies have called for research taking a "less western" perspective on cultural differences in conflict management (e.g., Imai and Gelfand, 2010). The present study goes some way in the direction of answering this call by investigating the conflict management style preferences in Jordan, and by investigating two important variables of Middle-Eastern societies; nepotism and religious motivation. From a theoretical standpoint, building on previous studies on the importance of including religious identification into conflict management research (e.g., Croucher, 2013; Polkinghorn and Byrne, 2001), this study also shows the importance of including other cultural dynamics such as the attitude toward nepotism and religious motivation. The need arises to expand this research in both Jordan and in other Arab countries, conducting cross-cultural studies. Today more than ever it is of great theoretical and practical importance to understand the role of cultural variables, such as religion and nepotism, in relationship to conflicts and their management.

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