The Organizational Frontiers Series

Using Industrial-Organizational Psychology for the Greater Good

Helping Those Who Help Others

Edited by Julie Olson-Buchanan, Laura Koppes Bryan, and Lori Foster Thompson

ROUTLEDGE

A Publication of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology

Using Industrial-Organizational Psychology for the Greater Good

This SIOP Organizational Frontiers volume will be one of the first to show how the field of industrial-organizational psychology can help address societal concerns and help focus research on the greater good of society. Contributions from worldwide experts showcase the power the I-O community has to foster, promote, and encourage prosocial efforts. Also included will be commentary from an eminent group of I-O psychologists who give invaluable insights into the history and the future of I-O psychology. By presenting the prosocial contributions, from personal satisfaction and career commitment to organizational effectiveness to societal development, the imperative and feasibility of using I-O psychology for the greater good becomes increasingly compelling.

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Using Industrial-Organizational Psychology for the Greater Good

Helping Those Who Help Others

Edited by

Julie Olson-Buchanan
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To David, Bonnie, and Susan Olson, who inspire me by their passion and efforts toward the greater good.

Julie Olson-Buchanan

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Laura Koppes Bryan

To Sharon and Fred Foster, whose wisdom and selflessness make the world a better place.

Lori Foster Thompson

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We would like to give our thanks to Anne Duffy for her enthusiastic support of the volume and her support throughout the production process. We also greatly appreciate her staff's careful attention to the editing and logistics of producing this volume.

We are very much indebted to our incredibly gifted authors. This book would simply not exist without them. Their thorough review of the literature and insights on how this literature can serve the greater good will serve as a critical roadmap to scholars who wish to pursue this line of research. We believe their chapters will make a difference not only in the work of other researchers, but ultimately in the lives of those who benefit from this research and society as a whole.

We believe our esteemed commentators deserve a very special thank you for sharing their invaluable insights in such a compelling and intriguing way. These commentators are not only visionaries in the field, they have shown the unique ability to generate and share their forward-looking thoughts under particularly tight time constraints.

Finally, we would like to give a big thank you to our families and friends who supported us throughout the process and so graciously understood our sometimes harried states as we worked to meet the deadlines.

July 2012
Julie Olson-Buchanan, Fresno, CA
Laura Koppes Bryan, Baltimore, MD
Lori Foster Thompson, Raleigh, NC

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Series Foreword

Philanthropy is the utmost unselfish act. Individuals, groups, and organizations give unselfishly to agencies and foundations who take care of those in need. There is nothing more rewarding than giving. That is, giving unconditionally to those who need it and deserve it. Nothing so satisfying than giving when one knows it is the right thing. There are many forms of giving—including money and goods. But, there is also service. And this is where our science and practice comes into play.

Helping those who help others—what a wonderful statement and sentiment it conveys. Our science and practice can, indeed, help. And help much. Our science and practice helps philanthropic organizations (and others as well, of course) with principles, guidelines, tools, tips, and approaches on how to staff or select leaders for the organization; how to retain and motivate volunteers; how to set a corporate culture of "giving"—just see the Table of Contents and you will be amazed by the topics covered. This is a "magnificent gift" by Julie, Laura, and Lori (and partners) to those philanthropic organizations. And to SIOP.

This volume is full of insights on how to help those who help others. It is our time to help. To step up! To give! This is a call for action! So, Julie, Laura, and Lori (and chapter authors)—on behalf of our Society and the SIOP Organizational Frontier Book Series—thank you! Thank you for putting together this volume. Thank you for helping those who help others . . .

Eduardo Salas, Ph.D.
University of Central Florida
Series Editor

Preface

Traditionally, a preface explains the impetus for the book and how the book was then developed and created. For a SIOP Frontiers volume, such as this one, the preface usually describes the need for an updated book in the area, often pointing to substantial research developments in the field since previous seminal works in the area were published.

But this book is not a traditional volume.

It marks a deviation from the typical boundaries of I-O psychology. This volume focuses on the relevance and use of I-O psychology for the greater good in three contexts: (a) in the corporate domain; (b) in nonprofit organizations; and (c) outside of traditional organizational settings (e.g., humanitarian aid, poverty alleviation efforts, and international development initiatives). As such, there are no seminal works to which this volume would be anchored. Indeed, the published literature *in our field* on this topic is relatively sparse.

Yet, the high level of interest in this research topic and its application in these contexts is quite clear. For example, Adrienne Colella's SIOP presidency emphasized the impact I-O psychology has made on individuals, organizations, and society (Below, 2012). This was followed by Doug Reynolds's 2012–2013 SIOP presidency, which focused on the creation of tools and processes to support I-O psychology projects for the public interest (Reynolds, 2012). SIOP's consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (Scott, 2011) illustrates I-O psychology's expanding role in addressing big global problems. And it should be noted that the groundswell of interest in researching and applying the organizational sciences to the greater good goes beyond SIOP. The Academy of Management chose Africa as the site for its first conference outside of North America, with the goal of advancing scholarship on and about the continent of Africa and the inclusion of theme tracks such as "the base of the pyramid" (Academy of Management, 2012). Meanwhile, there is clear evidence that economists and scholars from other disciplines are using I-O psychology to address challenges in developing regions of the world (Carr, 2011). The emergence of the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology (HWP) is also notable, as are the many sessions and symposia devoted to HWP that have recently taken place at

conferences worldwide, as well as the publication of a book devoted exclusively to HWP (Carr, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2012).

BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF USING I-O PSYCHOLOGY FOR THE GREATER GOOD: HELPING THOSE WHO HELP OTHERS

This leads us back to the question: What was the impetus for this book? We believe that for many of our authors and readers, the interest in this area of research stems from a personal experience with the need for this research. As such, in this volume, it may be more appropriate to explain what experiences motivated us toward our interest in the application of I-O psychology for the greater good. That is, in the words of one of our commentators, Kurt Kraiger, we think the idea for this particular volume was stimulated by how our experiences served to develop a "humanitarian mindset."

THE STIMULUS FOR THE VOLUME

Julie Olson-Buchanan

I had one of those rare "aha" moments when I first saw the relevance of I-O psychology for the greater good. About 10 years ago, I was volunteering at our Community Food Bank with our undergraduate students. Our group was sorting donated food, which involved checking expiration dates and identifying whether the quality of the product was compromised by particular dents, etc. As we struggled to learn the various rules for different products, I started to think about how a short training program and modifications to the job process could be designed and implemented to make this process easier to learn and more consistent. After we finished sorting food, our group went out for pizza and we soon found ourselves excitedly discussing ways to implement a training program that could be modified for different age groups, reading levels, and languages. Although we had planned this event as a form of community service, it had unexpectedly turned into a very compelling experiential case study of

sorts. Several years later, I became chair of my department and decided to start my term with a strategic planning retreat (you would think that would have been enough to relieve me of my duties right there!). One of the most significant decisions our department made was to form a partnership with a local nonprofit organization. Specifically, we decided to engage with a nonprofit with our faculty (via pro bono consulting), our students (via service learning), and our department as a whole (via special events and volunteering). After visiting and interviewing several nonprofits, we actually selected Community Food Bank as our first partner. Not only was this nonprofit open to our partnership, but it also made sense given the tremendous hunger problem in the Central Valley (we are often ranked number one in the nation in terms of food insecurity). Over the past few years, our department faculty have worked as collaborators on major projects including conducting strategic job analyses, creating new job descriptions, developing an evaluation and development system, and developing a compensation system. Our students have conducted numerous projects related to volunteer systems and agency relations and our department has led several large-scale food drives on campus.

We have learned a great deal from this partnership. In particular, we have learned how relevant our field can be to the nonprofit context. In the first three years of our partnership, Community Food Bank grew from distributing 7 million pounds of food per year to over 40 million pounds of food per year. Most notably, it did so with very few additional staff (in fact, it was distributing the same poundage of food with half the staff of their counterparts). But we have also discovered a number of areas where we do not have the research we need for this context. As such, it has stimulated our interest in conducting research that specifically addresses the unique aspects of nonprofit organizations. It has been both a humbling and rewarding experience.

I believe this experience has been a major motivational factor for my interest in this area and for the development of this book. For the past few years, I have served on Community Food Bank's board of directors and was recently elected to be Chairperson of the Board. This experience has helped me appreciate even more the complexities of the nonprofit, CEO, and board relationships. In all phases of the conceptualization and development of this book, I have found myself reflecting on the needs I have witnessed first-hand in helping to reduce hunger in the Central Valley.

Laura Koppes Bryan

Early in my career, I became involved with several consulting projects that helped me understand and appreciate the value of applying I-O psychology to improve organizations. While I was a director of a Master's program, I developed numerous practicum projects and quickly found that nonprofit organizations were "hungry" for help, especially in the areas of job analyses and job descriptions, and training of employees and volunteers, as well as human resources policies and procedures and strategic planning. Through this work, I directly observed the value of our discipline to leaders and employees. Soon thereafter, I found myself serving on boards of community and nonprofit organizations because of my I-O expertise. I have contributed to organizational and individual effectiveness for programs such as a literacy coalition, domestic violence shelters and services, an African-American heritage society, chambers of commerce, Kiwanis, Rotary Clubs, and others. I also have volunteered for the American Red Cross, Habitat for Humanity, Habitat for Humanity Global Village, English as a second language tutor, and a riding for the handicapped organization. Recently, I expanded my contributions by engaging others in a campus-wide service learning activity. During the Fall 2011 semester, I organized a donation drive for the Favor House of Northwest Florida, which is the shelter for primarily women and children in domestic violent situations. A new program and facility was established called the KidsCenter, which is designed to educate children about breaking the cycle of violence. This drive was a collaboration between several academic departments and student organizations on campus, all working together to supply the KidsCenter with clothing, food, toys, arts supplies, books, and other educational items.

I participate in these activities because I want to contribute to the greater good and help others succeed. I am grateful for my education and experiences in I-O psychology because I have developed competencies that facilitate the effectiveness of organizations and individuals. My voluntary involvement is truly rewarding and satisfying. When the organization's Executive Director says, at the end of day, "thank you, your contributions helped us meet our mission to save lives," then why would you not contribute to the greater good?

Lori Foster Thompson

The 27th International Congress of Applied Psychology in Melbourne, Australia in July of 2010 was an exciting event. It included several talks on organizational psychology's role in poverty reduction as well as a reunion

of the firmly established Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology (HWP). Having just finished teaching graduate courses in HWP at the Universities of Bologna and Barcelona, I headed to the ICAP meeting with great anticipation. In the middle of the conference, I popped into my hotel room to check email. There in my inbox was a note from Julie and Laura. They were contemplating a book on using I-O psychology for the greater good and invited me to join them in this endeavor.

So how did I come to be interested in using I-O psychology for the greater good? I suppose it was based on a series of seemingly unrelated events that later converged, quite unexpectedly. I elaborate below.

Flash back to 1992. I am in college, studying psychology. A family in need is without access to adequate housing. The community decides to pitch in and do something about it. I volunteer. I show up at the construction site on Saturday morning, full of motivation. I leave the construction site on Saturday afternoon deflated and utterly convinced that I was no help at all. What was I thinking? I have no construction skills. The time that the supervisors spent trying to find something for me to do and explaining how to do it hardly paid off in any meaningful results. I wanted to alleviate poverty and make the world a better place, but this did not seem to be the way for me to do it. I had better just go back to studying psychology.

1993. I head to Sweden to spend the winter quarter studying abroad in one of the largest welfare states in the developed world. I take business courses at the university. I meet a new father who is on paternity leave, a novel concept to me. Then I meet someone who is unemployed and desperate to get back to work, despite the generous unemployment benefits he is receiving. He says being out of work is just plain demoralizing. I return home with the nagging feeling that some of the world's "universal truths" are not really all that universal, while others probably transcend vast geographical, cultural, socio-economic, and political boundaries. But which is which? I cannot seem to wrap my head around it. I had better just go back to studying psychology.

1993–2007. Life happens. I continue to reflect on the experiences above, with little time to devote to "side interests" such as these. I am busy getting a degree, finding a job, getting tenure, becoming and being an I-O psychologist. Next thing I know, I am an associate professor of psychology at North Carolina State University and have a track record of research on computer-mediated work behavior. By objective accounts, I have been successful. Whether I have made the world a better place is a bit less clear to me.

2007. I receive an email from an I-O psychologist in New Zealand—Steve Atkins from Otago Polytechnic's School of Applied Management. He is in the early phases of a project called SmartAid, which entails using technology and I-O psychology to improve the effectiveness and well-being of those receiving and delivering aid, with a particular focus on volunteers outside of a formal organizational setting, who are living and working abroad for short periods of time. Based on my research in technology and I-O psychology, Steve invites me to join the team.

Really? You mean my professional interests could actually be combined with my "side interests" in volunteerism, poverty alleviation, and global issues transcending our North American borders? It seems obvious in retrospect, but this was my "aha." So, I embarked on a sabbatical in 2008–2009, which began at Purdue and ended at the London Business School, with pit stops in New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Burma, Spain, and Norway along the way, where I gave talks, visited aid sites, and gathered ideas and feedback from scholars, aid directors, aid recipients, and community members worldwide on the application of I-O psychology to humanitarian work, poverty reduction, and international development. My sabbatical concluded in the summer of 2009 with the inaugural meeting of the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology at University College London, which is referenced in Chapter 12 of this volume. By the end of the year, I was convinced that even without construction skills, I had the potential to make the world a better place. Rather than wielding a hammer, I would wield I-O psychology.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOLUME

The idea for this book was first discussed after a SIOP panel discussion in 2008. Julie and Laura served on a panel discussion entitled *Helping organizations who help others: Making a difference with I-O* (Koppes et al., 2008). The purpose of the session was to discuss our experiences applying I-O psychology in a nonprofit context. Much to our surprise, the room was packed and we had a difficult time ending the session. After the session, we discussed the possibility of a book, but agreed that perhaps the timing was too early.

By 2010, it was clear that not only was there a growing interest in I-O psychology in the nonprofit context, but there was a burgeoning interest

in such topics as corporate social responsibility and sustainability as well. We saw these two areas as highly interrelated—both areas served prosocial purposes. One area served the greater good by incorporating prosocial goals such as corporate social responsibility and sustainability within the for-profit context. The other area served the greater good by incorporating I-O psychology to facilitate the performance and functioning of nonprofit organizations whose main mission is to serve the greater good.

Yet, another significant new area in our field was developing simultaneously: humanitarian work psychology. Stimulated by a symposium also held at the 2008 SIOP conference (Reichman et al., 2008), the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology was formed in 2009 (Thompson, 2009) and served to recognize, promote, and support a number of research collaborations and applied efforts from within the field and around the world designed to apply I-O psychology to address worldwide issues such as poverty reduction and decent work. Lori was actively involved in the development of this task force and the introduction of this new area, and we soon found ourselves discussing how these three areas might be related to one another.

As the three of us discussed the book, it became clear that these burgeoning areas of research interest were essentially manifestations of the same underlying expansion of our field: a move toward addressing broader societal needs and concerns through I-O psychology. As such, we saw these three areas (the corporate domain, the nonprofit context, and humanitarian work psychology) as highly interrelated approaches for using I-O psychology for the greater good. Although the structure of the book is designed around these three areas, we recognize that several of the topics span two or more areas. We believe the scope of the book reflects the broad and varied ways in which I-O psychology can be used for prosocial purposes, and ultimately for the greater good.

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About the Editors

Dr. Julie Olson-Buchanan received her Ph.D. in Industrial-Organizational Psychology from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign in 1992. Currently, she is a professor and department chair in the Department of Management at the Craig School of Business at California State University, Fresno. Dr. Olson-Buchanan's research interests include conflict and mistreatment in organizations, technology-based selection, work-life issues, virtual teams, and nonprofit engagement. Her research has been published in such journals as *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Academy of Management Journal*, *Personnel Psychology*, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Academy of Management Review*, and *Journal of Management*, and several chapters in the SIOP Frontiers Series. Dr. Olson-Buchanan is co-editor of the book *Innovations in Computerized Assessment* (Erlbaum Publishing) and co-author of the book *Mistreatment at Work: Prevention and Resolution* (Wiley Publishing). Dr. Olson-Buchanan is Associate Editor of the *Journal of Business and Psychology* and has served as a reviewer for several scientific journals. Dr. Olson-Buchanan served as Program Chair for the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP) in 2006, SIOP Conference Chair (2009 and 2010), has served as chair of several SIOP task forces, and is currently serving as Conference & Programs Officer on SIOP's Executive Board. She has provided consultation and training on preventing and resolving mistreatment in the workplace to several private and public organizations, as well as served as an expert witness in this area. Dr. Olson-Buchanan has served on the board of directors for several nonprofit organizations and is currently chair for Community Food Bank (Feeding America affiliate). Dr. Olson-Buchanan has received several awards for her research, including SIOP's Edwin E. Ghiselli Award for Research Design, the International Association for Conflict Management Best Paper Award, and the Academy of Management Best Paper Proceeding, and has received the Craig School of Business Award for Research several times. Most recently, she was awarded the University Provost Award, the top award on her campus, the Coke Hallowell Award for Faculty Service, and SIOP's Distinguished Service Award and was named one of the Top Ten Professional Women in Fresno County. She is a Fellow of SIOP.

Dr. Laura Koppes Bryan received her Ph.D. in Industrial-Organizational Psychology from The Ohio State University in 1987. Currently, she is Dean of the Yale Gordon College of Arts and Sciences, University of Baltimore. Previously, she was Director and Professor, School of Psychological and Behavioral Sciences, University of West Florida (UWF), and Director of the UWF Center for Applied Psychology. Before UWF, Dr. Koppes Bryan was the President of LK Associates, a human resources consulting firm, and was Director of Work-Life at the University of Kentucky. Additionally, Dr. Koppes Bryan served as an Associate Vice President of Academic Affairs at Eastern Kentucky University (EKU), and she directed graduate programs in I-O Psychology at EKU and the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh. She has over 100 articles, book chapters, notes, peer-reviewed and/or invited presentations, and grants. Her primary research interests include history of I-O psychology, work-life effectiveness, and positive work-life leadership. She is the editor of the only comprehensive scholarly text on the history of I-O psychology (*Historical Perspectives in Industrial and Organizational Psychology*), and is co-author of the 3rd edition of *EEO Law and Personnel Practices*. She was Associate Editor of *The Psychologist-Manager Journal*, and has served as reviewer for numerous scientific journals. Dr. Koppes Bryan served as the editor for *The Industrial-Organizational Psychologist* and chair of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP) Education and Training Committee. She currently serves on the board of directors for one nonprofit organization, and has served on five other boards, as well as served as a volunteer. She is also past-president of the College and University Work/Family Association. Dr. Koppes Bryan was a recipient of the SIOP Distinguished Service Award, and received the UWF President's Award for Leadership in Diversity and the UWF Distinguished Faculty Research and Scholarly Activity Award. She is a U.S. Fulbright Scholar and a Fellow of the American Psychological Association, Association for Psychological Science, and SIOP and was recently elected to the SIOP Executive Board.

Dr. Lori Foster Thompson received her Ph.D. in Industrial-Organizational Psychology from the University of South Florida in 1999. She is a professor of psychology at North Carolina State University where she oversees the IOTech4D lab devoted to research at the intersection of work, psychology, technology, and global development. Her scholarship focuses on how technology and industrial-organizational psychology can together enrich and improve work carried out for, with, and by people in lower-income settings, for the purpose of addressing the most pressing economic, social,

and environmental challenges facing our world today. Lori's publications have taken the form of journal articles, chapters, and authored and edited books on topics such as the effects of electronic monitoring during web-based training, the influence of technology on work stress, the antecedents of social loafing during virtual collaboration, the role of robots and intelligent agents in the workplace, the challenges and opportunities afforded by web-based survey media, the implications of technology for the aging workforce, online volunteerism, the role of technology in humanitarian work psychology, and technology's consequences for global mobility and poverty reduction. Her work has been featured in popular media outlets such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *ARS Technica*, *Fast Company*, *NSF Science 360*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and National Public Radio. Lori is a Fellow of the SIOP and the Association for Psychological Science (APS). She serves as an SIOP representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). In 2010, she was appointed an EU Erasmus Mundus Scholar in Humanitarian Work Psychology. She is a member of SIOP's Executive Board and has served on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *TIP*, and *Ergometrika*, as Associate Editor.

About the Contributors

Joel B. Bennett is President of Organizational Wellness & Learning Systems (OWLS), a consulting firm specializing in evidence-based wellness and e-learning technologies. In 2008, he was acknowledged with the Service Leadership Award from the National Wellness Institute. Joel first delivered stress management programming in 1985 and OWLS programs have since reached over 20,000 workers. Clients have included the U.S. National Guard, U.S. Air Force, American Council of Engineering Companies, Dallas-Fort Worth Airport, Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, and the Medical Research Council of South Africa. Dr. Bennett has authored over 20 peer-reviewed research articles and three books. He is developer of *Team Awareness* (designated in the National Registry of Evidence-Based Programs and Practices), *the Small Business Wellness Initiative*, *IntelliPrev™, and ExecuPrev™: LiveWell, LeadWell.*

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Stuart C. Carr is a Professor of Psychology in Work Psychology at Massey University, New Zealand and coordinates the Poverty Research Group, an international cross-disciplinary network. He co-convened a Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology, and led Project ADDUP, a multi-country DFID/ESRC-funded study of remuneration diversity in developing economies. Stuart has worked/lived in the UK, Malawi, remote Australia, Indonesia, Thailand, and New Zealand/Aotearoa. His books are among the first to examine poverty reduction from work psychology and CSR perspectives. Stuart liaises widely with for-profit and nonprofit organizations, and co-edits the *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, which has a focus on development.

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Michael Frese has a joint appointment at NUS Business School and at the University of Lueneburg. He received his Ph.D. from the Technical University of Berlin. His research includes the psychology of entrepreneurship, factors that influence innovation and creativity in people, teams and organizations, active performance concepts, such as personal initiative, training (e.g., for entrepreneurship in emerging economies), and learning from errors and experience. He is interested in producing evidence-based concepts to poverty reduction in emerging economies. As guiding concepts, he uses evidence-based management and action regulation theory.

Kerrin E. George received her Master's degree in Industrial-Organizational Psychology from the University of Georgia in 2010, where she is currently a doctoral candidate. Her academic research focuses on the experiences of racial-ethnic minorities in the workplace related to discrimination and inclusion. She is primarily interested in how ideologies underlying diversity management practices are related to organizational climate, performance management, leadership effectiveness, and employee well-being. She also has substantial experience related to occupational health psychology, as well as organizational research methods and psychometrics.

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Alexander E. Gloss is a doctoral student in Industrial-Organizational Psychology at North Carolina State University. There, he is a member of the IOTech4D Lab, which is devoted to research in the intersection of work, psychology, technology, and global development. Alexander's interests stem from his time as a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer in South Africa. He is also the Co-Coordinator for the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology, which is devoted to promoting Industrial-Organizational Psychology research, and practice, that improves deliberate and organized efforts to enhance human welfare.

Jaime B. Henning is an Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology at Eastern Kentucky University. She also serves as Director of the Industrial/Organizational Master's program. She holds an M.S. from Missouri State University and Ph.D. in I-O Psychology from Texas A&M University. Her research interests lie in the areas of organizational and occupational health psychology. Current research areas include corporate social responsibility, with a focus on employee volunteerism and environmental sustainability, in addition to the work-life interface, workplace safety, and workplace aggression. She serves on the editorial board of *Journal of Business and Psychology*.

C. Harry Hui received his doctorate from the University of Illinois, and is now teaching Social Psychology and I-O Psychology at the University of Hong Kong. Holding a belief that we are all stewards given the responsibility to look after the world we live in, he is interested in the application of psychological knowledge in improving the workplace, the family, and the world. More recently, he has been doing work on how people's beliefs and values change, and how conflicts in faith communities can be handled in ways that can benefit all parties.

Rick Jacobs has been Professor of Psychology at Penn State University since 1979 and is CEO of EB Jacobs, a consulting firm specializing in selection and assessment. Dr. Jacobs holds a Bachelor's degree from UCLA, a Master's degree from San Diego State University, and a Ph.D. from UC Berkeley. He has received several national awards for his work and is the author of over 50 research articles and book chapters. Dr. Jacobs is a Fellow of the SIOP, the APA, and the American Psychological Society. Dr. Jacobs also serves as an associate editor of the journal *Human Performance*. In addition to his professional work, Dr. Jacobs serves on the boards of directors of Penn State Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life and the Kevin Dare Foundation.

Johanna Johnson completed her doctorate at Penn State University in 2011, after which she relocated to the UK to work as a consultant, and subsequently to California's Central Coast. Her research interests include leadership, entrepreneurship, international adjustment and global competency, and most recently humanitarian work psychology. Professionally, her goals are to incorporate research and industry experience into teaching, helping to develop mutually beneficial ties between for-profit, nonprofit, and academic institutions. She has presented at both academic and practitioner conferences and published articles and book chapters in the areas of leadership, performance feedback, and expatriate adjustment.

David A. Jones is an Associate Professor at the School of Business Administration, University of Vermont. Dr. Jones' research focuses on organizational justice, employee volunteerism, and understanding why some job seekers and employees respond positively to an organization's community involvement and pro-environmental practices. David's research has appeared in journals that include the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Management*, *Journal of Occupational and*

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Eden B. King joined the faculty of the Industrial-Organizational Psychology program at George Mason University after earning her Ph.D. from Rice University in 2006. Dr. King is pursuing a program of research that seeks to guide the equitable and effective management of diverse organizations. Her research integrates organizational and social psychological theories in conceptualizing social stigma and the work-life interface. This research addresses three primary themes: (1) current manifestations of discrimination and barriers to work-life balance in organizations; (2) consequences of such challenges for its targets and their workplaces; and (3) individual and organizational strategies for reducing discrimination and increasing support for families. Dr. King is currently an Associate Editor for the *Journal of Management* and the *Journal of Business and Psychology*.

Joel Lefkowitz received a Ph.D. in Industrial-Organizational Psychology in 1965 from Case Western Reserve University. From that time until 2009, he taught at the Bernard M. Baruch College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, where he was head of the doctoral program in I-O Psychology. He is currently Professor Emeritus. Dr. Lefkowitz is a Fellow of the SIOP, the APA—Div. 14 (I-O) and Div. 9 (SPSSI), and the Association for Psychological Science (APS). He is the author of *Ethics and Values in Industrial-Organizational Psychology* (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003). In recent years, he has written extensively about professional and values issues in I-O Psychology.

Tina Lombardo holds a Bachelor's degree in Communication Arts and a Master's degree in Industrial-Organizational Psychology from the University of West Florida. She has worked in the marketing sector as well as at a consulting firm specializing in branding and organizational development. She has focused her work and passion on studying and facilitating change at sustainability-focused organizations. Born and raised in Germany, she has recently moved back to her homeland and lives there with her husband and daughter.

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Eilish McAuliffe is Director of the Centre for Global Health at Trinity College, Dublin. She has practiced as a clinical psychologist, held health services management positions, and been a UNICEF Research Fellow at the University of Malawi where she conducted research on HIV/AIDS and health systems for UNICEF, UNFPA, and CHAM. She also has experience in strategy development and evaluation activities with a number of international NGOs. Over the past five years, she has conducted several multi-country studies aimed at exploring and addressing the underlying factors contributing to the human resources. This work has focused on motivation, organizational justice, and the impact of the work environment on performance.

Ishbel McWha is a Research Associate at Cornell University's Employment and Disability Institute. Dr. McWha has worked extensively with local non-government organizations in India and Cambodia. Ishbel's research interests include inter-group relations, discrimination, poverty reduction,

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Leo Marai has a B.A. (Honors) in Psychology from University of Papua New Guinea, and a Master's in Social Psychology from Gadjah Mada University in Indonesia. He is currently completing his Ph.D. studies in the area of dual-salaries, work motivation, and health/well-being in psychology at the University of Papua New Guinea. He is a Senior Lecturer in Psychology, and former Head of Psychology Strand from 2004 to 2008 at the University of Papua New Guinea. He teaches Social and Industrial-Organizational Psychology courses, and has attended over 30 international conferences and published over 50 articles in reputable psychology journals and books. He is one of the Co-Chairs of Humanitarian Work Psychology (HWP), and Co-Editor of *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, published by Cambridge University Press. His interests are in the area of HWP in poverty reduction, which include dual salaries, work motivation, justice in the workplace, and health/well-being of workers.

Laura Provolt currently attends the University of Georgia's Industrial-Organizational Psychology doctorate program. She earned a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology and a Bachelor of Science in Business Finance from Humboldt State University in 2011. Her current research interests include organizational structure, work-life balance, and leadership, among other areas in organizational psychology. She intends to work as a consultant in both the private and nonprofit sectors using the tools of I-O psychology to improve the workplace. She plans to focus on the dynamics of small or entrepreneurial organizations.

Tracey E. Rizzuto is Associate Professor of Psychology at Louisiana State University. She received her Ph.D. from Penn State University in Industrial and Organizational Psychology, with a minor concentration in Information Systems and Technology. The overarching focus of Dr. Rizzuto's research program is on developing human capital and organizational capacity through technology-mediated processes, and increasing knowledge

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Steven G. Rogelberg is a Professor and Director of Organizational Science at the University of North Carolina Charlotte. He has over 70 publications and over 50 invited addresses/colloquiums addressing issues such as team effectiveness, leadership, employee well-being, meetings at work, and organizational assessment. He is the Editor of the *Journal of Business and Psychology* and the *Talent Management Essentials* book series. Awards and honors include receiving the SIOP Distinguished Service Award, Psi Chi Professor of the Year Award, Fellow of the Society of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Fellow of the Association for Psychological Science, and receiving the BGSU Master Teacher Award. His research has been profiled on public television, radio (e.g., NPR, CBC, CBS), newspapers (e.g., *Chicago Tribune*, *LA Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *London Guardian*), and magazines (e.g., *National Geographic*, *Scientific American Mind*). Dr. Rogelberg has provided consulting services to over 200 for-profit and nonprofit organizations including a number of Fortune 500 companies.

Virginia E. Schein is an International Consultant on Gender and Leadership and Professor Emerita of Management and Psychology, Gettysburg College. Dr. Schein has also been a professor at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania and Baruch College of the City University of New York. She is a past president of the Work and Organizational Psychology Division of the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP) and of the Metropolitan New York Association of Applied Psychology, as well as a former United Nation/NGO Representative for IAAP. Dr. Schein is recognized internationally for her groundbreaking research on gender stereotyping and requisite management characteristics, which spans three decades and five continents. A graduate of Cornell University, she received her Ph.D. in Industrial-Organizational Psychology from New York University.

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Kecia M. Thomas is a Professor of I-O Psychology at the University of Georgia—Athens (UGA). She serves as senior advisor to the dean of the Franklin College of Arts and Sciences, as well as the founding director of the Center for Research and Engagement in Diversity (RED). Her work focuses on understanding systems of privilege and resistance that limit the career development of women, people of color, and gay and lesbian workers, as well as those behaviors and practices that create and sustain hostile climates for diversity and inclusion. She is author of *Diversity Dynamics* (Wadsworth-Thomson), editor of *Diversity Resistance in Organizations* (Psychology Press), and co-editor of the forthcoming *Diversity Ideologies in Organizations* (Psychology Press). She is also an elected fellow of the SIOP and the APA.

Vicki V. Vandaveer is the owner and lead of Vandaveer Group, Inc., a firm of business psychologists who help leaders and their organizations measurably enhance their effectiveness. Dr. Vandaveer's clients are primarily in North America, Europe, Southeast Asia, and South Africa. Her areas of expertise include executive coaching for enhanced leadership and personal effectiveness, and measurable positive impact. She is a licensed psychologist who received her Ph.D. from the University of Houston in Industrial and Organizational Psychology.

Sara P. Weiner is a Principal, Consulting Director, and Executive Consultant at Kenexa (an IBM company), applying employee research and intelligence to inform business strategies that improve organizational performance for many Fortune 500 companies. Previously, Dr. Weiner spent 16 years with IBM conducting enterprise-wide employee research. Sara was an IBM representative to the Information Technology Survey Group and served as Research Chair for the Mayflower Group. She has her Doctorate in Industrial and Organizational Psychology from the University of Connecticut, is a member of the APA and SIOP, and served as Program Chair for the 2010 conference and Chair for the 2012 Leading Edge Consortium. Sara frequently presents at international conferences and has published book chapters and articles on employee research topics.

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About the Commentators

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Milton D. Hakel is the Ohio Board of Regents Eminent Scholar in Industrial and Organizational Psychology and Professor Emeritus at Bowling Green State University. He received his Ph.D. in Psychology in 1966 from the University of Minnesota, with faculty appointments at Minnesota, Ohio State, and Houston before moving to BGSU in 1991. He advised 79 students to completion of their doctoral dissertations. He edited *Personnel Psychology* for a decade, and then was its publisher for 20 years. He chaired the Scientific Advisory Group for the U.S. Army's Project A. He served as SIOP's president in 1983–1984. He is a Fellow of SIOP, APS, and American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). He chaired the Coordinating Committee for the Human Capital Initiative, a national effort to bring psychological science to the fore as a source of solutions to national problems. He is President of the SIOP Foundation, and also President of the Alliance for Organizational Psychology.

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Douglas H. Reynolds is Vice President of Assessment Technology at Development Dimensions International, where his department develops and implements new assessment and testing products in Fortune 500 companies. Reynolds has focused his research on the use of internet technologies for the delivery of assessments in the workplace, and his products range from large-scale hiring systems to computer-delivered simulations for leadership evaluation. He is also an expert witness on personnel selection practices, and his articles, book chapters, and presentations often focus on the intersection of technology and assessment. Recently, Reynolds co-edited the *Handbook of Workplace Assessment*, a volume in SIOP's Professional Practice Series, and coauthored *Online Recruiting and Selection*, a book on the integration of technology with personnel selection practices. Reynolds served as President of the SIOP (2012–2013), and has chaired several of the Society's committees. He earned his Ph.D. in Industrial-Organizational Psychology from Colorado State University.

Introduction

Julie Olson-Buchanan, Laura Koppes Bryan, and Lori Foster Thompson

Traditionally, I-O psychology has been defined as the application of research that "improves the well-being and performance of people and the organizations that employ them" (www.siop.org). Accordingly, I-O psychology research has almost exclusively focused on outcome measures indicative of organizational effectiveness (e.g., turnover, absences, bottom-line measures) and/or individual well-being (e.g., job satisfaction, employee health), and little, if any, attention has been given to outcome measures associated with societal well-being.

However, the past few years have witnessed a growing number of presentations and articles on I-O psychology as it relates to prosocial efforts and prosocial considerations. Relatedly, the cutting edge nature of this topic is reflected in the themes of several recent national and international conferences such as the European Association of Work and Organizational Psychology 2011 conference theme of "Decent Work and Beyond: Work & Organizational Psychologists' Contribution to Society," the 2012 International Congress of Psychology conference theme of "Psychology Serving Humanity," and the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management theme of "Dare to Care."

As such, there is, arguably, a growing interest among I-O psychologists to initiate research programs in this area as well as in using I-O psychology to make a difference outside the organizational context. We believe this growing interest and attention marks an awakening among I-O psychologists of the importance of considering the value of I-O psychology research and I-O psychologists in addressing societal concerns. Indeed, this new focus may reflect a potential paradigm shift as I-O psychologists address a third desideratum not consistently addressed in previous research: the greater good of society.

Today, I-O theory and research is already playing an increasingly important prosocial role, locally and globally, both within and outside of the context of work organizations. The purpose of this edited volume is to integrate current I-O theory and empirical research as it relates to the

greater good. This edited volume is organized around the three major areas in which I-O psychology theory and research have served or could serve prosocial efforts: (1) societal well-being in the corporate domain; (2) societal well-being from work done in the nonprofit domain; and (3) societal well-being from work done outside the boundaries of a traditional organizational structure (e.g., humanitarian aid efforts and work aimed at international development).

CALL TO ACTION

This edited volume begins with a provocative "Call to Action" in Joel Lefkowitz's chapter, "Values and Ethics of a Changing I-O Psychology: A Call to (Further) Action." In this chapter, Lefkowitz provides a compelling argument for how the recent interest and focus on the use of I-O psychology for the greater good not only signifies a shift in our discipline's identity—it marks the "beginnings of an alternative model for the practice of I-O psychology." Lefkowitz discusses the current scientist-practitioner model in I-O psychology today and presents a compelling case of the need for a values component in our model. The chapter raises the important question of: How would one know or be able to identify what *is* "good" or "right?" The bulk of the chapter discusses the relevant literature in moral philosophy that can guide this inquiry. In particular, Lefkowitz examines meta-ethical considerations (i.e., egoism versus universalism) including a discussion of how the universalist tradition would manifest in a professional model as a multiple stakeholder perspective. In addition, the chapter discusses moral principles and cost–benefit analyses with respect to ethical decision-making. Next, Lefkowitz builds a case for the business corporation as a moral enterprise. Lefkowitz concludes the chapter with a discussion of how a proposed scientist-practitioner-humanist model might look in I-O psychology.

SECTION I: RELEVANCE OF I-O PSYCHOLOGY TO SOCIETAL WELL-BEING IN THE CORPORATE DOMAIN

In the first section of the volume, the relevance of I-O psychology for the greater good is examined with respect to efforts initiated within the corporate domain. The last decade has witnessed a significant amount of attention to corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the workplace.

Although there is not an agreed upon universal definition of CSR, most of the definitions center on organizations voluntarily focusing on how their decisions can serve to enhance social, ethical, and environmental concerns. In this first section, the role of I-O psychology in organizations making socially responsible decisions about their core functions, in engaging in extra-role activities in the community, and by engaging in external financial support of community/global initiatives is examined.

Chapter 2, "Going Green: Eco-Industrial and Organizational Psychology," by David E. Campbell, Laura Provolt, and J. Elliott Campbell, examines the role of I-O psychology in creating and maintaining workplaces that serve to address ecological concerns such as reduced emissions and the enhancement of resource preservation. Arguing that I-O psychology has a clear role in the pursuit of ecologically sustainable workplaces, the authors provide a thorough discussion of the organization's perspective of such eco-goals (e.g., potential costs and gains). Campbell, Provolt, and Campbell identify and discuss research related to some of the key ways I-O psychology can facilitate ecological sustainability, including addressing the challenges of telecommuting, incorporating greener approaches to recruitment, selection, training, and communication (namely through technology), enhancing employee motivation to adhere to green practices, and facilitating change management. The chapter includes an interesting discussion of some of the psychological barriers to making and sustaining environmentally friendly changes in the workplace. Referring to these barriers as "Dragons of Inaction," the authors discuss the relevant research on such obstacles such as how some of our values (e.g., freedom) and our limited ability to process information about possible threats that are not immediately apparent may serve to undermine green efforts. The chapter concludes with an intriguing discussion of the frontiers of future research in this area such as using relevant psychological models (e.g., social dilemmas) to develop this line of inquiry further.

In Chapter 3, "Corporate Leaders of Sustainable Organizations," Tina Lombardo, Sherry Schneider, and Laura Koppes Bryan present a thorough examination of the leadership of CSR-focused organizations. In particular, the chapter focuses on research related to leading corporations focused on the triple bottom-line: focus on planet, people, and profits. Noting prior emphasis on leadership in CSR-focused organizations, the authors integrate and examine the relevant research on the unique characteristics of leaders whose focus extends beyond profits. Several commonalities in the empirical findings on leader characteristics are identified including embracing change, conflict, and diversity. The chapter continues with an examination

of leadership theories that are most suitable for examining leadership in CSR-focused organizations such as charismatic and transformational leadership, as well as values-driven leadership theory. Lombardo, Schneider, and Koppes Bryan also discuss the burgeoning literature on the personal values of the triple bottom-line leader. Interestingly, the empirical literature has identified self-transcendence values (in particular, universalism and benevolence) as an identifying value of CSR-focused leaders relative to traditional business leaders. The authors conclude with a thorough examination of the frontiers of future research in this area such as servant leadership theory and ethical leadership. Lombardo, Schneider, and Koppes Bryan call for a careful examination of values and value alignment, as well as examining the motivation behind leaders' pursuit of the triple bottom-line.

Chapter 4, "Volunteer Programs in the Corporate World," by Jaime B. Henning and David A. Jones, examines the research related to corporate volunteer programs (CVPs) that are designed to facilitate employee volunteerism in the community. Noting the research on this important topic has not kept pace with its practice, the authors begin with a discussion of the variety of ways by which an organization may develop a CVP, ranging from matching employees to volunteer opportunities during personal time to reassigning employees to community-based work during regular work time, as well as discussing the need to better understand the motives behind organizations choosing to adopt CVP. Henning and Jones provide a thorough review and discussion on the antecedents of participation in CVP, with particular emphasis given to theoretically meaningful areas such as functional motives and the role of volunteer identities. In the penultimate section, the authors integrate the available research on the consequences of CVP implementation and usage including consequences for the individual, organization, and community. The authors provide a balanced examination of this question by incorporating a discussion of both positive and negative consequences of CVP in the corporate domain. Henning and Jones conclude their chapter with a discussion of the key areas for future research. Underscoring the need for a rigorous empirical examination and theoretical grounding in this topic area, the chapter identifies a number of key issues to be addressed in future research in the final section as well as throughout the chapter.

In Chapter 5, "Corporate Philanthropy and the Role of Industrial-Organizational Psychology," Sara P. Weiner examines philanthropy in the corporate domain. Beginning with a clear definition of this understudied construct, Weiner defines corporate philanthropy as "an active, purposeful

dedication of corporate profits to fund organizations or institutions that make a contribution to society." The author discusses the nuanced differences in various forms of corporate philanthropy, from strategic giving and strategic need to sustainable value creation and impact investment. Identifying person-organization fit, company identity-attractiveness, and game theory as potential theoretical underpinnings in this area, Weiner examines the debate surrounding corporate philanthropy with respect to whether corporations have a moral responsibility to society, the extension market expectations beyond the immediate community, financial outcomes of corporate philanthropy, as well as employee attraction to and commitment toward the organization. Weiner continues with a discussion of some of the ways employees may participate in giving through corporate giving as well. The author concludes with a discussion of the need for future research in I-O psychology, particularly research that examines the link between corporate philanthropy and various presumed positive outcomes.

In Chapter 6, Jill C. Bradley-Geist and Eden B. King examine how I-O psychology research can contribute to the greater good through its enhancement of efforts to reduce discrimination and enhance intergroup relations in the workplace. Entitled "Building an Inclusive Work World: Promoting Diversity and Positive Inter-Group Relations Through CSR," this chapter focuses on research related to organizations that serve the greater good by engaging in what they term "diversity corporate social responsibility" or going beyond the minimum legal requirements related to discrimination by taking steps to "break the cycle of inequality and marginalization." To that end, Bradley-Geist and King examine the empirical findings and theoretical underpinnings related to practices associated with diversity CSR such as affirmative action, diversity training, mentoring and network groups, and family-friendly policies. The authors are careful to discuss both the positive and negative outcomes associated with such practices while also identifying and discussing the mixed findings as well. Underscoring that research has not kept pace with practice, Bradley-Geist and King conclude with a thought-provoking discussion of the main areas for future research, including examining marginalized groups that have received little research attention (e.g., ex-convicts, LGBT workers) and moving beyond the organization boundaries (e.g., barriers to employment), as well as carefully considering how to measure effectiveness (e.g., the criterion problem).

Chapter 7, "The 'We' in Wellness: Workplace Health Promotion as a Positive Force for Health in Society," by Joel B. Bennett and Lois E. Tetrick, examines how research related to creating a healthy workplace serves to

enhance societal well-being. Woven throughout the chapter is the underlying assertion that "workplace health promotion is a viable method for achieving public health and that a core mechanism or mediator for this outcome are psychosocial factors within the workplace social environment." Drawing from a diverse literature, the authors begin by proposing an integrative, multi-level framework that integrates health protection and health promotion efforts. Bennett and Tetrick illustrate the utility and viability of this framework with several relevant applied examples. The authors then present an intriguing review of the literature in three areas that serve to demonstrate the integrative framework and its relation to the greater good—namely, public health. In this section, the chapter presents a review of the literature related to safety and health climate, the work-family interface, and positive organizational dynamics and workplace health promotion. Finally, Bennett and Tetrick discuss the meaning of the "we" in wellness, present several intriguing propositions derived from their framework that will guide future research, and elaborate on these propositions organized around the three major components of the model: perspectives, strategies, and data-driven insights.

SECTION II: I-O PSYCHOLOGY IN THE NONPROFIT DOMAIN

In the second section of the book, the relevance of I-O psychology for the greater good is discussed within the nonprofit context. A considerable amount of work directed toward prosocial purposes (e.g., reducing poverty, feeding the food insecure) is conducted by nonprofit organizations. However, the management of nonprofit organizations introduces several challenges that are unique to the nonprofit context, such as work being performed by both paid staff and volunteers and complex stakeholder relationships. This section explicitly examines these challenges and identifies the relevance of I-O psychology research in enhancing individual and organizational well-being of nonprofit organizations as such organizations seek to improve societal well-being.

Volunteers perform a substantial amount of the work in nonprofits, making their inputs a critical part of most nonprofits' success. Accordingly, this second section begins with Erika Carello Lopina and Steven G. Rogelberg's Chapter 8, entitled "Recruitment, Retention, and Motivation of Volunteers in the Nonprofit Sector: A Volunteer Socialization

Perspective." Given the breadth of volunteer roles, the authors focus specifically on volunteers who engage in long-term, planned volunteering (as opposed to short-term, spontaneous volunteering or disaster volunteering). The chapter begins with an overview of the socialization process and organizes the discussion of the literature around its major stages: anticipation (both role and organizational), encounter (including entry shock), adjustment (including a discussion of variables shown to relate to key outcome variables), and stabilization (including volunteer fatigue and burnout). After the discussion for each stage, the chapter provides an intriguing discussion of the research-based implications of the findings within the nonprofit context as well as a discussion of the implications from research from the broader for-profit domain. The authors conclude their chapter with a thorough discussion of the frontiers of future research in this area, including a call for better understanding the role of control in the volunteers' relationship to the organization and the ways in which volunteers are supervised and managed (or engage in these activities themselves), as well as the dynamics between paid and volunteer staff.

In Chapter 9, "Salient Challenges of Staffing and Managing Employees in the Nonprofit Sector," James M. Schmidtke and Anne Cummings begin by examining the unique management and staffing challenges in the nonprofit context. The authors examine the relevant literature surrounding three "critical challenges" faced by nonprofit organizations: (1) the focus on two bottom lines; (2) the need for employees to manage multiple identities and roles; and (3) the rapidly shifting internal and external environment. In the first section, Schmidtke and Cummings identify and discuss the theoretical foundations that relate to the focus on both the social good and economic bottom lines as well as its consequences for nonprofit management and key areas for future research, particularly with respect to absenteeism, turnover, and performance. Next, the chapter presents an integration of the literature related to the multiple roles and identities nonprofit staff must address inside and outside the work context and identifies critical questions that need to be examined in future research in this area. Finally, the authors examine how nonprofit organizations face constant change, present an integration on the organizational change literature in the nonprofit context (e.g., sources of funding, high turnover), and identify important areas to examine in future research on environmental change.

Nonprofit organizations are typically led by an executive director or CEO who is under the direction or oversight of a (voluntary) board of directors.

In Chapter 10, Rick Jacobs and Johanna Johnson examine the literature related to leadership in this type of governing relationship. Entitled "Nonprofit Leadership and Governance," the chapter begins with an evidence-based discussion of the nonprofit landscape. Next, the authors devote the bulk of the chapter to examining and integrating the literature related to leadership challenges in this context. Some of these challenges reflect the unique role of the nonprofit leader in the external context, such as needing to focus on advocacy in the political and societal realm as well as building alliances to promote the mission of the nonprofit and engage in fundraising. Other challenges reflect more internal challenges of managing the nonprofit organization, such as managing the dual focus between the mission and the bottom line and the challenges inherent in recruiting and retaining staff, as well as defining and measuring performance. Jacobs and Johnson carefully examine the challenges in navigating the co-leadership responsibilities with nonprofit boards. The chapter then concludes with an interesting set of findings from a series of interviews conducted with nonprofit leaders about the critical leadership issues they perceive to be emerging in the field. These findings, coupled with the earlier discussion of the relevant literature, serve to inform the frontiers of future research.

An increasingly popular teaching and learning strategy across all curricula is service learning, which integrates community service with instruction and reflection to enrich the learning experience and serve communities. In Chapter 11, "I-O Psychology Education and the Nonprofit Context," Kecia M. Thomas, Stephanie Downey, and Kerrin E. George examine the role service learning can play in the I-O context. The authors begin with a research-based overview of service learning, including a detailed discussion of Zlotkowski's (1999) Service Learning Conceptual Matrix. Noting that service learning has been primarily adopted in undergraduate courses, Thomas, Downey, and George proceed to build a compelling evidence-based argument for the inclusion of service learning in graduate education, particularly within I-O psychology. The chapter then presents an integration of the literature on the benefits of service learning, in particular the services provided to a nonprofit partner (which serves prosocial purposes), the opportunity to enhance learning in areas that are typically under-examined in curricula and the numerous benefits to students in terms of development, as well as outreach to minority students. The authors then provide a detailed discussion, based on the literature, on how one initiates and develops service learning in the curriculum. Thomas, Downey, and George conclude the chapter with a discussion of the frontiers

of research in this area, including a call for the careful examination of the link between service learning and skill-development, as well as its implementation and diversity outcomes.

SECTION III: NON-TRADITIONAL DOMAINS: I-O PSYCHOLOGY WITHOUT BORDERS

Traditionally, we think of I-O psychology within the context of an organizational structure. However, the principles, theories, and practices of I-O also have relevance in the broader context of society, beyond the walls or boundaries of for-profit and nonprofit organizations. This final section discusses I-O psychology's role in enhancing individual and societal well-being outside a traditional organizational context. Selected projects, issues, and initiatives are described in order to illustrate how individual research and practice, grassroots efforts, and prosocial work at the level of the profession can contribute to societal well-being.

To begin this section, Alexander E. Gloss and Lori Foster Thompson provide an overview of the Humanitarian Work Psychology movement and network in Chapter 12, entitled "I-O Psychology Without Borders: The Emergence of Humanitarian Work Psychology." The authors begin with an illuminating discussion of the nuanced distinctions between and definitions of terms that are used as the basis for the remaining third of the volume—including humanitarian aid, international development, developing countries, and the international development system. The chapter then presents two examples of research areas in the field, counterproductive behaviors and globally distributed teams, to illustrate the limitations of I-O psychology research in its application to developing countries. Gloss and Foster Thompson then discuss how Humanitarian Work Psychology has emerged within the field, including an examination of the key role played by the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology in focusing attention on these important issues. In the penultimate section of the chapter, the authors provide a roadmap for future research, underscoring the importance of I-O psychologists carefully examining how they conduct research in developing countries, specifically identifying "whether their research processes improve, perpetuate, or worsen the current state of affairs in this system." Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the literature related to how relevant research in this emerging field can be further facilitated by both increasing the amount of quality, appropriate research and the demand for such work.

One particularly serious issue facing society today is the number of people who live in extreme poverty. Michael M. Gielnik and Michael Frese discuss the relevance of I-O psychology in poverty reduction in Chapter 13, entitled "Entrepreneurship and Poverty Reduction: Applying I-O Psychology to Microbusiness and Entrepreneurship in Developing Countries." They begin the chapter by describing the various types of entrepreneurship and explaining their focus on conventional for-profit entrepreneurship because it is the primary type of research in which I-O psychology has been involved. The authors develop an evidence-based framework of the factors that lead to entrepreneurial success in developing countries. Noting the u-shaped relationship between entrepreneurship activity and economic development, the authors underscore the importance of focusing on high-expectation forms of entrepreneurship (and appropriate measures) in the pursuit of poverty reduction. Citing its link with I-O psychology, the authors then provide an integration of the relevant action theory research, including such factors as personal initiative, deliberate practice, action strategies, and resource-constrained environments. Then, the chapter provides a compelling description of the development and outcomes associated with two entrepreneurial training interventions in Uganda (entrepreneurial training and personal initiative training). Next, the authors examine the relevant literature on the interplay between contextual factors in developing countries and entrepreneurial actions. Gielnik and Frese conclude the chapter with a stimulating discussion of the key frontiers of future research in this area.

When natural disasters occur, a common response is to offer a helping hand, which results in a quick influx of volunteer labor. Yet, as I-O psychologists have long known, not everyone is well suited to every job. In Chapter 14, "Assessing and Placing Disaster Relief Volunteers," C. Harry Hui, Xiaohua Zhou, M. P. Sally Chan, Xiao Zhang, and Jinyan Fan examine the relevance of I-O psychology in volunteer selection and placement in the fast-paced context of disaster relief. The authors begin with an overview of the unique challenging job demands of the disaster relief volunteer and the outcomes associated with such efforts, such as post-traumatic stress disorder and burnout. This discussion serves to underscore the importance of developing and implementing a screening instrument to maximize effectiveness of this critical resource and minimize damaging outcomes to the volunteer. Next, the chapter presents literature relating to the particular tasks required of such volunteers and the knowledge, skills, and abilities needed to successfully complete these tasks. Hui, Zhou, Chan, Zhang, and Fan then describe the development of such a screening

instrument that was validated with volunteers after the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake. The chapter concludes with a rigorous discussion of the frontiers of future research, calling for careful research attention in a number of areas, including the importance of identifying an appropriate (and practical) measure of performance and examining other constructs as potential predictors.

Another critical worldwide concern surrounds the plight of women in low-income regions who face a particularly grim set of challenges. In Chapter 15, "Using I-O Psychology to Improve the Plight of Women in Developing Countries: A Research Agenda," Virginia E. Schein examines these issues. Drawing from the work of economist Amartya Sen (Nobel Prize winner), Schein begins by building a compelling case for examining issues related to decent work for women in I-O psychology, particularly as these issues relate to addressing worldwide economic issues. Then, the author provides an intriguing evidence-based description of three work situations women face in Nicaragua (a microenterprise development program, garment assembly factories, and a coffee plantation), a review of the relevant literature for each work situation, and a discussion of the key I-O psychology-related research questions she initially drew from these work situations. Next, Schein describes follow-up research on the attitudinal and behavioral consequences of women's involvement in work-related groups in Nicaragua. The author provides an eye-opening discussion of some of the challenges of conducting research in low-income regions, particularly with those individuals who are not working in the traditional organizational context. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the research agenda for I-O psychology in this area, underscoring the importance of applicability and relevance in designing such research efforts.

Developing lower-income regions of the world often involves contributions from expatriates working alongside local populations, sometimes for months or even years. Such an arrangement poses significant challenges, particularly the strain on cohesion and teamwork that can arise when expatriate and local personnel are remunerated on different pay scales. Stuart C. Carr, Shahla Eltayeb, Malcolm MacLachlan, Leo Marai, Eilish McAuliffe, and Ishbel McWha examine the I-O psychology literature as it relates to this aspect of international development in Chapter 16, "Aiding International Development: Some Fresh Perspectives from Industrial and Organizational Psychology." The authors organize their discussion of the literature as it relates to imbalance in the relationships among international development team members around three major areas: identity, justice, and dominance. In the identity section, the chapter

examines how the process by which team members identify (or do not identify) with others in their team plays a critical role in international aid teams. In the section on justice, the authors discuss and integrate the literature on salary inequities as they relate to such outcomes as communication breakdowns within the team and double de-motivation. Finally, in the section on dominance, Carr, Eltayeb, MacLachlan, Marai, McAuliffe, and McWha provide an overview of the social dominance literature and then discuss how the training literature may serve to address dominance issues in this setting. The authors conclude this chapter with a discussion of key areas for future research, including a call for empirical studies that examine the propositions derived from the model framework presented in the chapter.

Professional societies have the power to foster, promote, and encourage prosocial efforts. A key example of such efforts is how the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP) formed a committee (KARE) to help support those affected by Hurricane Katrina in 2005. In Chapter 17, "Mobilizing Action Through Professional Societies," Tracey E. Rizzuto and Vicki V. Vandaveer discuss research related to actions that have been and can be taken by professional societies to accomplish prosocial objectives. The authors begin with a discussion of what is meant by "collective voluntary action" and how professional organizations are uniquely situated to engage in such efforts. Rizzuto and Vandaveer proceed with a thorough research-based examination of occupation-based volunteering and research related to overcoming common obstacles to collective voluntary action through professional societies such as benefit, financial, organizational, and community sustainability. The chapter then presents two exemplars of professional societies that have engaged in collective action, including the American Bar Association and the partnership between SIOP and the Society for Counseling Psychologists (Division 13, APA) in the KARE efforts. Rizzuto and Vandaveer conclude the chapter with a full discussion of the important areas for future research, including a careful examination of measures of outreach effectiveness and the methodological and ethical considerations of engaging in pro bono research.

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Values and Ethics of a Changing I-O Psychology: A Call to (Further) Action

Joel Lefkowitz

> *Is it psychologically possible to have docile, externally controlled workers in industry, who are yet free, intelligent and responsible members of a democracy outside it? . . . It is for us more than any other science to lend our knowledge for the re-creation, not only of industry, but of human society.*
>
> *Susan Brierly*
> *British Industrial Psychologist, 1920*

Brierly's concern for the quality of society and, more specifically, her belief that applied social science should play a role in promoting autonomous and responsible citizens, was a decidedly minority perspective among industrial psychologists in the US early in the last century. The first well-known U.S. industrial psychologists—Hugo Münsterberg, Walter Dill Scott, Walter Van Dyke Bingham, and Louis Thurstone—were interested primarily in demonstrating the value of applied psychology to the accomplishment of business objectives (Ferguson, 1962–1965). And Elton Mayo did not hide his disparaging opinion of workers and of democracy (cf. O'Connor, 1999). Indeed, by the middle of that century, "industrial psychology as management technique [wa]s well known and highly successful" (Kornhauser, 1947, p. 224). But Kornhauser's observation was not made entirely approvingly; he went on to question, "Do we work on the problems of the businessman or on the problems of society?" (p. 224).

What is the topic of this book, really? Or, more to the point, what is the essential *meaning and significance* conveyed by the collection of topics and chapters comprising the overall presentation? Although manifestly about empirical and theoretical research, I submit that it is nothing less than that a dramatic change and expansion of the professional identity of the field of industrial-organizational (I-O) psychology potentially is taking place—

for the second time in its history. If this observation is correct, it is a change not so much in substantive content or methodology, although it is comprised of some of that, but a change primarily in values orientation. The aims of this chapter are to place these putative changes in context, make them more salient, and encourage further similar efforts. The first major change took place almost 50 years ago. It was scientific and theoretical in nature, and was marked by the publication of two books: Edgar Schein's (1980) *Organizational Psychology* in 1965 and Katz and Kahn's (1978) *The Social Psychology of Organizations* in 1966. They began to provide refutation of the largely accurate charge that industrial psychology was atheoretical and unscientific (i.e., that few industrial social scientists were concerned with "making a contribution to knowledge") (Baritz, 1960, p. 198).

But Baritz's criticism of the field was not only with respect to its science—it also concerned the moral status of its *professional practice* as a mere "servant of power." Yet it is only in the past approximately 20 years that this second aspect of the criticism has been addressed seriously—at least in part, culminating in the beginnings of an alternative model for the practice of I-O psychology. This model incorporates a humanitarian and broadly humanistic set of concerns, and introduces a normative (i.e., moral) perspective to accompany the long-standing scientific and instrumental perspectives. Fifty years hence, those looking back may view another two books—the current volume on *The Greater Good* and another on *Humanitarian Work Psychology* (Carr, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2012)—as marking this second paradigm shift. Unlike the first change, which was instigated largely by external challenges to the field, this second change has actually been facilitated by corporate societal responsibility sensibilities that have been developing since the 1950s (Carroll, 1999). Those sensibilities have accelerated during the past 20 years, especially in reaction to the corporate scandals of the past several years. Moreover, much of our self-generated critiques and soul-searching regarding the professional identity of I-O psychology in recent years (see below) has been inward-looking and largely self-serving (e.g., focused on how we can be more successful in the marketplace). In contrast, this most recent shift represents a mature, moral stance concerned with doing good, and seems to justify the optimistic outlook presented here.

I-O PSYCHOLOGY FROM A VALUES PERSPECTIVE

The Significance of Recurring Identity Crises

From time to time, leaders in the field have pointed to crises in our professional identity (e.g., Ryan, 2003). Perhaps this is to be expected in a young profession that currently is and/or historically has been known, in whole or in part, by as many as 11 names: *industrial psychology*, *organizational psychology*, *industrial-organizational psychology*, *work psychology*, *work and organizational psychology*, *organizational behavior*, *organization development*, *occupational psychology*, *occupational/organizational psychology*, *vocational psychology*, and most recently *humanitarian work psychology*. In the US, this has been accompanied by a formal change in the name of the profession and its professional association in 1970 (from I to I-O psychology), two more recent failed referenda seeking further name changes in 2003 and 2009, and in general a loss of several content domains represented by some of those rubrics.

I have previously enumerated five challenges to and/or explicit criticisms of our field that have been made over the years (Lefkowitz, 2010a). In addition to Baritz's and Kornhauser's societal concerns, noted above, about the new field of industrial psychology, we were threatened in the 1960s by the development of *organizational psychology* (OP) and *organizational behavior* (OB)—which, ironically, were themselves a constructive response to the earlier charge of industrial psychology being "unscientific." We responded to the challenge by introjecting OP to form I-O psychology, and largely ignored OB while it developed in business schools. In the 1970s, the perceived challenge came from the newly emergent *organization development* (OD), with its values-based, process-consultation model. Our response was to denigrate the field as being unscientific (i.e., not being "value-free"), even to the awful extent of being "influenced by strong humanistic values" (Miner, 1992, p. 293). So OD was not, for the most part, welcomed into departments of psychology (nor even business schools, for that matter) and was relegated to free-standing professional schools. In the 1980s, many I-O psychologists felt threatened economically by an incursion of clinical psychologists into the corporate world. As licensed psychologists, these erstwhile colleagues could not easily be denigrated; eventually, the problem was dealt with by co-opting some of what they had to offer by our becoming "executive coaches." The last salient perceived threat from the 1990s to the present has also involved competition for professional

practice—this time from business school graduates and consultants (Ryan & Ford, 2010) from whom we apparently feel insufficiently distinguished.

As has been noted earlier:

> These repeated identity crises (i.e., perceived threats) . . . have originated from different sources . . .; they constitute different sorts of characterizations . . . and they have been recurring over an extended period of time. Consequently, one might reasonably infer that these multiple manifest threats may be less the real issue and may be symptomatic of some more basic, underlying sense of deficiency. I submit that the culprit is [our] core [professional] identity . . . , that is, our central professional value system, which is inadequate.
>
> (Lefkowitz, 2010a, p. 294)

I believe that our collective professional identity, as well as that of each of us as individual I-O psychologists, consists (or ought to consist) of one's *beliefs, goals, and meta-objectives concerning what it is we intend to accomplish in the organizations with which we work and how one prefers to go about accomplishing them*. The closest we generally come to articulating a professional value system are rather vague statements concerning "good science and good practice"—reflecting the ubiquitous *scientist-practitioner model*, to which I will turn shortly.

However, most of our responses to these crises of confidence have mistakenly identified the problem as a content issue. For example, chronologically:

- "The vast majority of students receiving Ph.D.s in industrial or industrial-organizational psychology . . . are poorly trained theoretically and dangerously incompetent methodologically" (Naylor, 1971, p. 218);
- "graduate training [for the I-O practitioner] should revert to more emphasis on general psychology" (Stagner, 1982, p. 901);
- "The concern that we lay out in this paper is that I/O psychologists seem to be identifying less with psychology" (Highhouse & Zickar, 1997);
- Ryan (2003) asserted that "I-O psychology is on an identity quest," by which she meant (among other things) "concerns about how well we are differentiated from other like disciplines" (p. 21). She advocated (among other things) "greater connections with psychology . . . [and]

our scientific approach" (p. 24), concluding that we must define ourselves by "our knowledge base and our disciplinary core . . . Our identity derives from how we [conduct our professional practice], how we approach it, what we base it on . . . Our practice flows from our identity" (p. 25);

- Gasser, Butler, Waddilove, and Tan (2004) sought to determine, "How do we define ourselves as a profession that sets us apart [from business school-trained counterparts with the same amount of education] and makes others want to utilize our services?" They found that SIOP Fellows emphasized "greater familiarity with science and research . . . [and] a greater understanding of psychological theories and human behavior" (pp. 16, 17);
- "as I-O develops its own theories . . . the field has less in common with other areas in psychology" (Costanza, 2006);
- "identity claims of organizational psychologists must include knowledge distinctly associated with organizational psychology . . . [and] must have a distinct 'what we know' as a central professional identity referent" (Ryan & Ford, 2010, pp. 243–244).

What It Means to be a "Profession"

I do not mean to suggest that content issues are irrelevant or unimportant to defining any profession, and I do not disagree with the advice that we have much to gain by making our connections with general psychology more salient. But a profession is represented by *three* domains of expression: its content (i.e., its intellective, theoretical, perhaps scientific substance); the instrumental applications of that content (i.e., its professional practice); and its normative or moral position concerning its meta-objectives and involvement in the greater society. I think it is fair to characterize I-O psychology, perhaps until very recently, as having been focused mostly on the first two ("Is the test valid?", "Is the program cost-effective?") and less on the third: failing to emphasize questions such as "Is this the right thing for us to be doing?" or "Will anyone be harmed unnecessarily?" For example, this is how we in the US define and announce I-O psychology to the world on our professional organization's website: "Industrial-organizational (I-O) psychology is the scientific study of the workplace. Rigor and methods of psychology are applied to issues of critical relevance to business, including talent management, coaching, assessment, selection, training, organizational development, performance, and work-life balance"

(SIOP, 2012). Not mentioned are the ends to which our efforts are directed. Are those efforts restricted to only those things "of critical relevance to business"? Are we not concerned with things that may be of critical relevance to other constituencies or stakeholder groups, or to the commonweal?

It is instructive to note that the origin of the word *profession* is theological. In the Middle Ages, it denoted a "declaration, promise or vow made by one entering a religious order" (Kimball, 1992, p. 19) and eventually it came to stand for the group of people who made the vow (e.g., monks, nuns, and other professed people). By the 15th and 16th centuries, the term had expanded to include the learned professions—law, medicine, and education—and by the 19th century, science had become prominent as well. Lipartito and Miranti (1998) point out that "many occupations . . . have risen in status . . . because of their function in the modern business system. These include the older professions of law, engineering, and accountancy, and such newer professions as advertising, public relations, and management" (p. 302). However, Donaldson (1982) points out that, unlike the traditional professions, the newer

> technocratic professions often lack [a spirit of altruism or service] and thus raise special problems of moral responsibility . . . The old professions have frequently failed to apply the moral standards articulated in statements of their professional goals; but the new professions fail, it seems, because they do not even attempt to articulate moral standards.
>
> (p. 113)

It is disquieting to reflect on the extent to which I-O psychology has developed as one of these "technocratic" professions.

Moreover, the overly "scientistic" nature of I-O psychology (Lefkowitz, 2008), including an antipathy to acknowledging the role played by implicit values perspectives in applied social science and especially professional practice has contributed to our misidentifying relevant values issues as entirely disciplinary content issues. Conflict over whether, and the extent to which, personal and social values play a role in the conduct of social science research, and whether they *ought* to be involved, has a long history. The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, in particular, has forthrightly focused on the tension between scientific objectivity and political advocacy (Rutherford, Cherry, & Unger, 2011). The issue is complex and goes beyond the bounds of what can be considered here (for a critique, cf. Lefkowitz, 2003, Chapter 9), but we should attend to the

wisdom and warning of the philosopher of social science, Alexander Rosenberg (1995):

> The way in which a social scientist selects problems to work on, the factors cited to explain behavior, and the evidence sought to substantiate these explanations all reflect the significance and meaning the social scientist attaches to them. To focus on a particular problem is to evaluate it as more important than others, and importance is based on evaluation in the light of human values . . .
>
> *A social science that sought to efface the moral dimension from its descriptions and explanations would simply serve the interests of some other moral conception.* It would reflect values foreign to those that animate our conception of ourselves.
>
> (p. 205, emphasis added)

The Scientist-Practitioner as a Flawed Values Model

I have expressed my views on this topic previously and so will only summarize the issues particularly relevant to this volume (Lefkowitz, 1990, 2003, 2005a, 2008, 2009a, 2010a, 2011a, 2011b). Concerns about, and even criticisms of the scientist-practitioner model (S-PM) in I-O psychology have appeared with some regularity in the past (e.g., Dunnette, 1990; Rupp & Beal, 2007). Most of those critiques concern the articulation of the two components, particularly with regard to graduate education and preparation for professional practice. Probably the first such substantive concern was voiced during our infancy by Hugo Münsterberg (1913)—approximately 40 years before the S-PM was even formally articulated (in clinical psychology)—when he asked whether "the study of attention, or of perception, or of memory, and so on, can be useful for the purposes of the business man" (p. 22). Hays-Thomas (2006) suggests that the S-PM "may not be the most appropriate model for . . . the preparation of practitioners" (p. 52) and Muchinsky (2006) observes a "scientist-practitioner gap . . . [that] may well be due to a lag in practice's capacity to utilize the latest research findings established by the scientists" (pp. 5–6). Similar concerns have been raised by Kwiatkowski, Duncan, and Shimmin (2006), Naylor (1971), and Van De Ven and Johnson (2006), among others.

My concerns have been, and are, rather different. Borrowing from technical psychometric terminology, the S-PM can be characterized as "biased" in that it is both *deficient* and *contaminated* as a construct

representing the normative values of I-O psychology. It is deficient because it fails to encompass an "ethic of selfless service" to society (Kimball, 1992, p. 302), which is the hallmark of a profession. This "professional model" (Hall, 1975), humanist in nature, has a longstanding tradition in psychology (Kimble, 1984; Stagner, 1982) that is not represented in the S-PM. Society cedes considerable power and authority to any occupation deemed a "profession" (e.g., having the authoritative voice in its knowledge domain) and the "gate-keeping" function in determining educational, training, and professional accreditation requirements, as well as considerable influence over the shaping of legislation in its domain (Hughes, 1965). In return for these privileges, it is generally expected that "the power and responsibility of a profession extend beyond its direct clients to society at large" (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 193).

The S-PM in I-O psychology is contaminated because we have allowed the humanist values tradition in psychology to be supplanted by economic business values. In other words, we created the sort of moral tragedy that Rosenberg (1995) warned against: "A social science that sought to efface the moral dimension from its descriptions and explanations would simply serve the interests of some other moral conception" (p. 205).[1] This has occurred for a number of reasons, in my opinion some of them rather mundane (e.g., wanting to be seen as useful by our business clients). But some of the etiology is rather intriguing, as Rosenberg (1995) implies. In order to become good, unimpeachable scientists, I-O psychologists mistakenly believed, as an extension of 18th–19th-century logical positivism in the physical sciences, that it required excising all values from the process. This is an example of what the conservative economist Friedrich Hayek (1989) referred to as the dangers of an unthinking and inappropriate "scientistic attitude." Thus, a values vacuum was created in I-O psychology that was filled, not surprisingly, by the value system of the organizations we served, represented by the expediencies of relatively unattenuated free-market capitalism. (The value-free assumption becomes more and more tenuous as one moves from the physical sciences, to biological sciences, social sciences, and applied social science and professional practice.)[2] What should be of special interest to us as psychologists, moreover, is the psychodynamic of *denial*—our ability to maintain the "value-free" fiction in our professional work, while remaining oblivious to the fact that our professional practice and even our research is shaped by a salient value system within which we operate. For example, an authoritative I-O text book states: "Humanistic values represent a problem for the field of organizational psychology because these features can conflict with the

objectivity required of a science and because they can dilute a strong concern for performance effectiveness and productivity" (Miner, 1992, p. 293)—as if the objectives of performance effectiveness and productivity did not reflect a values position.

A Proposed Scientist-Practitioner-Humanist (S-P-H) Model

I would prefer, if possible, to not be misunderstood on the previous point. Enormous individual and social benefits flow from economic productivity. And when the meta-objectives of the organizations served are commensurate with the humanist tradition in psychology, no moral issues or ethical questions are necessarily raised for the I-O psychologist. (In fact, the recent emergence of an explicit *humanitarian work psychology* perspective in large measure consists of applying the talents of I-O psychologists to just such organizations.) As I have noted earlier, however,

> when those served are business organizations dominated by a value system of continuous short-term profit-making for shareholders, actions on their behalf may sometimes conflict with our avowed professional objective "to improve the condition of individuals, organizations, and society" (American Psychological Association, 2002)–i.e., all three.
>
> (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 292)

Past generations of I-O psychologists like myself were not taught explicitly, nor did we think much about, the values of the field beyond statements such as "I-O psychology is concerned with making organizations more effective." That was to be accomplished, essentially, in two ways: by contributing our sophistication regarding human behavior when that was relevant (e.g., leadership, motivation, performance measurement) and knowing the sort of data that would best inform certain human resources policy decisions (e.g., hiring, training), and how best to obtain that data and implement the findings. Much less thought was given to what, if anything, might constitute a "more effective" organization beyond obtaining statistically significant research findings and (eventually) utilizing the economic and fiscal criteria used by business managers themselves.[3] The ostensibly explicit objective cited in the APA code, above, is also glib in its simplicity. The interests of individuals, organizations, and society frequently do not coincide. What then? And there are, of course, numerous perspectives and criteria of what constitutes an "improve[d] . . . condition."

In general, how would an S-P-H model differ from the S-PM? For starters, of course, it would be more inclusive, hence complicated. It seems evident that conceiving of all the technical, professional, and ethical issues confronting a practicing I-O psychologist as consisting of no more than a dialectic between the two poles of research and practice is an over-simplification and fails to give due justice to the difficulty of the problems faced by many among us and the complexity of social context within which they occur.

As noted previously, a profession is constituted of its domain of knowledge and means of knowledge acquisition; its instrumental applications of that knowledge—i.e., its professional practice; and its moral or normative belief system—its values concerning human well-being. Explicitly incorporating the latter and endowing it with some salience would mean considering the adoption of normative positions "concerning the rectitude of professional activities or corporate aims and actions based on moral values and criteria" (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 306). Moreover, to "advance a humanist agenda necessarily entails also accepting responsibility for articulating a normative position of how organizations *ought* to behave from a moral perspective" (Lefkowitz, 2008, p. 450). It is an interesting and little known fact that an industrial psychology with just such a values orientation was both prevalent and influential early in the 20th century—in the United Kingdom (Kwiatkowski et al., 2006). I-O psychology has shied away from articulating morally based normative positions because of a mistaken belief that their inherent subjectivity is inimical to our self-image as scientists, and because of its presumed indefensibility. (Whose views should take precedence?)

I will return to this point later: the chapter concludes with a discussion concerning what a more avowedly humanistic I-O psychology might look like. But before reaching that denouement, the prescriptive concerns voiced above regarding the use of "moral values and criteria" necessitate first articulating what is meant by that.

THE BASES OF ETHICAL THOUGHT: MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Given the title and general theme of this book, it is probably pertinent to raise the joint questions of how one is to know what is "good" (or "right") and, hence, to behave accordingly. From a secular perspective, that has for centuries been primarily the intellective domain of moral philosophy.

A Relevant Meta-Ethical Issue: Egoism versus Universalism

In attempting to answer questions such as those posed in the previous paragraph (which comprise the content of normative ethical theories), whose interests should be considered? That is, "good" for whom? That is just one of the important meta-ethical issues considered throughout the history of moral philosophy. Aristotle, for example, famously was an ethical egoist in that his criterion for determining what is good or right is that which promotes one's own sense of fulfillment, happiness, and satisfaction (the Greek *eudaimonia*)—the ultimate good that results from acting in accord with all the customary human virtues (honesty, bravery, prudence, etc.). Note, however, that, unlike many later ethical egoist positions, Aristotle's version does not conflict with a more universalist or even altruistic model because such caring or virtuous actions are seen as contributing to one's own sense of well-being and pleasure.

Many, perhaps most, modern moral philosophers ascribe to a more universalist meta-ethical position: in determining what is right/good, the interests of all those affected by the actions under consideration are pertinent. For example, "Self-interested acts must be shown to be compatible with more broadly based ethical principles if they are to be ethically defensible, for the notion of ethics carries with it the idea of something bigger than the individual" (Singer, 1995, p. 10). If one accepts that reducing conflict and enhancing cooperation among members of society is one of the aims of ethical thought, it is hard to see how purely self-interested behavior can contribute to the enterprise (Rachels, 1993). And one's self-interests may vary, or even be in conflict with one another, with respect to the various roles one occupies (Clifford, 2011). From an empirical perspective: at the macro-economic level, it has been shown that what is best for each person may not be best or even good for all (Samuelson, 1993); *organizational ethical climates* that emphasize self-interest are related to dysfunctional organizational outcomes (Martin & Cullen, 2006); and, of course, the seemingly never-ending parade of corporate corruption speaks volumes about the potential consequences of unbridled self-interest (Lefkowitz, 2004; Rockness & Rockness, 2005).

The Professional Model—Multiple Stakeholder Perspective

In the universalist tradition, no one's interests and welfare, including one's own, have a greater a priori moral claim than anyone else's. That is, the interests and rights of all those affected by an action are to be considered equal with regard to moral judgments concerning the action, unless good

and reasonable arguments to the contrary can be made (such as honoring legitimate prior obligations or duties, or to avoid being unfair). Such an orientation, when applied on a large scale by an occupational group, is entirely commensurate with "the professional model" and "the professional ideal" presented above. It serves to ground the proposed normative ideals for I-O psychology in a venerable moral tradition. The universalist perspective is also represented in management thought and business scholarship by the normative version of *multiple stakeholder theory* (Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Freeman, 1984). While instrumental versions of stakeholder theory are merely descriptive, "normative stakeholder models are prescriptive and stem from a recognition of the enormous power, size and widespread societal impact of corporations. From those observations, it is concluded that they, therefore, have an obligation to take into account the interest of the many constituencies that are impacted by their actions and with whom they may be thought of as having implicit social contracts" (Lefkowitz & Lowman, 2009, p. 575).

Ethical Decision-Making: Moral Principles and Cost–Benefit Analyses

Traditionally, normative ethical theories have been seen as representing one or another of two general modes of moral reasoning, represented by *deontological theories* and *consequentialist* (or *utilitarian*) *theories*. Rawls (1971) points out that the conceptual distinction between the two concerns the way in which a theory defines and relates the two notions of right/wrong and good/evil (or bad). Consequentialism (hypothetically, at least) does not deal directly with principled notions of right and wrong, but gives primacy to the outcomes of contemplated actions (their relative goodness) based on some version of cost–benefit analysis. The "right" alternative (the moral imperative) is the one that is expected to lead to the greatest net good, or least net bad, for all those affected. Deontologists (hypothetically, at least) treat the rightness or wrongness of an act as intrinsic to the nature of the action, based on whether it violates an accepted moral principle—independent of its consequences. An often overlooked difference between the two (perhaps more hypothetical than achieved) is that a utilitarian approach should lead to identifying the best alternative whereas the principled approach will indicate which approach(es) are permissible. In any event, much published criticism in moral philosophy consists of proponents of one camp explaining and justifying the superiority of their mode of thought over that of the other.

After reviewing much (by no means nearly all) of that literature, Lefkowitz (2003, Chapters 3, 4) concluded:

> Neither deontological nor utilitarian approaches emerge unscathed and intact from analyses by their critics, so we should accept both the principled expressions of rights, duties, virtues, and justice, as well as analyses of consequences, as legitimate bases for ethical decision-making . . . It has been my experience that some ethical dilemmas seem to be more amenable to analysis by one or the other of these paradigms, so we are best served by keeping both doors open. In other words, in some situations right or wrong seems to be a more appropriate and/or salient criterion than the extent of benefit or harm to those involved; for some other situations, the opposite seems to hold.
>
> (p. 75)

This approach is echoed in the advice offered by Clifford (2011):

> While some theoretical purists maintain the incompatibility of moral systems, such that if you are a utilitarian, then you can't invoke Kant, and so forth, given the complexity and variety of moral demands, I think it better that we move toward . . . a "practical synthesis" of ethical frameworks.
>
> (p. 137)

Similarly, Vergés (2010) highlights the importance of contextual issues in ethical decision-making, and Bennis, Medin, and Bartels (2010) suggest that "different environments and tasks may differentially support some decision modes over others" (p. 188), and because of difficulties in assessing expected consequences, "moral rules can be an effective tool for achieving good consequences" (p. 188). That suggestion is also commensurate with the conclusions reached by Smith and Dubbink (2011) in advancing the case for the use of principled moral judgment in business ethics:

> general moral principles do not—by themselves—prescribe courses of action in particular circumstances.
>
> (p. 211)

> Moral judgement must always begin with an assessment of the particularities of any one situation. The relationships, attitudes, histories, and social circumstances are materially relevant to understanding what an agent ought to do when confronted with a moral quandary . . .

> Principles provide agents with practically relevant reasons that cannot be neglected. They do not provide reasons to act in particular ways.
>
> (p. 225)

Generally Accepted Moral Principles

The perspectives noted above are illustrated quite clearly by the approach taken in the *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* of the American Psychological Association (APA) (2002), which is prototypical of many professional ethical codes written with special applicability to a particular occupational group. Notwithstanding that professional orientation, the APA code begins by specifying five general moral principles that, although "they should be considered by psychologists in arriving at an ethical course of action," are primarily advanced as "aspirational goals to guide psychologists toward the highest ideals of psychology." It is the more numerous "Ethical Standards [that] set forth enforceable rules for conduct . . . [although] the application of an ethical standard may vary depending on the context" (p. 1061). It is that element of indeterminacy that suggests the value to be had in adopting and practicing a systematic approach to moral reasoning (cf. Lefkowitz, 2003, Chapter 15). The *Code of Ethics and Conduct* of the British Psychological Society (2009) is similarly structured. A very brief summary of the five APA General Principles follows:

> *Beneficence and Nonmaleficence.* Striving to benefit those with whom we work and especially taking care to avoid or minimize harm.
>
> *Fidelity and Responsibility.* Demonstrating trustworthiness and acknowledging responsibilities to society and to the communities in which we work, including concern for the ethical compliance of colleagues.
>
> *Integrity.* Demonstrating accuracy, honesty, and truthfulness in our work and promoting such among colleagues.
>
> *Justice.* Striving for all persons to have fair and just access to and benefit from the contributions of psychology, and guarding against injustice as a consequence of our own limitations or potential biases.
>
> *Respect for People's Rights and Dignity.* Respecting the dignity and worth of all people, and their rights to privacy, confidentiality, and self-determination.

In defense of the use of moral principles as particularly applicable to management in a commercial context, Soule, Hedahl, and Dienhart (2009)

> pose a challenge to those that would deny a role for principles: try doing without them. That is, try reasoning through the complexities of an ethically vexing commercial controversy without reference to principles . . . To suggest that we can get by without principles is to ignore the way adult human beings reason about ethics.
>
> (pp. 533, 534)

They go on to articulate a set of five managerial moral principles (MMPs) that "are formulated on the basis of the way morality intersects commercial life as we know it" (p. 538).

The question still remains, of course, as to how one gets from (possibly conflicting) moral or ethical principles to confident implementation in particular circumstances. In that regard, it may be helpful to acknowledge that "moral truths are truths of reason; that is, a moral judgment is true if it is backed by better reasons than the alternatives" (Rachels, 1993, p. 40). Clifford (2011) has gone farther by pressing for greater *moral literacy*, the first step of which is "to learn certain objective standards by which various moral positions can be evaluated . . . not only are not all reasons as good as others when it comes to ethics, some cannot even count as reasons at all" (pp. 127, 128). A good ethical position is derived from an *identifiable moral principle*; is *disputable* (i.e., must be capable of being challenged in the way that an acceptable scientific theory must be capable of refutation); is reasonably clear and *prescriptive* while still maintaining some flexibility; must universally *apply fairly* to all persons, including oneself, in similar situations; and must present cogent, defensible *reasons*, as noted by Rachels (1993) above.

THE BUSINESS CORPORATION AS A MORAL ENTERPRISE

The explicit premise of this book is that there are ways in which the professional talents of I-O psychologists can contribute to the common good of society, and implicitly, that we should do so. But that may depend on two conditions. The first has been the focus of this chapter so far: a broader humanistic, moral values-based reconceptualization of I-O psychology has to be acknowledged and made more salient. And second, in order to represent the profession in its entirety, this enterprise ought

to involve our work in private sector business corporations (in addition to humanitarian not-for-profits and non-governmental organizations). Therefore, it should be accepted that business corporations are worthy of such intentions (i.e., that they are fundamentally moral enterprises).[4] I will attempt to make that case briefly here. Somewhat more elaborated presentations can be found in Lefkowitz (2003, Chapters 10 & 11, 2012).

Perhaps the reader believes that the case does not need to be made—that the proposition is self-evident? Perhaps. But many would suggest that is refuted by the "lengthy, shocking, and saddening . . . bill of particulars brought against American corporate business" (Frederick, 1995); by the extent of corporate scandal and corruption in recent years, necessitating formal legislative responses (Rockness & Rockness, 2005) and prompting some professional soul-searching among those who serve business (Lefkowitz, 2004); by the finding that many people have implicit assumptions about the (im)morality of business (Reynolds, Leavitt, & DeCelles, 2010); and by the extent of research attempting to understand such misbehavior (Andreoli & Lefkowitz, 2009; Ashforth, Gioia, Robinson, & Treviño, 2008; Gino & Pierce, 2009; Kish-Gephart, Harrison, & Treviño, 2010; Lefkowitz, 2009b; Mishina, Dykes, Block, & Pollock, 2010; Umphress, Bingham, & Mitchell, 2010; Vardi & Weitz, 2004). On the other hand, an assumption, at least implicit, often explicit, in those investigations is that there are specific factors relating to individual motives, circumstances, organizational attributes, and/or social influences that foment misconduct. In other words, organizational misbehavior is not necessarily ubiquitous in, or intrinsic to, the business enterprise and may be understood better as individual instances of "moral collapse" (Shadnam & Lawrence, 2011).

There have been, essentially, two different versions of moral justification for business (within a generally capitalist perspective). The individualist-oriented classical liberal model of free-market capitalism, generated by the work of John Locke (1689/1988) and Adam Smith (1776/1976), nowadays more likely referred to as libertarian; and the more social- and societal-oriented neo-liberal model of free enterprise attenuated by economic and political mechanisms of communal concern. In terms of political economy, I believe it is only a slight exaggeration to conceive of these as, in contemporary parlance, conservative/rightist and liberal/leftist versions of morality. Their roots, moreover, reflect the *ethical egoism* versus *universalism* disparity, respectively, in moral philosophy.

Classical Free-Market Morality

The basic moral justification for the corporate free-market system is utilitarian. Smith's (1776/1976) notion is that single-mindedly pursuing one's own self-interest, spurred by free competition, stimulates efficient use of capital and labor and generates the greatest overall productivity and aggregate wealth (i.e., *greatest net good*) for the entire society (cf. Ahlstrom, 2010). Other elements of moral philosophy prominently involved include the exercise of one's *inalienable rights* (Locke, 1689/1988) as free as possible from government interference. Among such are the private property rights of shareholders to come together under terms of a *social contract* (Thomas Hobbes; Jean Jacques Rousseau) in order to maximize their profits. The aspect of Smith's (1776/1976) work that is often overlooked by contemporary adherents are his assumptions regarding the requisite social context for this economic activity: reliance on the necessity for trust, honesty, and fair dealings. Contemporary proponents (e.g., Friedman, 1970) are likely to narrowly emphasize merely "that businesses should have the unrestricted and unregulated freedom to pursue profit maximization and should otherwise display moral disinterest" (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 243).

Critique of the Classical Model

"Natural rights theory" has long been criticized because of the absence of any clear non-theological justification for such rights, as well as a lack of consistency among different proponents' lists of putative rights—thus scoring poorly on Clifford's (2011) criteria of *disputability* and *justification*. And even Locke did not view property rights as absolute, but as limited by moral considerations such as the consequences for others. And the assumption that the sole and unattenuated concern of shareholders is profit is just that—an assumption—as if they were not citizens and members of the moral community with diverse concerns. But the primary criticisms of the classical model concern limitations of the utilitarian justification: there are at least three. First, given that there are no completely free markets, it is not clear that the successful wealth aggregation attributed to that system is not due in considerable measure to other cultural, political, educational, and historical factors in those countries (Dalton, 1974; Danley, 1994; Harrison & Huntington, 2000). The second concerns the extent to which the definition of utility (economic productivity and aggregate wealth) corresponds to our conceptions of human value and well-being. "It is not unreasonable to believe that even if [the] ideal Classical Liberal state would

maximize actual preference satisfaction, there may be alternatives which promote greater well-being in the broader sense" (Danley, 1994, p. 129).[5] For example, despite its great wealth and high average standard of living the US does not fare well in comparison to other industrialized nations in such things as adult literacy, infant mortality, poverty, and expenditure on education (as a percentage of GNP) (UN Development Programme, 1999).

Perhaps the most salient criticism concerns the dramatic disparities in income, wealth, education, economic opportunities, and socio-economic status produced by the marketplace. As noted earlier, the criteria of consequentialist or utilitarian-based morality are its aggregate effects. Therefore, it gives no credence to distributive disparities that many would characterize as inequities, or to distributional criteria of *need* or *equality*. (As Anotole France (1894/2009) famously observed, "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread.") In fact, such disparities in the US have been increasing dramatically for well over 100 years (Collins, Hartman, & Sklar, 1999; Congress of the United States, 2011; Gottschalk, 1993; Guillen, 2001; McCall & Percheski, 2010; Mishell, Bernstein, & Schmitt, 2001; UN Development Programme, 1999). "In the past, Americans smugly assumed that European societies were more stratified than their own, but it now appears that the United States has surpassed all industrial societies in the extent of its family wealth inequality" (Keister, 2000, p. 4). Moreover, the financial crisis and plummeting house prices of the past few years have greatly exacerbated the disparity in wealth between whites and other ethnic groups in the US (African-, Latino-, and Asian-Americans), as well as the disparities within each ethnic group (Kochhar, Fry, & Taylor, 2011). Many among even those employed are finding pay levels inadequate to meet basic living expenses (Rich, 2011). Yet there is evidence that people in the US significantly underestimate the level of wealth inequality in the country, and ideally would prefer "a more equal distribution of wealth than the status quo" (Norton & Ariely, 2011, p. 9).

Revisionist Neo-Liberal Free-Enterprise Morality

The 50-year period starting in the late 19th century was marked by dramatic financial, social, and economic upheavals in the US and the world. Greedy and callous actions of "robber barons," bank crises, formation of monopolies and oligopolies, the press for anti-trust legislation, a world war and no less deadly worldwide flu epidemic, and the onset of the Great Depression created great anxiety and skepticism about the status quo—

including classical economic views. "Even the massive unemployment of the 1930s was not sufficient to bid down the price of labor, increase hiring, and stimulate production, as predicted by the free-market model" (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 263). An alternative economic model was developing. As Danley (1994) noted, the classical proponents lost sight of the original justification of liberalism (contemporary libertarianism or conservatism), which was an underlying commitment to enhance people's well-being.

> Revisionist Liberals recognize that human well-being requires more than merely leaving individuals alone to compete in the market, and that interference in economic freedom for the sake of improving the conditions of general welfare is a trade-off that is sometimes defensible.
>
> (Danley, 1994, p. 269)

The general justification began to develop that "the increasing power of corporations must be balanced by a corporate conscience" (Cavanagh, 1984, p. 63). And the notion of the social contract was again used not simply to justify shareholder financial interests, but as a means of understanding the relations between the corporation and society:

> business corporations, because of their power, size, and impact on many spheres of public life, have (a) an obligation to help solve social problems, and (b) a responsibility to take into account or to balance the interests of the many constituencies who are impacted by its actions and may be said to be parties to implicit social contracts.
>
> (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 265)

Thus, the *multiple stakeholder perspective*, and notions of *corporate social responsibility* (CSR), and its manifestation in *corporate social performance* (CSP) took hold (Carroll, 1999; Davenport, 2000; Donaldson, 1982; Schwartz & Carroll, 2003) (cf. also Section I, this volume; Lefkowitz, 2007; Werhane & Freeman, 2005). Over the past 20 years, it has been realized that notions of CSR are often oversimplified and its promise not fully realized in terms of corporate financial performance (CFP) (Gond & Crane, 2010). For example, Orlitzky, Siegel, and Waldman (2011) point out: (a) lack of agreement on the definition of the CSR construct; (b) a variety of motivations such that it can be instigated by altruistic or strategic (i.e., providing benefits to the firm) concerns, or even be coerced; (c) that a strictly strategic orientation may not be best from the standpoint of long-term benefit to the firm; and (d) the potential reputational advantages to

the firm of CSP may be diminishing as a consequence of widespread use of disingenuous CSR practices by multinational corporations.

From a moral perspective, Golombiewski (1989) has noted that the *individualist ethic* of the classical view utilized a distorted social Darwinism to justify individual greed and rationalize the resulting poverty and maldistribution of wealth, whereas the newer evolving *social ethic* views those conditions as reflecting "the injustice of society, not the niggardliness of nature" (p. 43). In other words, it could be argued that the classical model reflects (to limited degrees) the ethical principles of *responsibility*, *nonmaleficence*, and *integrity*, but ignores or is dismissive of notions of *beneficence* and *fairness* or *justice* (APA, 2002). As Wolff (2005) put it,

> If we are concerned with both efficiency and justice we must determine how far we can depart from capitalist forms of the free market, in the name of justice, without losing 'too much' of its efficiency advantages . . . Or we must find an account of justice that coincides, as far as possible, with the capitalistic free market.
>
> (p. 433)

Questions naturally arise, and have been discussed, concerning the feasibility of corporations acting in ways that reflect CSR and CSP while necessarily maintaining their competitiveness (Delios, 2010; Vardy, 1989). But it might be misleading to set up the dual goals of CSP and CFP as intrinsically antagonistic. Substantial evidence indicates that the two are appreciably related and that CSP even contributes to organizations' financial success (as well as vice versa) (Orlitzky, Schmidt, & Rynes, 2003). Interestingly, however, the apparent magnitude of relationship between the two may be a function of type of journal in which the research results are published (Orlitzky, 2011).

In considering the general issue of the two moral conceptions recently, it was concluded that:

> both perspectives on the moral basis of business, steeped in contrasting meta-ethical assumptions and divergent views of political economy and socio-political relations, have enthusiastic adherents and numerous critics . . . But irrespective of whether one feels more in tune with a traditional conservative morality emphasizing individual liberty and responsibility, or with a progressive liberal morality emphasizing social responsibility and justice, the important point is that taken together these perspectives seem

> to represent a large majority view among those who have given the matter some thought. There are not many people remaining who view business as an enterprise inherently lacking in moral justification irrespective of the particular social, economic and political relations by which it is organized.
> (Lefkowitz, 2012)

THE BEGINNINGS OF A "NEW I-O PSYCHOLOGY"

If one accepts that the two predicate conditions pertain (i.e., a humanistic values-based I-O psychology is tenable, and a wide variety of formal and informal social organizations, including business corporations, afford appropriate sites for professional practice reflecting those values), what might one say about the forms in which it could be expressed? This volume is, in fact, organized around three primary domains that represent different manifestations of "doing good." Moreover, I believe that the three represent incrementally more ambitious and radical visions of the field—constituting increasingly more progressive departures from the historical status quo. They consist of (1) using I-O expertise to contribute to, enhance, or otherwise facilitate philanthropic undertakings—often socially responsive activities of corporations. This can be noted as *philanthropic work*; (2) application of the knowledge and methods of I-O psychology to organizations and settings, including humanitarian enterprises, to which we have not traditionally contributed in the past. I will refer to this in the shorthand as *new venues.* In my opinion, for reasons explained below, those two manifestations are of lesser significance for the field than: (3) reconceptualizing I-O psychology to have an expanded values orientation as noted previously (i.e., reflecting an S-P-H model). This can be understood as *humanistic I-O psychology*.

Philanthropic Contributions

Chapters 4 and 5 of this volume exemplify the first manifestation by which I-O psychology can contribute to the good. Conceptualized as expressions of CSR/CSP, a corporation may sponsor volunteer programs as vehicles for employee participation in community undertakings, and/or engage more directly qua corporation in philanthropic endeavors. I-O psychology research and practice may facilitate the effective development, implementation, and administration of these activities. But it seems appropriate to

note that the contribution is *indirect* (i.e., we facilitate the good works of others, including the organization as an entity).

This is not meant to overlook or diminish the many good works performed by individual I-O psychologists, some even performed pro bono. However, as noted a few years ago, "the challenge I raise here is in questioning the extent to which this 'good work' . . . by some I-O psychologists has been conditioned by virtue of their education, training, and socialization as I-O psychologists" (Lefkowitz, 2005a, p. 20). In other words, my concern is at the institutional level of analysis represented by the profession, not with individuals.

> Although it is obvious to anyone who cares to look that I-O psychology contains many generous and caring individuals whose professional goals include human betterment, there is room for improving the extent to which the profession qua profession reflects that sensitivity.
>
> (Lefkowitz, 2003, p. 327)

I-O Psychology in New Venues

It is not a new nor infrequent observation that research and practice in I-O psychology historically has been restricted very much to, and on behalf of, large corporations (cf. Bamberger & Pratt, 2010; Katzell & Austin, 1992; Kornhauser, 1947; Lefkowitz, 2005b; Zickar, 2001). Perhaps it is too early to be particularly optimistic, but there does at least seem to be some significant expansion of I-O beyond the private sector corporate world to nonprofit organizations, NGOs, and other humanitarian organizations (Carr, 2007, 2010a, 2010b; Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2010; Lefkowitz, 2010b; cf. also Chapters 8–16 of this volume). It is heartening to read of I-O work being done in the domains of health care, teaching, disability, poverty reduction, international aid, disaster relief, etc. as described in the *Handbook of Humanitarian Work Psychology* (Carr et al., 2012). It is gratifying to realize that I-O psychologists are contributing to the effective functioning of humanitarian enterprises.

However, once again it is important to recognize the nature of "doing good" in this manifestation. The goodness (or humanism, or humanitarianism, or virtue, depending on how the organizational meta-objectives are conceived) resides primarily in the targeted enterprise or organization, to which we essentially play a facilitating role. We do good *indirectly* by improving the effectiveness of the virtuous organization. Our sophisticated HR research and systems contributions may have no more to do with the humanitarian organization's "core activity" of doing good than they have

to do with the "core business" of the home appliances manufacturer that may also be our client.[6]

There are other considerations as well. For example, because it consists of ("merely") extending the practice of I-O psychology to new venues, this form of expression does not imply much, if any, change in the nature of I-O psychology and the training of I-O psychologists. The typical I-O psychologist newly engaged in aiding such a venue would probably have much to learn about the workings, jobs, culture, etc. of nonprofit organizations, but that is true with respect to any organization or type of organization we encounter *de novo*. As noted previously,

> No substantive changes would be needed from current educational practice in traditional work psychology; we need merely advocate that students should apply their knowledge and skills to a wider domain of clients and employers than has traditionally been the case.
>
> (Lefkowitz, 2012)[7]

Which leads to the third and, I believe, most important manifestation of doing good.

Humanistic I-O Psychology

As suggested earlier in this chapter, while discussing I-O psychology from a values perspective, a profession must give an account not only of its substantive knowledge base and the instrumental applications of such in its professional practice, but also its moral or normative belief system concerning human well-being. This should include the use of moral values and criteria for evaluating its aims and actions, as well as those of its clients; and articulating a normative view of how organizations *ought* to behave from a moral perspective. And I suggested that this might be guided by a more explicit S-P-H model instead of the flawed S-PM. This would entail, as noted at the outset of this chapter, "a substantial, dramatic change and expansion of the professional identity of the field of I-O psychology."

So, what might be a normative statement of humanist beliefs/values inclusive of the third dimension of I-O psychology as a profession? Here is one tentative offering, consisting of a general proposition and two corollaries:

> **Proposition:** *Research and practice in I-O psychology have two fundamental meta-objectives: (1) to create and apply the knowledge necessary to improve*

the effectiveness of the organizations with which we work; and (2) to assure that those organizations are safe, just, healthy, challenging, and fulfilling places in which to work.

Corollary 1: *There is no inherent (i.e., inevitable) conflict between those objectives. In fact, evidence indicates that the two are often related, perhaps causally.*

Corollary 2: *When it is anticipated that actions designed to improve organizational effectiveness will impact adversely the well-being of employees or other organizational stakeholders (e.g., the community), the appropriate role for an I-O psychologist is to challenge the wisdom and necessity of those actions and/or to work to attenuate their adverse consequences to the extent feasible.*

I have argued (Lefkowitz, 2010a) that it is more by implementing and promoting an I-O psychology guided explicitly by such a values orientation that we can effectively and constructively demonstrate our distinctiveness from business school graduates and consultants, than by promoting the content of what we do or even how we do it (we are not unique on either count). Here are some examples of how an I-O psychology guided by such a values orientation might differ somewhat from current practices:

- We would normatively define and work to eliminate actual organizational injustices, in addition to studying *perceived* inequity (Greenberg, 2009; Lefkowitz, 2009a).
- Much of our work would be motivated by an avowedly humanitarian focus (cf. Chapter 12, this volume), such as "making organizations great places to work" (Muchinsky, 2006, p. 23).
- Employee selection would show concern not only for improving organizational effectiveness (maximizing the selection of "true positives"), but also for minimizing the proportion of those incorrectly rejected ("false negatives") (cf. Lefkowitz & Lowman, 2009).
- We would not develop performance appraisal systems unless we knew that the organization provides adequate means and opportunity for all those affected to meet the targeted performance standards and a safe mechanism for employee appeal.
- Our design and interpretation of attitude surveys would not be only descriptive in nature ("scientific"), but would be informed by our normative views regarding what organizations *should* be like.

- While we might continue the current fashion of taking a strategic business perspective on human resource management, it would not be at the expense of employee-centered management or employee relations ethics (Sikula, Olmosk, Kim, & Cupps, 2001).
- The education and training of I-O psychologists would include extensive consideration of these values issues and an appreciation of the ways in which they are inherent in both research and professional practice.

In conclusion, it is encouraging to realize that the sort of changes recommended here for I-O are paralleled by those envisioned by business scholars for the business managers with/for whom we work:

> One of the first and most important tasks relative to thinking of business as a profession is to place the corporation in the context of society. This involves a . . . recognition that the corporation is not the center of the universe around which society revolves, but that the corporation is but one element, albeit an important one, of the total social context in which humans work out a meaningful and fulfilling existence for themselves.
>
> (Buchholz, 2009, p. 206)

NOTES

1. By "moral dimension" and "moral conception," Rosenberg means a particular values system.
2. I refer here primarily to the business goals, objectives, and meta-objectives that comprise our *terminal values*; not the epistemic *instrumental values* known as the scientific method—although even there I believe a case could be made for contamination.
3. I plead guilty to some exaggeration in this regard in order to convey the main thrust of the field. Starting in the 1950s and 1960s, applied social scientists in organizations began to show concern for such non-economic outcomes as job satisfaction, self-actualization, work stress, work-family conflict, etc.
4. Otherwise, we would be faced with the impossibly dissonant task of attempting to promote a moral enterprise through furthering the fortunes of an amoral or immoral societal institution.
5. *Preference utilitarianism* is a version of utility theory used by political economists to get around the indeterminacy of defining what is "good." The good consists of anyone's legitimate preferences, including non-tangible qualities.
6. Of course, this does not preclude the I-O psychologist who may be so motivated from engaging directly, perhaps voluntarily in an extra-role capacity, in the organization's humanitarian endeavors.
7. Perhaps I underestimate the changes in graduate student selection, training, and socialization resulting from a shift in the values model for I-O psychology attendant upon the inclusion of humanitarian, nonprofit organizations as viable clients and employers.

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Section I

Relevance of I-O Psychology to Societal Well-Being in the Corporate Domain

2

Going Green: Eco-Industrial and Organizational Psychology

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There is a consensus among environmental scientists that we are in the midst of a global warming period and human activity is a primary cause of this phenomenon. While scientists cannot predict with certainty the degree of adjustment that will be required of life forms during the developing warm period, we are being warned with increasing frequency that proactive social-political change must occur soon if a disastrous future is to be avoided. The National Research Council, in a 2011 report on climate, urges widespread action now to minimize the eventual magnitude of climate change and to be ready for the resulting impacts on society. The Council places top priority on stabilizing atmospheric greenhouse gas (GHG) concentrations. Leadership and coordination at the level of the national governments will be needed. Regardless of how quickly that leadership emerges, it is important that organizations in the private sector take action now to minimize GHG emissions and reduce vulnerability to climate change (Committee on America's Climate Choices, 2011).

Global warming and GHG emissions are depicted here as the main environmental challenge facing organizations. But "going green" and becoming "environmentally sustainable" involves more than GHG emissions. The additional environmental concerns can be organized based on whether they involve putting something into the environment or taking something out. The "putting in" category includes waste management (landfill issues), degradation of water resources, littering, pollution in its many forms, and expanding human population. The "taking out" category includes deforestation, loss of topsoil, species extinction, and extraction of fossilized energy deposits. Underlying all of these concerns is the exponential growth in human population and the limited carrying capacity of the earth. If the quality of life (human and non-human) is to be

maintained into the future, social and behavioral change will have to be implemented through programs that address all of these environmental issues. Psychologists are well positioned to become involved in such societal change efforts through their experience with behavior-change programs (Stern, 2011).

As climate change becomes an increasingly relevant issue in the workplace, more attention must be given to how psychology can contribute to our understanding of resource preservation and emissions reduction. Specifically, psychologists can offer insight into the dynamics of behavior associated with climate change. Psychological findings can help us to predict how people will respond to climate change and how we can support change in human activity to mitigate the effects of climate change (Clayton, Howard, & Swim, 2011). Campbell and Campbell (2005) argued that industrial-organizational (I-O) psychology has a definitive role to play in this effort. They called for the development of an *eco-I-O psychology* that would add environmental sustainability to the traditional goals of I-O psychologists (e.g., optimal work performance and efficiency, positive job attitudes, freedom from health and safety threats). Many of the I-O psychologist's activities are intended to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of organizations. Adding environmental sustainability to the "short list" of I-O objectives will help to maintain an environment within which organizations and their employees can continue to thrive. I-O psychologists will be needed to provide influence, leadership, and support for organizational efforts to create ecologically sustainable workplaces.

The introductory passages in this book describe corporate social responsibility (CSR) as an attempt to address social, ethical, and environmental concerns. Our call for an eco-I-O psychology requires attention to all three of these CSR concerns, with obvious emphasis on the environment. But within the context of chapter topics presented in this volume, our focus on the environment is almost an anomaly. Some of the included chapters lead the reader through analyses of prosocial, intra-organizational concerns such as positive relationships between groups and enhanced employee health. Other chapters deal with corporate efforts to encourage volunteerism and humanitarian projects abroad. The challenges of managing nonprofit organizations receive detailed consideration in several chapters. We support the altruistic motives that led to the preparation of these other chapters. At the same time, we hold the position that none of these concerns will matter—prosocial behavior and humanitarian efforts will amount to nothing—if we do not soon get a grip on the overarching threat represented by global climate change. Our

contemporary corporate (and personal) lifestyles will simply not be sustainable beyond a few decades if we fail to make environmental concerns a top social, political, and business priority. That is the premise of our chapter. What follows is a description and analysis of the varied ways in which I-O psychologists, working with corporate management, can press to make environmental sustainability a prominent goal in contemporary organizations.

SUSTAINABILITY GOALS FROM THE ORGANIZATION'S PERSPECTIVE

A major concern of the eco-I-O psychologist is to promote an environmental consciousness in the workplace. Through research and field work, I-O professionals can be instrumental in promoting pro-environmental attitudes and effective sustainability efforts into productive workplaces. In order to establish long-term sustainability changes, current business practices must be modified with the goal of incorporating resource consciousness into every stage of a product's life cycle. In many cases, it may be necessary to modify the structure of the business itself to make these changes effective (Hoffman, 2010; Hoffman & Henn, 2008). Changing traditional organizations in the direction of long-term sustainability presents a formidable challenge. Before we address specific avenues for behavior change, we must take a close look at the financial realities within which all organizations must operate.

While some companies formally state their intentions to address environmental sustainability (e.g., in their mission statements), they still must overcome a variety of institutional barriers to implementation of sustainability objectives. Perhaps the most formidable of these barriers is the added expense of sustainable business practices and the overriding concern with maximizing short-term profits. The ultimate objective of publicly traded firms is to maximize shareholder value, but this objective may be judged with different parameters. We suggest that one standard for judgment should be environmental responsibility.

Businesses can often achieve substantial gains from the adoption of sustainable processes. A U.N. survey of CEOs worldwide found that the top two reasons their companies make *sustainable* changes to their business practices were "brand, trust, and reputation" and cost reduction/revenue growth (Cooper, Hayward, Lacy, & Neuberger, 2010). Many

waste-reducing programs such as energy conservation, carpooling, video conferencing, and web-based training can reduce not only environmental degradation, but operating costs as well. Cost savings can occur as a result of reduced energy use, reduced cleanup or repair from environmental damage, and greater efficiency in use of inputs. In this sense, eco initiatives can be seen as value-creating activities, as they can contribute to both cost reduction and revenue enhancement (efficiency, goodwill) for the company (Ramus & Killmer, 2007). Early adoption of environmentally friendly practices could help to avoid fines, retrofitting costs, and other compliance costs of potential future regulations (that can be expected as environmental issues become more immediate and concrete). However, it is expected that some environmentally friendly choices, such as using recycled materials for packaging, may increase costs with little long-term payoff using traditional accounting procedures.

Environmentally friendly actions may also help to increase the company's goodwill and engender customer loyalty. Close to half of all U.S. citizens report that they have rewarded or punished companies through their purchase decisions in the past 12 months based on the companies' actions regarding global warming (Leiserowitz, Maibach, Roser-Renouf, Smith, & Hmeilowski, 2012). *Newsweek* provides a green score for the largest domestic (U.S. 500 list) and international (Global 500 list) publicly traded companies. Company size is based on a combination of revenue, market capitalization, and number of employees. The green score is based primarily on environmental impact (e.g., emissions of nine key greenhouse gasses, water use, and solid waste disposal) and environmental management (an assessment of a company's environmental policies, programs, targets, and certifications) (Full Methodology, 2011). Companies such as Dell, Hewlett Packard, and Adobe consistently rank highly on the list (Green Rankings, 2011). The success of companies positioned high in the annual green ranking provides suggestive evidence that sustainable workplace behaviors can be effective in mitigating the impacts of climate change and promoting long-run profitability. Even if the environmentally friendly policies of these companies did not contribute to their success, these are at least good examples of how these policies do not prevent success in the business world.

Economic Impact and Risk Assessment

When an organization decides to initiate sustainable modifications to the business, it will likely evaluate the expected economic impact of the changes.

The way that this economic impact is evaluated is critical in this discussion, since this is a substantial part of the decision-making process behind sustainable policy. Businesses have a responsibility to create value for stakeholders, and the opinions of investors are thus clearly relevant when making substantial policy decisions. In the previously mentioned U.N. survey, 86% of CEOs reported that "accurate valuation by investors of sustainability in long-term investments" is a critical factor in adopting sustainable practices (Cooper et al., 2010). For the purpose of this discussion, any significant proposed project—a new program, new policy, or purchase of equipment—can be considered from an economic perspective, including the cost and cash flow impact of the change. Capital expenditures such as the purchase of hybrid vehicles, retrofitting a workplace, or adopting ISO 14000 standards represent upfront financial outlays but provide long-term savings. It is worthwhile to consider whether the outlay in environmental projects must be evaluated by the same metrics as other investments. The relevant questions here are: How can one place a monetary value on the health of the environment? Is it possible to estimate the potential damage from climate change in accurate financial terms?

When considering investment in any project, businesses typically project the future cash flows from the investment and calculate the net present value of those future cash flows. To do this, it is important to select a discount rate that accurately reflects the risk of the investment. Because of the time-value of money, cash flows are worth less the farther in the future they occur. Those who engage in financial projection are fully aware that it is impossible to predict the future but make a calculated effort to evaluate the risk of a project. However, this process may place sustainability projects at a disadvantage. Environmentally sound investments may pay off in the distant future, and it can be extremely difficult to quantify the benefits in terms of cash flow. Previous studies have indicated that the same traditional discounting methods are being used by organizations for both conventional and environmental investments, indicating that future risk is evaluated in a similar way for both types of projects (Hardisty & Weber, 2009).

These findings suggest that the risks of environmental damage may not be fully appreciated. The traditional method of evaluating investments may be biased against environmentally and economically sound investments and it is possible that this model is not sufficient for comprehensively evaluating sustainability projects. Due to the magnitude of the issue of climate change and the centuries-long period of significant impact, it is likely that the standard discounting method is simply insufficient to

properly evaluate projects of an environmental nature (Carson & Roth Tran, 2009).

It is time to take greater account of the potential risks of climate change and adjust investment options accordingly. This may begin with changing the way corporate performance is evaluated. In a survey of manager and director attitudes toward workplace sustainability, researchers found that, while green issues are often important and formally addressed, most firms value profit generation over other metrics (Crane & Harris, 2002). Understandably, the primary metric for gauging performance is often profitability. However, it may be useful to incorporate evaluations of environmental performance into routine analysis. Indeed, attitudes about sustainability among CEOs appear to be increasingly positive. In a 2010 survey of 766 CEOs worldwide, 96% reported that sustainability issues should be integrated into the strategy and operations of the company, increased from 72% in a 2007 survey (Cooper et al., 2010).

Corporate Social Responsibility

If a company takes on a commitment to become comprehensively sustainable, there will be some projects and workplace changes that do not bring about economic incentives and that may result in reduced profitability, at least in the short term. It is difficult to fault businesses for prioritizing profit since financial success is necessary for their existence and survival. However, some researchers have argued that businesses must evaluate performance and value in terms of environmental and social impact in addition to economic performance (Griffiths & Linnenluecke, 2009). This may be one of the single most important precursors to increasing corporate sustainability.

Recent evidence suggests that organizations that engage in sustainability programs are driven by altruistic values that are promoted even when there is no likely financial gain from the programs and no external pressure to engage in them. Berkhout and Rowlands (2007) compared 10 Canadian firms that participated in a green electricity initiative (wind, solar, and small hydro) with a matched group of 10 firms that did not participate. Those participating differed in that their top managers expressed commitment to environmental values, even when doing so provided the firm with no competitive advantage and did not enhance operational efficiencies. In addition, the firms adopting green electricity exhibited unique structural features—they made use of environmental performance metrics and assigned formalized environmental responsibilities to selected individuals.

The success of these firms (if they do remain successful) will provide a model of how organizations can remain viable despite the costs of adherence to environmental objectives.

The effectiveness of organizational sustainability measures will depend upon the degree to which the businesses incorporate environmental values into their business structure. In order for green projects to be fairly evaluated, management must approach the strategic planning process with a more comprehensive model of performance that includes consequences for the environment. Done correctly, this will also make these efforts more attractive to customers and employees, increasing the likelihood of the company reaping the benefits of an environmentally friendly reputation.

Traditionally, businesses are organized so that the top administrators are responsible for determining the mission of the enterprise, adopting a strategy for achieving the goals associated with the mission, and directing resources to support the functions of the organization. Lower-level managers and front-line employees are charged with working out the details of the selected strategy and engaging in actions that will encourage success (David, 2011). Following this separation of functions, we can expect that most successful programs for sustainable business activity will begin at the leadership level and require active participation by lower-level managers and employees for appropriate execution (Hoffman, 2010). For example, keeping the thermostat low, reducing paper use through printing, keeping lights off or dim when daylight is sufficient, and other similar resource-preserving behaviors will have a greater chance of success if front-line employees and lower-level managers are on board with the new policies, and this is most likely if the change is genuinely supported throughout the organization's top leadership (David, 2011).

HOW CAN I-O PSYCHOLOGISTS PROMOTE GREEN BEHAVIORS?

Given the realities that pervade the corporate environment, how can the eco-I-O psychologist intervene? There are a number of ways in which I-O psychologists can encourage environmental sustainability in organizations (Campbell & Campbell, 2005). Some of these opportunities involve design of physical facilities and workplaces; others involve the ways in which individuals act and interact within the work environment. With regard to workplace design, I-O psychologists have not been centrally involved. We

acknowledge that a small number of environmental psychologists have evaluated different workplace designs with regard to worker behavior, but such studies have had quite limited impact on current workplace design (Gifford, 2007). Psychologists are not architects or engineering material specialists and they do not oversee the construction of work facilities. However, they can be consultants with input as to the behavioral needs of building occupants. They should seek opportunities to become influential in decisions regarding how the designed environment can best accommodate (and even elicit) desired worker behavior.

In order to be credible when working with building designers and construction engineers, psychologists must become aware of the standards and guidelines in current use for sustainable building design. The International Organization for Standardization provides a set of guidelines called the ISO 14000 Family. This is a set of general standards that can be applied by business managers and organization administrators. These are intended to provide strategic guidance for the organization's environmental policy and plans. The ISO 14000 standards can provide the background for an organization's environmental management system (International Organization for Standardization, 2011).

Anecdotal examples of deficient environmental management systems are not hard to find. For example, one of the authors of this chapter (David) works in an academic office building that recently won awards for sustainable design and "green" construction materials. Bicycle commuting is encouraged by the presence of bike racks (for locking up bikes) and shower facilities are provided for commuters. But closer inspection reveals that half the bike racks are exposed to the wet weather (rather than sheltered) and the shower facilities have never been used, probably because no lockers were provided for placement of valuables while showering. While this example appears almost trivial by itself, it reflects a larger problem with the design process. The building was designed without effective input from prospective occupants regarding their needs. The pre-design focus was on physical parameters (floor space, storage facilities) and not on behavioral goals. Some of these eventual problems of building-worker misfit could have been worked out if there had been a post-occupancy evaluation of the building soon after the workers moved in and a modest bit of retrofitting allowed to "fine-tune" the behavioral issues (Zimring, 2002). Instead, the building contract required that the construction firm be packed up and on to the next project before any of the occupants were allowed into the new building. The consequence of this system was to prevent the correction of human factors deficiencies, whether they involved environmental

sustainability, job performance, or satisfaction and convenience. This problem with the environmental design process, failure to fully address behavioral needs of future occupants, has been discussed in the literature by psychologists for over 40 years (Sommer, 1974). In order to change this system and promote new construction with a specific sensitivity to occupant behavior and sustainable activity, individuals with behavioral expertise (i.e., I-O psychologists) need to be included in the design and post-occupancy phases of construction.

Buildings constructed with a focus on sustainability can bring significant benefits to the businesses which occupy them. Perhaps most obvious is the receipt of awards for green design and construction materials. Kimmet (2007) suggests that such award-winning buildings have an easier time attracting tenants. But one often-overlooked relationship that impacts the effectiveness of green buildings is that of building tenants and landlords. Even after buildings have been erected (possibly with design flaws that hamper resource conservation), property managers and tenants can partner to work toward sustainability goals through the use of "green leases" (Kimmet, 2007). In this arrangement, tenant and property manager establish performance-based objectives for emissions reduction based on human processes within the buildings. This cooperation helps provide an economic incentive for tenants to modify their behavior while creating an effective relationship in which the property managers can make necessary modifications to the property to assist these efforts. By making ecological performance a shared goal between tenant and landlord, businesses can be more successful at limiting resource consumption.

Commuting and Transportation Issues

Each working day, millions of commuters drive along traffic-choked roadways to get to and from their workplace destinations. The cost in GHG emissions is significant and also results in visible smog lying over urban areas. The most recent census data indicate that 76% of U.S. workers over the age of 16 commute to work by driving alone. Ten percent carpool (usually with one other person), 5% use public transportation, and 0.5% use bicycles (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Clearly if more workers could be induced to make use of carpools or public transportation, the number of vehicles (and associated GHG emissions) would be reduced. If more commuters could find a way to bicycle to work (or even cycle partway to work, using alternative transportation for the remainder of the trip), then GHG emissions would be reduced even further. The benefits of alternative

transportation are now being identified, such as lowered absenteeism (Hendriksen, Simons, Garre, & Hildebrandt, 2010), reduced stress (Wener & Evans, 2011), and lower body mass index (MacDonald, Stokes, Cohen, Kofner, & Ridgeway, 2010). As experts in attitudes and motivation, I-O psychologists can assist with programs to coax more commuters to adopt an alternative to the drive-alone mode of transportation.

While individual commuters consume large quantities of energy each workday through operation of private vehicles, considerably more energy is consumed by corporate fleets (delivery trucks, company cars, construction vehicles, company airplanes, etc.). An estimated 67% of U.S. energy is consumed by the business and industry sector (Gardner & Stern, 2002). Some organizations are trying to reduce their fossil fuel needs by making greater use of biofuels for their corporate fleets. This has led to a rise in demand for biofuels, mainly corn-based ethanol. Land devoted to biofuel production is not available for conventional food crops. This leads to a potential increase in food prices for the general public. Recent research indicates that significant gains are realized when agricultural land is used to produce crops for bioelectricity (used in electric vehicles) instead of biofuels (used in vehicles run by internal combustion engines) (Campbell, Lobell, & Field, 2009). When the comparison is made, using biomass to run electric vehicles results in 81% more miles driven (and 108% more GHG offsets per unit area of cropland) than is the case with the same biomass converted to cellulosic ethanol for internal combustion vehicles. The transportation distance for most commuters is within the range for electric vehicles owned by organizations for carpooling (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). This represents just one more area in which I-O psychologists can act as change agents and push for more sustainable choices. The main obstacle is worker and management attitudes and habits.

Telecommuting

Since commuting to work, especially alone in a private car, is high in environmental cost, the alternative of telecommuting from home is an effective way to achieve sustainability goals. Approximately 4% of employees stay home to work, and a larger percentage telecommute at least one day a week (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Concern has been raised about the potential for telecommuting to create problems involving supervision, work-group commitment, and even family conflict. Allowing selected employees to

telecommute can foster resentment from fellow employees who view this as special treatment, the telecommuter can feel out of the loop and isolated from peers, and supervisors may need to master new skills in managing virtual water cooler meetings or shared email folders to maintain communication among off-site and on-site employees (Lautsch & Kossek, 2011).

Some of the concerns associated with telecommuting were addressed in a recent meta-analysis (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). A conceptual model was used in which telecommuting has effects on psychological mediators (sense of autonomy, work-family conflict, impaired relationships with peers and supervisors) that in turn impact individual outcomes (satisfaction, performance, intention to quit, etc.). The results of this review revealed that telecommuting is associated with a greater sense of work autonomy and lower levels of work-family conflict. Contrary to expectations, telecommuting did not negatively impact relationships with peers in the workplace (except at very high levels) and was even positively associated with the quality of the employee-supervisor relationship. As for individual outcomes, telecommuters reported higher job satisfaction, lower turnover intent, and less role stress. Also, telecommuters had strong job performance (based on archival records). In other areas of organization functioning, achievement of sustainability goals comes at a cost, at least in the near-term. However, with telecommuting, there does not appear to be much of a downside.

While telecommuting is currently offered to a minority of employees, there is significant opportunity here for structural change. Aided by I-O psychologists, some companies may be able to allow entire departments to telecommute at least a few days a week if not working off-site on a near permanent basis. As technology in communication and video conferencing advances, it is likely that there will be opportunities in the future for a significant portion of the workforce to avoid commuting to work either partially (on selected days) or entirely. This fundamental structural change could represent a sizable reduction in GHG emissions, as well as an arguably more satisfied workforce. For office workers, telecommuting provides savings in GHG emissions since the drive to the office is eliminated. In some circumstances, it may be possible to realize additional savings in office building heating/cooling and lighting due to the reduced number of on-site employees. We anticipate that I-O psychologists will have an important role in restructuring workplaces to adapt to such a new work format.

Employee Recruitment and Selection

Recruitment and selection of new employees was one of the earliest concerns of industrial psychologists, dating from the pre-World War I work of the discipline's founders: Münsterberg, Cattell, Scott, and Bingham (Landy & Conte, 2010). This has traditionally been an expensive part of the business enterprise, involving advertising, processing responses, initial screening, testing, interviewing, and final selection for orientation and training. The inevitable paper processing, transportation to job interviews, and recruiter time cannot be accomplished without environmental costs in the form of energy use and eventual paper waste. Fortunately, a number of organizations have developed techniques for e-recruitment in recent years that may reduce environmental costs significantly (Lee, 2011). e-Recruiting technologies are web-based and automated to increase the efficiency of recruiter and applicant tasks during the selection process. Organizations benefit by reduced costs for advertising and application processing (Buckley, Minette, Joy, & Michaels, 2004). Access to larger labor markets is achieved with reduced transaction time. With automated screening, a larger applicant pool can be processed without increased cost. From the job seeker's perspective, e-recruiting makes it possible to gather information from a large number of potential employers with a minimum investment of time and money (Selden & Orenstein, 2011).

Some organizations have had problems with e-recruiting, often because inefficient processing procedures resulted in a backlog of unqualified applicants (UK Net Guide, 2012). But estimates of financial savings from e-recruitment programs have been promising. One company that hires 10,000 new employees a year calculated an average cost of $900 per employee hire with e-recruiting, with a total program savings of $9 million (Lee, 2011). Absent from the literature are reports of environmental savings associated with e-recruitment. Such a study would compare traditional recruiting and e-recruitment with estimates of employee time, paper use, energy use (lighting, heating, fuel), and eventual paper waste. Some of these criteria could be converted to dollar costs if desired. Costs and benefits could be calculated from the different perspectives of the employer and job seeker. If environmental benefits can be added to the financial benefits associated with e-recruitment programs, organizations will have increased incentive to further explore this technology.

Job Training

Employee orientation and training is a major support function in organizations for a variety of reasons. First, some organizations intentionally hire

new workers with basic skills and a liberal education but who lack the knowledge and skills for the specific job at hand (Spector, 2012). These organizations rely on their own training to complete the new hire's preparation for work. Second, the demands of a dynamic marketplace and changing technology require companies to continuously adapt—with the consequent need to train and retrain incumbent employees in new approaches and job skills. Third, training is needed to maintain vigilance regarding key values (sensitivity to issues associated with ethnic diversity, reminders that customer satisfaction is a top priority) and potential emergencies (employee violence, disaster preparedness) (Verhezen, 2010). While research documenting the net financial benefit of training programs and the effects of training on job performance is limited, there is a general belief among administrators that training has value for the organization, for the employees, and for society (Aguinis & Kraiger, 2009). And for such reasons, U.S. organizations collectively spent an estimated $52.6 billion on training needs in 2010. For individual organizations, the average training budget is $4.3 million (Training Industry Report, 2010). Such a commitment to training activities cannot be conducted without significant costs to the environment in the form of resource use, greenhouse gas emissions, and pollution. Unfortunately the extent of these environmental costs (and the variables influencing them) has yet to be reported in the literature.

e-Training (which includes computer-related and web-based approaches) has high potential for environmental savings in part due to reduced travel to training sites, less need for dedicated training facilities, and in some cases a decreased need for instructors (with the use of an instructor-absent delivery format). From an ecological perspective, it is welcome news that technology-driven changes are prominent in the training literature and nearly 40% of organizations (industrial and educational with over 100 employees) plan to purchase online learning tools in the coming year (Training Industry Report, 2010). While small and mid-sized companies continue to rely on instructor-led methods for delivery of training content, the larger organizations (10,000 or more employees) have been moving toward new and potentially environment-friendly training technology. The e-training tools that are most highly used include virtual classrooms, webcasting, video broadcasting, and learning management systems (e.g, BlackBoard, WebCT, Moodle) (Training Industry Report, 2010).

One ongoing question in business and educational settings is whether e-training (distance education) is inferior to face-to-face (instructor-

present) instruction. Several meta-analyses have addressed this question (e.g., Allen, Bourhis, Mabry, Burrell, & Timmerman, 2006; Sitzmann, Kraiger, Stewart, & Wisher, 2006). The typical finding is that e-training is slightly superior or equal to face-to-face instruction on learning criteria and e-training is equal or slightly lower in learner satisfaction with the training experience. Such broad generalizations can be qualified based on these reviews. For example, online instruction is superior for teaching declarative knowledge but not for procedural knowledge. And online approaches are associated with higher trainee satisfaction for students who like to work independently, who score high on internal locus of control, who are technologically oriented, and who are highly motivated. With the basic questions regarding e-training effectiveness empirically settled, interest has shifted toward issues of personalization and peer relationships. While instructor-absent formats are widely used, especially for mandatory or compliance training (e.g., instruction regarding harassment, discrimination, and business ethics), the instructor has a presence in most organizational training programs (Training Industry Report, 2010). With e-training, the instructor may be the center of focus (as with webcasting a lecture or demonstration broadcast from a remote location). But often the instructional focus is on written material and online assignments. In such cases, the instructor's role is more aptly described as a facilitator than a leader (sometimes depicted as the "guide on the side" instead of the "sage on the stage"). Current research addresses ways in which the remote facilitator-instructor can still provide a meaningful presence and personalize the trainee's educational experience (e.g., Wolsey, 2008). Other studies are pursuing the difficulties of maintaining effective peer communication during group or team activities when an online e-training format is used (e.g., Cheng, Wang, Yang, Kinshuk, & Peng, 2011).

e-Training is associated with a variety of potential benefits such as reduced use of training facilities, increased accessibility, and control of disease transmission. Campbell and Campbell (2011) explored an additional benefit: mitigation of activities contributing to global climate change. They obtained survey responses from 500 students enrolled in online courses on three college campuses. Students who commuted by personal car were asked to estimate whether taking the course online resulted in fewer driving trips to campus. The environmental consequences of the estimated reduction in commute trips was assessed by calculating the CO_2 emissions savings associated with reduced consumption of gasoline. They estimated that offering a lower-division class of 100 students taught online (instead of face-to-face) led to reduced greenhouse gas

emissions of 5–10 tons per semester, and knowledge of such an environmental benefit led to enhanced student satisfaction with the course. Similar research conducted in the industry and government organizations would provide a useful gauge as to how effective e-training can be in reducing our environmental impact.

Motivation

Of principal interest to eco-I-O psychologists is how to encourage front-line employees to comply with behavioral changes involved in corporate greening polices. While management can make these actions company policy or part of the job description, sustainability goals are unlikely to be realized unless employees become personally motivated to adopt environmentally friendly behaviors. However, motivating individuals to permanently alter behavior in sustainable directions can be a difficult hurdle to surmount.

At a superficial level, it would appear that the task is straightforward: provide convincing information regarding the need for sustainable activities and people will respond first by changing their attitudes and intentions, and next by altering their behavior. We could call this the environmental education approach. However, it is rarely that simple, as a number of internal and external barriers can make change difficult, particularly politically charged changes such as those associated with behaviors that contribute to global warming (Hoffman, 2010). After reviewing the literature on environmental education, Gardner and Stern (2002) note that education has limited effectiveness and that only when the barriers to change are internal and the change is compatible with people's deeper values is enduring behavior change likely to occur. They cite the work of Scott Geller and others showing that education can result in self-report changes in attitudes and intentions but actual behavior change, even of short duration, is minimal—whether the sustainability target is major (installing household insulation in walls and ceilings) or minor (lowering heater thermostats a couple of degrees or screwing on a low-flow shower head).

Some environmental advocates have looked to the advertising and marketing field for ways to encourage pro-environmental motives. One promising approach is social marketing—the promotion (or "selling") of causes and ideas (social products) such as energy conservation (Solomon, 2011). One application of this approach, referred to as community-based social marketing, places emphasis on the identification of barriers to change

and construction of a change program that combines traditional behavior-change tools such as the enlistment of commitment by participants, use of prompts, application of incentives, and use of pilot testing for program refinement. This approach has met with some success in a water conservation program in Toronto and a household recycling program in Seattle (McKenzie-Mohr, 2000). Similar multi-method approaches have been consistently advocated by Stern and his colleagues (Gardner & Stern, 2002; Stern, 2000a, 2011). We anticipate that soon, I-O researchers will find ways to test similar multiple-strategy programs toward sustainability goals in organizations.

Goal setting has been effective as a motivation and behavior-change technique in work settings, especially with relatively simple jobs and single goals (Spector, 2012). A combination of education, goal-setting, and individualized feedback resulted in a 5% energy savings for a sample of households in the Netherlands (Abrahamse, Rothengatter, Steg, & Vleck, 2007). In the workplace, team-based goal setting and feedback may prove similarly effective in environmental sustainability programs and may help to cultivate a more sustainability-oriented workplace culture.

In some cases, employees may bring forth ideas for I-O organizational psychology. These suggestions or activities could be seen as a form of organizational citizenship behavior, especially when this behavior occurs before green policies have been formally enmeshed with job descriptions and organizational structure. Ramus and Killmer (2007) have identified four factors that influence the likelihood that employees will be motivated to engage in these extra-role behaviors, including (1) supervisory support; (2) social norms in the workplace; (3) self-efficacy; and (4) personal predisposition. The first three of these factors combine to highlight the necessity of a holistic workplace environment mentality. Rather than simply espouse environmental ideals or make minor energy-saving changes, company leaders can provide resources and behavioral reinforcement, foster a culture of sustainability, and emphasize the effectiveness of employee behaviors to cultivate more comprehensive workplace sustainability.

The fourth factor of individual predisposition is examined at length by Finlinson, Popovich, and Scherbaum (2008). They evaluated the relationship between personal environmental norms, environmental worldviews, and conservation behavior. They administered surveys and ran focus groups with staff at a Midwestern university and sought to evaluate the usefulness of the value-belief-norm (VBN) theory in an organizational context. In this application to environmental behavior, the VBN theory

demonstrated a causal link between a person's environmental values, beliefs about the environmental condition and consequences, and subsequent personal norms. This, in turn, should influence the person's behavior (Stern, Dietz, Abel, Guagnano, & Kalof, 1999). The authors did find support for VBN theory in this context. Environmental worldviews were significant predictors of environmental personal norms, which, in turn, were statistically significant predictors of self-reported conservation behaviors. While VBN theory shows promise for understanding the process by which environmental attitudes are translated to behavior, future research will determine how interventions can best influence employees' environmental personal norms and worldviews. It should also be noted that this study was conducted in a workplace environment that was relatively supportive of environmentally friendly behaviors. Future research may also address the degree to which attitudes predict behaviors in non-supportive environments.

Change Management

As the general culture in the United States has grown more sensitive to environmental concerns, it has become fashionable to demonstrate sustainable behaviors. I-O psychologists and managers who hope to make sustainable changes to firms may find it useful to utilize this trend in the workplace to influence employee behavior. By shaping workplace culture to be more accepting of environmental causes, employees may not only merely comply with requests to modify their behavior on the job, but may initiate voluntary actions such as carpooling. Ramus and Killmer (2007) made use of expectancy theory to formulate a model to conceptualize environmental behavior exhibited by workers. This model takes into account the workplace environment as well as employee predispositions and beliefs in the efficacy of efforts to have an impact on the environment. The most salient aspect of workplace environment in this study was the employees' perception of the organization's norms regarding support for environmentally friendly behavior. The authors suggest that even when an employee holds personal beliefs and a worldview supportive of environmental behaviors, such behaviors may not occur if the employee perceives the workplace culture to be hostile (or at least unsupportive) to such actions.

The power of social influence in relation to green behaviors was demonstrated by Griskevicius, Tybur, and Van den Bergh (2010) in a study that examined consumer selections between green and conventional luxury

goods. They found that participants selected green products over luxury products when they were primed to status motives, when their purchases were made publicly, and when the green product was more expensive. Their results provide support for the concepts of competitive altruism and costly signaling theory, as participants appeared to demonstrate their altruism and status through the selection of green products. In other words, social motives prevailed that happened to be congruent with environmentally sustainable action. These results offer useful information for those who wish to promote environmental behavior in the workplace. The value of environmental causes has become so accepted in the wider culture that green behavior has become a form of public altruism. Green behavior, like acts of charity and self-sacrifice, can be used by the individual to build a desirable reputation and demonstrate access to resources. Such behavior may encourage acceptance and even status among co-workers.

While workplace culture may become an important factor in the adoption of sustainable behaviors, we have no reliable way to completely transform an environmentally wasteful organizational culture despite the body of literature on organizational development, transformational leadership, and the like. While it may be that managers are generally familiar with their companies' policies and intentions regarding organizational sustainability, there are often barriers of an economic or social nature that make sustainability transformation difficult. For example, fear is a common reaction to change, especially if the initiative does not have the genuine support of organization leaders (Hoffmann, 2010). While only a small minority of companies can be considered explicitly hostile to green activities, most firms value environmental efforts subordinate to profitability of the company (Crane & Harris, 2002; Linnenluecke & Griffiths, 2010; Michael, Echols, & Bukowski, 2010). After interviewing managers and directors from a variety of companies, Crane and Harris (2002) concluded that it will be extremely difficult to initiate and sustain the process of cultural greening, and when change is possible it must develop gradually. In addition, corporate culture is often embedded in the organizational structure itself, making structural and cultural change a daunting task (Griffiths & Linnenluecke, 2010). Internal company culture exists within the context of the wider industry. This can present a serious impediment to change if a company risks losing profitability or market share in a competitive and highly profit-driven industry.

This is not to suggest that change is impossible or that efforts to influence a sustainable culture are fruitless. Managers can manipulate cultural attributes by demonstrating attitudes and incentives that may make the

workplace more hospitable to the development of a sustainability-oriented culture. Employers can include green measures in job performance evaluation and training while emphasizing the company's support for sustainability efforts (Linnenluecke & Griffiths, 2010). Thus, through gradual and sincere changes to the structure of the workplace and the espoused values of the company, management can set the stage for future cultural greening. In order to be successful, corporate sustainability efforts will require both formal commitment from corporate leadership and the voluntary support by employees throughout the organization.

Teams and Communication

While a graduate student at the University of Iowa, one of the authors of this chapter (Elliott) considered the environmental damage associated with attending professional meetings. As a member of Engineers for a Sustainable World, he was preparing for the International Carbon Dioxide Conference to be held in Broomfield, Colorado. He realized the paradox of flying (the worst form of transportation in terms of greenhouse gas emissions) to attend a scientific conference where reduction of such emissions would be the main topic. Instead of booking a flight (as most of the attending scientists did), he borrowed a folding bicycle, peddled to the Amtrak station (trains have a much smaller carbon footprint than planes for regional transportation), took the train from Mount Pleasant to Denver, and then peddled the remaining distance to the conference site—covering 140 of the 1,800 miles (round-trip) on a 20-year-old collapsible bike. He and his colleague Marcelo Mena calculated that travel for the 380 conference attendees introduced over 170 tons of carbon into the environment, while the bicycle-train option resulted in a 70% savings in emissions (Pulliam, 2005). The point of this story is not that we should all be riding bikes to business and academic meetings. Rather, the intention is to highlight the need to consider and even promote the use of alternatives to the traditional face-to-face meeting for group communication in organizations.

Members of organizations meet and confer face-to-face for all kinds of communication needs—strategy sessions, division meetings, board meetings, team problem-solving, marketing proposals, applicant interviews, sales conventions, and professional conferences. Attendance at such meetings involves costs to the environment associated with transportation and facilities use. Often, the purpose of the meeting can be accomplished with environment-friendly alternatives such as web conferencing, Skype

interviews, online wikis, web-based discussion forums, and other electronic communication media.

A number of the issues and problems associated with technology-mediated communication are highlighted in the research on virtual teams (Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch, Jimenez-Rodriguez, Wildman, & Shuffler, 2011). The traditional face-to-face meeting has a number of advantages. Communication is "rich" in the sense that the literal sense of language is accompanied by paraverbal (tone and pitch) and nonverbal (body language, facial cues) information. Emotion is easily communicated. One can quickly address misunderstanding or receive clarification. A feeling of personal relationship is easy to acquire. And face-to-face is a traditional mode of communication, so norms and expectations for verbal interaction can be handled relatively comfortably. Virtual communication (where the attendees in the relationship are not physically present in the same place and the communication medium is electronic) has several distinguishing features—not all positive, especially when the format is textual and asynchronous. Emotion and humor are not easily communicated. Miscommunication may not be noted or quickly corrected. And a sense of personal relationship is difficult to build. On the other hand, asynchronous virtual interaction allows the communicants to consider and research their input before responding—an advantage that is lost during real-time interaction. Because of these differences, teams relying on technology-mediated communication must develop skills for effective interaction that are less essential in face-to-face team interactions. A substantial body of research on the requisite skills for participants in virtual teams has yet to develop.

The small amount of existing research on communication and performance in virtual teams has produced conflicting results. One meta-analysis led to the conclusion that virtual teams are less effective and slower to complete tasks than traditional groups (Baltes, Dickson, Sherman, Bauer, & LaGanke, 2002). Another meta-analysis resulted in the finding that virtual teams achieve higher-quality decisions and more equal sharing of information (McLeod, 1992). Both reviews found that virtual teams were associated with lower work satisfaction. The research covered by these reviews is hampered by classification difficulties. For example, teams differ in virtuality. Those at the lowest level of virtuality are traditional face-to-face teams. Others still relatively low on this variable are those that use video conferencing and interact in real time, capturing many of the features of face-to-face team interaction. Intermediate are teams working in real time with video (e.g., chat messaging). At the high level of virtuality, we

find teams that communicate asynchronously using text messages (discussion forums, email). To add to the confusion, many teams blend several levels of virtuosity, meeting sometimes face-to-face and conducting some of their work as virtual teams. In a recent meta-analysis, Mesmer-Magnus et al. (2011) found that lower levels of virtuality are associated with more sharing of information among team members and higher levels elicited more unique information from each individual participant. However, hybrid teams (blending face-to-face with virtual interaction) shared the most information of all.

PSYCHOLOGICAL OBSTACLES TO SUSTAINABLE BEHAVIOR

Psychologists working within organizations to bring about environmentally beneficial change must remain aware that the barriers to such change are formidable, especially when the behavioral goals for change conflict with personal habits, deep-seated values, and socially supported norms. Gifford (2011) referred to these change obstacles as the "dragons of inaction that thwart the widely accepted but elusive goals of anthropogenic carbon neutrality and environmental sustainability" (p. 291). We will review some of these dragons of inaction as they apply to the workplace.

Resistance to Change

We as a society are ambivalent about change. On one hand, we embrace change and use it in marketing new products and services with such catchphrases as new, enhanced, refreshingly different, novel, and the "next cool thing." At the same time, we can be skeptical and distrustful of new ideas and ways of doing things, especially when it involves uncertainty and requires us to learn new skills or adopt new attitudes (Salem, 2008). Planning for change and overcoming the anticipated resistance is such a problem in organizations that it has led to the creation of its own specialty within I-O psychology with dedicated professional journals (e.g., *Organizational Development Journal*). Trying to move managers and workers out of their comfort zones for sustainability purposes is no different than facilitating change for performance or safety purposes. The same principles of communication, trust, incentive, and top-down endorsement must be applied. And there is no guarantee that well-intentioned efforts

will be successful. Still, the fact that we have developed a set of tools and concepts to aid organizational change agents indicates that we are well-positioned to apply this expertise to environmental challenges from within organizations.

Values

A number of deep-seated personal and social values present obstacles to pro-environmental behavior changes. Perhaps foremost of these in Western society is the high value placed on individual freedom of action and protection from coercion. We use phrases such as "find yourself" and "follow your own drummer" to suggest that each individual person should determine his or her own path through life—including choice of vocation, spouse, hobbies, family size, etc. An area of psychological literature on reactance theory has developed over the predictable reactions we observe when an individual's perceived freedom of action is threatened (Brehm, 1966; Quick & Bates, 2010). A related literature has developed that addresses the individualist/collectivist distinction (Kastenmüller, Greitemeyer, Jonas, Fischer, & Grey, 2010). For the I-O psychologist, the challenge is to find ways to encourage motivation to engage in actions that benefit us all collectively by helping to stabilize ecological forces that threaten our well-being. For a society that holds dearly the notion of "do your own thing" and "resist authority," this will not be an easy task.

Information Processing

Our limited ability to understand environmental threats and process the related information poses a formidable challenge. We have conceptual models for how people adapt to and cope with environmental threat (Reser & Swim, 2011). We have identified some of the individual factors (sense of personal competence and control) and social correlates (poverty) associated with different coping strategies when threat looms. But this literature does not yet provide specific guidance regarding how to cause individuals to appraise threat realistically and adopt an optimal coping strategy. For example, should we induce fear of environmental catastrophe and guilt regarding failure to heed prior warnings, or will that simply confuse people and interfere with adaptive coping? As long as this literature focuses more on understanding our response to threat than on creating proactive behavior to mitigate future threats, it will be of limited guidance.

We respond to threatening events best when they are discrete, immediate, clear, vivid, and certain and have difficulty understanding and responding to threats that are vague, distant, probabilistic, and presented via abstract statistics and graphs (Stanovich, 2010). As Gifford (2011) put it (with a whimsical nod to Kahneman and Tversky), "humans are famously less rational than once believed" (p. 291). He describes several forms of limited cognition as applied to environmental threats. Among these are ignorance (some people are simply unaware of the problem), environmental numbness (we habituate to events that pose no immediate and personal difficulties), judgmental discounting (we tend to undervalue distant or future risks), optimism bias (there is plenty of time to figure out a solution), and perceived behavioral control (this is a collective action problem and my individual action will make no difference to the outcome). All these examples of limited cognition apply to individuals in the workplace. They represent specific and difficult hurdles that the I-O psychologist must overcome when pushing for sustainable action.

Sensitivity to Consequences

It appears likely that the human brain evolved in an environment that favored vigilance for immediate threats and a readiness to learn from the immediate consequences of behavior (Buss, 2008). If this is so, then it will not be easy to coax individuals to forego immediate pleasures (and endure immediate inconvenience) in order to achieve distant gains, even if those gains are large. The sensitivity to immediate and personal consequences, even if damaging for the group in the long run, has been posed as a personal dilemma. This dilemma actually combines two notions: the tendency to respond to immediate consequences over distant consequences and the tendency to respond to personal concerns over those of the group. This type of dilemma was made popular when expressed metaphorically as "the tragedy of the commons" (Hardin, 1968) and has been explored experimentally in a number of variations under the general category of social dilemmas (Gifford, 2007; Kopelman, Weber, & Messick, 2002).

Research aimed at understanding and resolving commons dilemmas can usefully be applied to sustainability choices made in organizations. To do so, decisions made by workers and managers must be framed as dilemmas and the conflicts associated with the alternative courses of action examined. The research on altruism and organizational citizenship behavior can be interpreted within the commons dilemma framework. When faced with an opportunity to make an altruistic or pro-organizational choice, the

individual worker must decide between a selfish and personally expedient action (on one hand) or an other-oriented, often inconvenient choice (on the other hand). The forces (internal and external) that lead one to make prosocial, group-oriented choices may be similar to those that support sustainability actions.

FRONTIERS OF FUTURE RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

At present, we have a research literature revealing over a century of studies examining different ways to influence work behavior with the goals of performance, satisfaction, efficiency, and safety. We also have several decades of completed studies on members of the general public examining environmental beliefs and testing ways to influence pro-environmental behaviors. What is still lacking is a well-developed literature on how to bring about a profound environmental consciousness and environmentally sustainable behaviors in the workplace. The need to do so is becoming increasingly clear as we understand with greater clarity the environmental damage associated with modern human activity and the ecological trends now identified that threaten our future well-being.

Demonstration projects and experimental comparisons that address isolated efforts to increase sustainability in organizations will provide guidance to managers and I-O professionals in positions of influence over the workplace. But coordinated, theory-connected research is likely to yield useful and readily applicable findings in a shorter time frame. With that in mind, we examine several efforts to provide coherency and connectedness to studies at the frontiers of eco-I-O research.

The APA Models

Several organizing models are offered in an APA report addressing psychological issues associated with climate change (APA Task Force, 2009). The first of these is a schematic framework providing a way to conceptualize anthropogenic climate change drivers. The drivers are depicted as human systems and include socio-economic development (population, consumption, technology) and related processes of adaptation and mitigation behaviors. The framework depicts the interaction between the human systems and a set of earth systems, including climate process

drivers (greenhouse gas concentrations and emissions), climate change itself (temperature change, sea level rise, extreme weather events), and the resulting impact on ecosystems. The researcher interested in a specific pathway between social variables and climate process drivers can use this framework to provide context to individual studies.

The second of the APA models has potential to offer more specific contextual guidance to the psychologist-researcher or psychologist-consultant as it identifies specific psychological factors involved in the interaction between human systems and environmental systems. This model helps the researcher to sort through human behavioral contributions to climate change, economic consumption variables, individual and social perceptions of risks, and indicators of individual and societal well-being.

A third model in the APA report addresses psychological processes involved in our efforts to cope with climate change. Threat appraisal, coping appraisal, attributions, and other threat-related concepts are broken down into components and depicted as they are related to experience with stressors and proactive or reactive coping responses. Essentially, this is a general threat appraisal and coping model, but it has specific value for sustainability research because it is focused on environmental threats.

Gifford's General Model for Social Dilemmas

The social dilemma construct is tremendously popular as an organizing model for our use and misuse of environmental resources of all kinds. The problem is that the many studies published on variants of the commons metaphor can lead to confusion rather than conceptual clarity. Robert Gifford has effectively integrated a number of the variables associated with this research in his general model for understanding social dilemmas (Gifford, 2007, p. 492). The individual decision to increase, maintain, or reduce use of an environmental resource is influenced by a variety of factors under the general headings of dilemma awareness, decision-maker influences, technological influences, governance influences, interpersonal influences, and geophysical influences. The outcome of the individual resource decision has consequences (outcomes) for the individual decision-maker and the environment. In order to use this model to organize research efforts, the organizational worker has to frame the sustainability issue as a resource dilemma (or social dilemma). For example, the decision to commute to work in one's personal vehicle is a competitive or selfish choice in terms of social dilemma theory, while commuting by public transportation would be viewed as a cooperative or altruistic choice. Similarly, a

corporate decision to reduce energy use by investing in more-efficient production equipment is a cooperative choice, while maximizing current profits by continuing to run the current production equipment is a selfish choice.

Stern's VBN Theory

The value-belief-norm (VBN) theory is focused solely on the psychological factors determining environmental behaviors (Stern, 2000b). Following this theory, pro-environmental behavior is caused most directly by personal norms that include a sense of commitment and obligation to attend to the environmental consequences of one's actions. Such personal norms are in turn determined by beliefs that environmental conditions threaten things the individual values and beliefs that the individual can effectively change or influence those threatening conditions. Further removed in the causal chain are the deterministic roles played by values expressed in the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) (Dunlap, Van Liere, Mertig, & Jones, 2000), which is a worldview depicting the Earth as a fragile and complex system threatened by population success and our consumptive lifestyle. Biospheric, altruistic, and egoistic concerns determine the expression of NEP.

Each of the conceptual models just described is intended to organize research addressing environmental concerns. The challenge for I-O researchers is to use these models as theoretical frameworks for organizing research on sustainability in organizations and businesses that make up the context for I-O activities. The work informed by these models can be coupled with the existing theoretical approaches now common to the I-O literature—goal-setting theory, reinforcement strategies, self-efficacy theory, path-goal theory of leadership, group decision-making approaches, etc. (Latham & Pinder, 2005). Perhaps more radical is the notion of including environmental attitudes and predispositions in the mix of screening variables used when selecting new employees into an organization. Almost as radical is the idea of including environmental values and sustainability commitment in organization training programs. As the ongoing environmental trends continue—regarding climate change, resource availability, and environmental quality—such ideas can be expected to appear less radical and more as appropriate components of programs needed to achieve sustainability goals.

Promoting sustainable behavior, whether in the workplace or at home, requires indentifying causes of a problem, selecting target behaviors to change, developing a behavior-change program, and evaluating the success

of the program. This is exactly the sort of approach in which I-O psychologists are trained to engage and there are compelling reasons for us to apply it now in organizational settings. We have the tools for change, we have theories to guide our efforts, and we have a set of new environmental sensibilities represented in allied disciplines such as conservation psychology (Clayton & Myers, 2009). I-O psychologists are thus in an ideal position to influence organizations to become more socially and environmentally responsible. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that these changes could have influences in the wider cultural atmosphere. To paraphrase from Koger and Winter (2010), it is time for I-O psychologists to begin using psychology to build a sustainable workplace and make organizational sustainability one of the stated goals of their discipline.

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3

Corporate Leaders of Sustainable Organizations: Balancing Profit, Planet, and People

Tina Lombardo, Sherry Schneider, and Laura Koppes Bryan

As Chapter 2 demonstrates, corporate leaders of today face serious environmental challenges and have increasingly found themselves at crossroads on the social and moral level. Finding the right path that balances profitability and responsibility is not always intuitive for leaders, nor is it always popular among many shareholders.

Once considered fringe ideas, corporate social responsibility (CSR) and sustainability are now part of the corporate world's vocabulary. CSR—also known as corporate responsibility, corporate citizenship, responsible business, or corporate social performance—can be defined as "the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the local community and society at large" (World Business Council for Sustainable Development, n.d.). Simply put, CSR practices are the voluntary firm actions to improve social and environmental conditions and can be implemented on varying levels and for various reasons, be it altruistic, political, or for the firm's image. Although its meaning is often wrongly reduced to its environmental component, the term "sustainability" generally refers to the firm's commitment to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Business Council for Sustainable Development, n.d.).

As early pioneers are starting to prove the business case for sustainability, more and more skeptics are having a change of heart. Many businesses, especially large corporations, have started to incorporate social responsibility practices and report regularly on their social and environmental

contributions. Many American organizations have incorporated CSR strategies or have hired sustainability officers, yet social and environmental agendas still largely remain secondary and subordinated in the list of business priorities.

Other organizations, however, have embraced sustainability at a deep, fundamental level, centering their whole business model around the idea of *doing well by doing good*. In the US, exemplar organizations such as Interface Inc., Stoneyfield Farms, Seventh Generation, and Patagonia have shown the corporate world that responsible business can be profitable business. Their organizational cultures live and breathe the values associated with sustainability, and it is these businesses and their leaders that are the focus of this chapter. As such, we shall take a closer look at the research related to leadership in organizations that have fully deployed a sustainability focus throughout their organizational DNA.

Throughout this chapter, we will use the term *triple-bottom line* to refer to these intensely sustainability-focused organizations and their leaders. The *triple-bottom line paradigm* refers to the belief that business ought to take into account people, planet, and profit (also called the three Ps) in the entire organizational decision-making process, contrary to what is referred to as the *single-bottom line approach* focusing solely on profit (Marsden, 2000). As such, "the triple bottom line objective is a holistic business policy which integrates corporate citizenship into the values and practices of the entire company such that its environmental, social and financial performances are managed as one" (Marsden, 2000, p. 16). It should be noted that each organization may have a special focus within its overall triple-bottom line philosophy. A manufacturer, for instance, may focus more on the environmental impact of its operations, while a service organization may put more emphasis on fair treatment of employees or advancing social causes, and a company in the food and beverage industry may put most of its efforts into fair trade issues. As such, often, the triple-bottom line organization puts its emphasis where it can make the biggest positive impact, while also doing justice to the other aspects of sustainability.

Among business leaders, sustainability is often referred to as a journey. This metaphor was born from the realization that one can never reach sustainability. Rather, an organization commits to the journey of continuous learning and improvement that is entailed in seeking a sustainability vision. As time passes and certain milestones are reached, technological advances enable the company to solve the next level of challenges, and innovative minds find themselves asking new questions

and finding new answers. This chapter is about leaders taking their organizations on this challenging journey.

Several scholars in the management, organization development, and industrial-organizational (I-O) psychology fields have taken on the topic of sustainability, many by exploring what motivates a company to change its course and what factors lead to success. Most, if not all, of these authors acknowledge the importance of senior leadership's role in these organization development processes. After all, it is the top leadership that articulates a vision as well as defines objectives and strategies for the organization. The decision to start the sustainability journey is a wide-reaching one, which, if it is to be an authentic and long-term business model, affects operations on all levels. Such an undertaking does not develop from the bottom up; it is directed from the top down (Von Boguslawski & Ardelt, 2005). Additionally, if sustainability and CSR are viewed as values, then, according to the concept of values-based leadership, the founder or CEO has a large influence on the organization's culture and values held by organizational members (Amodeo, 2005; Bass & Avolio, 1993). Leaders also often act as role models and as the source for cultural norms and traditions; these are elements of organizational culture that has been identified as extremely important during the process of greening a business (Amodeo, 2005; De Wit, Wade, & Schouten, 2006). Lastly, on a purely practical level, no sustainability program inside the organization will become a major focus if financial and human resources are not allocated accordingly. As resource allocation is closely tied to organizational objectives, this responsibility falls under the control of the organization's top leadership.

This chapter will examine the type of leadership characteristics that may be especially suitable to successfully lead a sustainability-focused organization as well as to turn a more traditional business into one that fully embraces a sustainability philosophy. Several recent quantitative and qualitative studies have produced rich data about characteristics, values, leadership style, and business philosophies of green leaders that are starting to paint a picture of what these leaders may have in common and how they may be different from more traditional business leaders. We will discuss those commonalities and differences and then review several leadership theories that will demonstrate the evolution of thought as researchers and practitioners have been responding to changing ethical demands and economical, social, and environmental business contexts. The chapter will close with a review of current important topics and several concrete suggestions for future research around the topics of sustainability and leadership.

BUSINESS PHILOSOPHY OF TRIPLE-BOTTOM LINE LEADERS

The first, and probably most obvious, characteristic of triple-bottom line leaders that we will discuss in this chapter is their unique definition of the purpose of business. These leaders reject business philosophies such as that of infamous economist Milton Friedman, who argued that the only responsibility of business is business itself, with the solitary goal of increasing profits and maximizing returns (Friedman, 1962). In contrast, leaders of triple-bottom line organizations acknowledge that the purpose of business extends beyond creating shareholder value; it has a higher purpose, which is to benefit society at large, and to demonstrate responsibility toward the natural environment and future generations.

Our recent quantitative study on triple-bottom line leaders confirmed this unique business philosophy (Lombardo, Schneider, & Koppes Bryan, 2011). In this study, we assessed the leadership styles, values, and business philosophies of 16 top leaders of pioneering sustainability-focused organizations and 16 top leaders of more traditionally run companies. The triple-bottom line group consisted of senior leaders (e.g., CEOs, CFOs, founders) of organizations founded on or built specifically around the triple-bottom line business philosophy. These leaders represented varying sectors and came from companies such as Herman Miller, Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, Patagonia, Organic Valley, Timberland, Azure Worldwide, and Domini Social Investments, to name just a few. The comparison sample consisted of senior leaders from a cross-section of businesses that do not specifically center their business concept around the triple-bottom line philosophy. Organization size, type of ownership, and industry were matched between the two groups.

As part of our larger survey (Lombardo et al., 2011), we developed a questionnaire collecting information about the leaders' business philosophies regarding environmentally and socially responsible organizational behavior, titled the 3-P Questionnaire. This questionnaire was designed to assess each leader's definition and attitude toward business, vision for the ideal way of conducting business, and perspective on the purpose of business in general.

The 3-P Questionnaire tapped into three separate constructs that were based on findings of earlier quantitative and qualitative research on green leadership. First, the purpose of business is not just profit, but profit in the context of responsibility to external entities. Accordingly, the role of a leader

should be to actively contribute to making a positive impact in the world and effecting positive change to world problems both on an organizational level and on a personal level as a business leader. Second, environmental, social, and financial aspects of the business should be managed as one and considered equally when a business decision is made. Third, the definition of stakeholders is not just limited to closely associated internal and external entities such as shareholders, employees, and vendors. A more broad-minded, inclusive view is applied to incorporate entities such as the natural environment, future generations, and local and global communities into the definition of the company's stakeholders.

It was hypothesized that the triple-bottom line group would score significantly higher on this questionnaire than the comparison sample. Statistical testing supported this hypothesis, indicating a higher degree of triple-bottom line business philosophy among that group. Although this outcome was expected, it is interesting that a statistically significant difference could be found between the two participant groups considering the relatively small sample size and the high potential for social desirability bias favoring the 3-P perspective to play a part in this questionnaire.

Although the participants in this study were selected from companies that were very different in some aspects—such as the type of industry, the size of the organization, or the type of product or service—the common denominator among the triple-bottom line leaders may be their values-driven leadership approach to responsible business. Our data showed that each leader emphasized a slightly different aspect of sustainability because of the nature of the organization, its product focus, or business sector. However, all study participants embraced the overarching perspective of social and environmental responsibility and made efforts to integrate this philosophy into all aspects of their organization, such as the vision and mission statement, organizational values and goals, organizational culture, processes and policies, the physical workspace, and the corporate brand.

Overall, the triple-bottom line group's responses to the survey showed a delicate balance between profit orientation and social and environmental orientation. This response pattern represents the constant struggle of these pioneering organizations to create a business case for traditionally non-business-related agendas. They know financial performance needs to be in the forefront of any business in order to enable the organization to pursue the vision of sustainability. Andrew Snowhite of Azure Worldwide, a participant in our study, even goes as far as acknowledging that not all business may be in the position to pursue a social and environmental agenda because of the demands of profitability:

> I am a pragmatist and therefore believe there are certain businesses that are required to solely focus on executing their role . . . Therefore, while in an ideal world all businesses would have some form of benefit (to society, environment, etc), I understand that this is simply not realistic.
>
> (Lombardo, 2010, p. 118)

Results of related studies along with the responses to our questionnaire seem to support the notion that sustainability-driven organizational focus is anything but an idealistic, clear-cut, one-way view on business. Our later section on personal values will reveal that these leaders are not naïve, as some opponents of green business would argue. Data demonstrate that they are savvy, calculating businessmen and businesswomen who are quite courageous. In the 21st century, a sustainability-focused business is very much characterized by frequent compromise, pragmatism, struggle, and uncertainty—a road less traveled but certainly most admirable.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TRIPLE-BOTTOM LINE LEADERS

As we paint our picture of a triple-bottom line leader, we continue with characteristics such as apparent skills and common behaviors. While trait and behavioral theories of leadership no longer predominate as they did in the early days of leadership theory (e.g., Stogdill, 1948; Stogdill & Coons, 1957), there have been recent quantitative and qualitative studies conducted in this tradition whose purpose has been to identify the shared characteristics and behaviors of typical "green" leaders.

Cox (2005), for instance, conducted interviews with 18 founders of companies that were, at the time, at the forefront of the corporate greening movement. His purpose was to identify how these green pioneers led their organizations to success and what type of leader it took to embrace and successfully deploy this new business paradigm across all aspects of the business. Cox utilized grounded theory processes to analyze these semi-structured, in-depth interviews along with secondary data, such as organizational speeches, founders' biographies, and sustainability reports, to create the organic leadership framework, a leadership theory that describes the dynamics of green leadership. Cox interviewed the prominent founders of Interface Inc., The Body Shop, Stoneyfield Farm, Seventh Generation, Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, and Organic Valley Farms, to name just

a few. Through his interviews, Cox (2005) provides rich qualitative data about the characteristics of CEOs and founders of triple-bottom line organizations. Specifically, he has identified five core commitments of triple-bottom line leaders, which have been confirmed by similar studies (e.g., Andersson & Bateman, 2000; Waldman, Siegel, & Javidan, 2004).

Five Core Commitments

First, triple-bottom line leaders work from a deep sense of personal purpose (Cox, 2005). Many of Cox's interviewees expressed that they see it as their life's purpose and their personal responsibility to lead their organization in this way. Many of the interviewees could clearly articulate when their core life purpose became clear to them and why they personally chose to challenge the traditional business paradigm. The source of personal commitment is slightly different for each person but typically involves one or a combination of the following: wanting to better the world and right injustice, wanting to preserve the natural environment, enjoying being in service to others, experiencing a spiritual calling, or simply a desire for doing the right thing.

Second, triple-bottom line leaders work with a broad range of stakeholders (Cox, 2005). Unlike their more traditional counterparts, the leaders in Cox's study defined stakeholders as a group that encompasses more than just the obvious constituents such as customers, suppliers, employees, and shareholders. Stakeholders to them include all entities that can either benefit from or be negatively impacted by the organization, such as local and global communities, nonprofit organizations, and the environment, including animals and plants, as well as indigenous peoples around the world. This unique definition and engagement of stakeholders among CEOs in the sustainability arena has been discussed by numerous other authors (e.g., Amodeo, 2005; Waldman, de Luque, et al., 2006) and, as mentioned earlier, was also reflected in the data we gathered (Lombardo et al., 2011).

Third, triple-bottom line leaders engage in transformational interactions (Cox, 2005). These interactions take place in forms of conversations and activities that bring about change and represent a key component in their leadership style (Cox, 2005). Studies have shown that leaders in sustainability-focused organizations believe in engaging their followers on an emotional level (Andersson & Bateman, 2000) and embrace participative management to the fullest extent (Waldman, 2004). The inclusion of organizational members in decision-making is supported by two other

leader characteristics: modeling leadership and building leadership capacity. Through their interactions and modeling behavior, they foster leadership skills in the people that surround them. They do this in a distinctively positive way by means of unwavering support for the people around them by empowering employees, encouraging them, and recognizing and appreciating their efforts (Cox, 2005; Wilson, 2007).

Another important aspect in these transformative relationships is the leaders' charismatic communication skills. For instance, triple-bottom line leaders convey the meaning of the principles, values, and purpose of responsible business through words and action, skillfully frame contexts and the meaning of words, create common understanding and shared rituals, routines, stories, and myths that convey the organizational values, and purposely utilize the power of language and storytelling (Andersson & Bateman, 2000; Bass & Riggio, 2006). Since the transformational leadership style appears to be a key component of triple-bottom line leadership, it will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Fourth, related to the participative management style is the concept of self-organization. Letting employees take the lead in exploring a topic and implementing initiatives toward organizational goals emerged as a common and essential mindset of leaders in Cox's (2005) study. He defines self-organization as "the frequent coming together of individuals in unplanned ways to make things happen" (p. 170), and identifies this process as one of the main drivers of the type of fresh thinking, problem-solving, and innovation needed in sustainability-focused organizations.

And last, triple-bottom line leaders redefine the purpose of business (Cox, 2005). This unique triple-bottom line business philosophy was discussed earlier in this chapter. In addition to these five core commitments, there are several overarching themes about green leaders that can be deduced from Cox's work and other quantitative and qualitative studies on leaders in sustainability-focused organizations.

Embracing Diversity and Conflict

Because organizations that have embarked on the sustainability journey find themselves frequently at the crossroad of business, society, and the natural environment, they inevitably bring together a diverse range of stakeholders that would traditionally be at odds with each other. The cultures of these organizations appear to possess more diversity in terms of professional focus and individual priorities compared to traditional organizations. A triple-bottom line organization in the food industry, such

as Organic Valley, for instance, has employees that form a farmer-oriented culture and those who are part of the natural foods-oriented culture. A triple-bottom line financial organization, such as Domini Investment, for instance, has to manage and blend the financial investment culture and the social activist culture—both employee groups who feel inspired by the organizational vision, but may show differences in their personal focus and lifestyle (Cox, 2005). Such diversity can lead to functional conflict (Van de Vliert, 1997), conflict that should not be feared, but rather encouraged and embraced. A healthy exchange of differing opinions brings about increased innovation (Cox, 2005; Wilson, 2007), which is needed to move the organization toward its ambitious goals. The leader supports this process by building a culture of acceptance and listening, managing and resolving conflict when needed, and knowing how to tap into the diversity that the organization offers to ignite innovation (Amodeo, 2005).

Embracing Change

Triple-bottom line organizations are always adapting and investigating. With no blueprint to follow, most sustainability-focused organizations today are still the ones blazing the path and literally defining this different way of doing business. This type of business culture brings with it a set of challenges for the leader. As the one who is traditionally responsible for directing the organization, the leader has to find a balance between micro-managing and letting go. Wilson (2007) notes the following:

> In today's rapidly changing business environment, one must accept that it is not always possible to be in control or to have perfect knowledge of the outcomes of one's decisions . . . It was argued that successful managers must retain a sense of humility—a characteristic in sharp contrast to the model of heroic leadership.
>
> (p. 10)

Learning to surf the edge of chaos, handling ambiguity, embracing improvisation, having the courage to face the unknown, living with paradox and anxiety, and taking risks on a regular basis are all skills a leader of a pioneering triple-bottom line organization should possess (Cox, 2009a).

The idea of embracing change can also be viewed through the lens of values research, which has confirmed that leaders in the sustainability arena put more importance on values that are associated with the construct of

openness to change than more traditional leaders (Egri & Herman, 2000). Openness to change brings with it the requirement of being open to develop—thus change—one's self. Just as their organizations are often described as learning organizations, the leaders themselves utilize daily learning opportunities and intentional self-reflection to constantly refocus and stay ahead of the competition (Cox, 2009a). Because these leaders tend to understand the value of formative experiences, they are committed to continuously exposing themselves to situations that will further stretch their thinking, always question the status-quo, heighten their self-awareness, and advance their personal development (Cox, 2009a). These and other value priorities that have emerged as characteristic of triple-bottom line leaders will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Courage, Perseverance, and Self-Efficacy

The nature of a triple-bottom line organization is that it is never perfect and is always striving. There will never be a time that the organization will have achieved sustainability; instead, it will have achieved steps toward the bigger goal. This type of ever-growing and ever-changing learning culture requires persistence on everyone's part, including the leader, who often is responsible for strategic planning and budget priorities. At times when the organization finds itself at a pivotal juncture between success and failure, organizational members will look to the leader to make the tough decisions. These situations take courage and persistence. As Cox (2005) notes,

> living and working in the complex environment of the green organization takes a new kind of individual disposition; a person willing to cut across the grain and choose to open up to the life of [Green] Leadership and waft on the winds of change. [Green] leadership can be seen as the courageous means to the unpredictable end.
>
> (p. 237)

Courage and persistence typically derive from a strong belief in the cause as well as a strong belief in oneself. Even though triple-bottom line leaders are often described by their followers as extremely humble and willing to share the glory, leading with such courage and persistence is only possible if one possesses high levels of self-confidence and self-efficacy—an idea that was supported by Egri and Herman's (2000) study on for-profit environmental leaders.

Emotional and Social Intelligence

A common theme among researchers describing top leadership of sustainability-focused organizations is emotional and social intelligence—described variously as emotional maturity, left-brain-right-brain integration, and emotional awareness (Egri & Herman, 2000; Wilson, 2007). Because of their worldview, triple-bottom line leaders put high importance on self-reflection and self-awareness as a means to understand their role in the universe and becoming perceptive, cognizant leaders (Cox, 2005). Social intelligence is exhibited by these leaders in their purposeful storytelling, dynamic stakeholder engagement, and knowledge of how to harness the diversity among those stakeholders to bring about constructive exchange (Cox, 2009a).

LEADERSHIP STYLE OF TRIPLE-BOTTOM LINE LEADERS

While the previous section discusses an assortment of characteristics of triple-bottom line leaders, this section will review the topic through the lens of leadership style theories. These comprehensive theories attempt to describe a person's leadership style, including the leaders' overall view of their roles, as well as that of their followers, their approach to leadership, and the demonstrated behaviors associated with that approach. Interestingly, several older, well-established leadership theories have emerged as being quite useful in describing the leadership style most suited for today's triple-bottom line organizations.

Charismatic and Transformational Leadership

Following the early trait, behavior, and contingency theories of leadership, charismatic and transformational leadership are both theories that fall under the Neo-Charismatic Paradigm (House & Aditya, 1997) and are quite useful in understanding the type of leadership style suited for organizations that are centered around sustainability. Charismatic and transformational leadership theories were conceived in the 1970s and responded to a changing economic landscape. With the marketplace becoming increasingly competitive, technology causing rapid, large-scale changes, and with corporate America becoming a largely service-oriented economy, different skills were now required of a leader than may have been preferred

in the early or even mid-20th century (Conger & Kanungo, 1994). In many businesses, people became the most valuable organizational asset. When organizations selected new leaders, influencing, motivating, and inspiring people to reach bold organizational goals became the sought-after skill set. Both transformational and charismatic leadership address these facets of leadership.

According to Conger and Kanungo's (1987) Charismatic Leadership Model, charismatic leaders are said to have a bold vision that challenges the current status quo, to be able to articulate that vision very vividly, to be willing to take high personal risk, and to exhibit self-sacrifice to achieve their goals. They are also said to be able to make realistic assessments of the environmental constraints and the resources needed to bring about change, to be sensitive to followers' needs, feelings, and abilities, and to engage in unconventional behavior. This description of a charismatic leader is very similar to the earlier description of a triple-bottom line leader (e.g., Egri & Herman, 2000; Waldman, de Luque, et al., 2006).

Key to charismatic leaders' effectiveness is their strong social skills and their ability to relate to their followers on an emotional level, which enables them to inspire their followers to achieve extraordinary levels of performance (Conger & Kanungo, 1987). Their evident self-sacrifice and unconventional behavior demonstrate courage and conviction and further strengthen the leader-follower relationship (Conger & Kanungo, 1987). Waldman, Ramirez, House, and Puranam (2001) reported that leaders identified as charismatic made their biggest positive contribution when circumstances were unpredictable and the future uncertain by providing a strong sense of purpose and direction for the organization as a whole. Waldman et al.'s (2001) description of an unpredictable future directly applies to the uncertainties inherent to managing sustainability in today's business environment.

The idea of charisma was expanded on and incorporated into a more holistic theory: transformational leadership. Similar to charismatic leadership, transformational leadership was conceived to be the type of leadership style that was required to truly move an organization forward. Transformational leaders create change through powerful inspiration and the resulting high levels of commitment among organizational members (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978). The name of this theory stems from the notion that during this leader-follower exchange, the followers are transformed by the leader. The followers are said to adjust their values, beliefs, and attitudes and be empowered to become leaders in the change process themselves (Burns, 1978).

Over the years, there have been many impressive findings on the effectiveness of transformational leadership. Researchers propose it is the high levels of motivation, which are instilled in the followers by the transformational leader, that set the basis for great performance. In the early 1990s, Bass and Avolio (1993), pioneers in transformational leadership research, made strong arguments that this type of leadership is the basis of successful organizations because it fosters productive cultures—cultures of continuous improvement. Transformational leaders put trust in their subordinates and believe that everyone has a contribution to make, thus leaving complex problems to be handled at the lowest level possible. They exhibit a sense of vision and purpose and effectively align their followers around that vision by empowering them to take greater responsibility to achieve the set goals (Bass & Avolio, 1993).

Several studies and articles provide a strong case for transformational leadership being the leadership style that is most likely employed in organizations where the business concept is based on sustainability (e.g., Cox, 2005; Egri & Herman, 2000; Lombardo et al., 2011; Waldman, Siegel, & Javidan, 2004). To further specify, it should be noted that the use of the term "transformational leadership" in this case assumes to be the positive kind—termed "socialized" or "authentic" transformational leadership—which entails a leader whose actions have good intent and who transcends his or her self-interests for utilitarian or moral reasons (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Following is a summary of several research findings that point toward transformational leadership being the most likely leadership style among triple-bottom line leaders.

First, the situational conditions of a triple-bottom line organization seem to encourage the emergence of transformational leadership. As Fiedler (1967) proposes, the context in which leaders find themselves often determines the leadership style that is best suited for the situation. There is a specific set of situational conditions that is highly correlated with the emergence of transformational leadership. These conditions include an unstable environment, complex and changing tasks, intrinsic rewards associated with clearly articulated goals, and a leader who possesses more power and knowledge than the followers. Additionally, the emergence of transformational leadership is likely when the organization exhibits behavior consistent with cultural values, proactive monitoring, dispersed authority, decentralized decision making, and lateral communication and is organic rather than mechanistic in nature (Howell, 1992). All of these situational conditions could describe the type of organization that is embarking on the sustainability journey. Thus, the probability that a

transformational leader will emerge to lead this triple-bottom line organization would seem to be high.

Additionally, when reviewing organizational management literature, one can detect similarities between the description of a transformational leader and that of a triple-bottom line leader. Transformational leadership consists of four dimensions, known as the four Is. *Idealized influence*, the first of the four, represents the fact that the leader is admired, respected, and trusted and can thus serve as a role model. This dimension also consists of the leader's willingness to take risks, as well as the demonstration of high standards of ethical and moral conduct (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Transformational leaders are said to use what is called post-conventional moral reasoning in their decision-making process—a more complex way of thinking that enables the leader to look beyond self-interests and foresee the benefits that serve the greater good (Barling & Turner, 2005). This component of transformational leadership encompasses the moral characteristics of a triple-bottom line leader as described earlier by Cox (2005) and other ethical leadership researchers (e.g., Ehrhart, 2004; Schneider & George, 2011).

The second of the four Is stands for *inspirational motivation*, which describes the leader's process for motivating and inspiring followers, getting organizational members to envision attractive future states, and clearly communicating expectations to followers in order to reach the collective vision (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Not surprisingly, this dimension has been shown to be strongly developed in leaders who are guiding their organization through the challenging terrain of social and environmental responsibility (e.g., Andersson & Bateman, 2000; Waldman, Siegel, & Javidan, 2006).

Intellectual stimulation, the third dimension of transformational leadership, includes leader behaviors such as stimulating followers to be involved, creative, and innovative decision-makers (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Leaders expose themselves and their followers to situations that will further stretch their thinking, always question the status quo, heighten their self-awareness, and advance their personal development. Behaviors associated with the intellectual stimulation dimension of transformational leadership have been found to be widely used among top leaders of sustainability-focused organizations and managers of CSR programs (Cox, 2009a; Waldman, Siegel, & Javidan, 2004).

Individual consideration, the fourth dimension of transformational leadership, describes the leader's consideration behaviors, such as paying attention to each individual follower's needs for achievement and growth,

treating everybody differently depending on their needs and desires, and consistently personalizing interactions with followers throughout the leadership process (Bass & Riggio, 2006), all attributes found to be prominent among triple-bottom line leaders as identified by Cox (2005) and Waldman et al. (2006).

Furthermore, research shows that transformational leaders tend to have certain personality attributes. According to Bass and Riggio (2006), transformational leaders have a positive attitude and are optimistic and emotionally balanced—a concept researchers of triple-bottom line organizations have called an appreciative mindset (Amodeo, 2005; Cox, 2005). Transformational leaders are also expected to be able to cope with a stressful and complex environment, as mentioned earlier, a key characteristic of organizations seeking to balance people, planet, and profit (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Additionally, transformational leaders are more likely to be innovators and risk takers than non-transformational leaders (Bass & Riggio, 2006) and have higher levels of openness to experience, indicating tolerance for change (Judge & Bono, 2000), again, a theme that permeates studies on triple-bottom line leaders (e.g., Cox, 2005; Wilson, 2007). Cox's interviewees, for instance, had to embrace organizational change, as there was no set blueprint to follow in this new way of doing business. These leaders had to excel in handling ambiguity and taking risks on a regular basis. Related to risk taking and openness to experience is the construct of hardiness, which has also shown to be correlated with transformational leadership (Avolio et al., 1994). Hardiness indicates the leader's resiliency and psychological health—characteristics that help the individual to deal with the stressful, ambiguous, and chaotic context that is characteristic of an organization on its sustainability journey.

Another linkage can be found between transformational leadership and self-confidence. In order to be a charismatic leader that inspires and motivates, transformational leaders have been found to have high self-confidence and internal locus of control (Howell & Avolio, 1993). Triple-bottom line leaders seem to possess these characteristics, often described as holding a strong belief in themselves as well as in their vision, and the deep conviction that the vision can be accomplished (Cox, 2005; Egri & Herman, 2000).

Furthermore, there is some evidence that social intelligence, as well as emotional intelligence, is correlated to transformational leadership (Bass, 1990, 2002). In line with these findings, researchers of sustainability-focused organizations have described top leadership as possessing high

levels of emotional maturity and emotional awareness (e.g., Cox, 2005; Egri & Herman, 2000; Wilson, 2007).

Last, our recent study with triple-bottom line leaders supports the idea that these leaders are most likely to employ a transformational leadership style (Lombardo et al., 2011). Among a series of quantitative measures, we administrated the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ; Avolio & Bass, 1995) to test this hypothesis. Viewed in the context of Bass and Riggio's (2006) Full Range of Leadership Model, the triple-bottom line group scores on the MLQ followed the pattern of an optimal profile of effective leadership. Additionally, the triple-bottom line group's mean scores on the MLQ dimensions fell within the range of target scores that are commonly used for individual feedback and executive coaching engagements in transformational leadership programs (Bass & Riggio, 2006). The triple-bottom line leaders also scored higher than national norms on the questionnaire's transformational leadership and idealized influence components. All of these comparisons to MLQ standards and normative data may indicate that the triple-bottom line group could be regarded as having attained ideal scores for an effective transformational leadership style. These findings confirmed earlier qualitative data collected by Egri and Herman (2000), who found that green leaders utilized a skillful combination of transactional and transformational behaviors to achieve the most effective form of leadership style in their organizations—a phenomenon known as the *augmentation effect* in the transformational leadership literature (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Values-Based Leadership

When describing the leadership style of a triple-bottom line leader, the picture would not be complete without a discussion of values. In fact, numerous authors who write about the culture change needed to become a sustainability-focused, pioneering organization acknowledge the important role values play in this process (e.g., Amodeo, 2005; Benn, Dunphy, & Griffiths, 2006; Cox, 2005; De Wit et al., 2006; Marsden, 2000). Values-based leadership seeks values alignment on all levels of the organization and creates a strong connection to a common cause, which is key to leading a culture that refuses the status quo and wants to create a new way of doing business.

British practitioner Richard Barrett is one of the pioneers in advocating values congruence in organizations, arguing that the combination of vision and values is the key to the most successful organizations in the world

(Barrett, 2008). Studies show leaders' values-based behaviors are highly correlated to those of their subordinates. According to Buchko (2006), followers may take cues from their leaders and imitate their behaviors. Thus, the argument of values-based leadership is that leaders should base their day-to-day decisions and behaviors on their values, and that they should be role models who exhibit the espoused values that are in line with the organizational mission and vision. Proponents of values-based leadership research claim that if top leadership is clear about their core values, they can connect with employees and, for that matter, all stakeholders on an affective level. Clear values foster strong commitment and satisfaction levels among the workforce, on one hand, and clear ethical direction for the organization, on the other hand (Anderson, 1997; Barrett, 2008; Despain & Converse, 2003; Fernandez & Hogan, 2002).

The key to establishing workplace values and building the organizational culture around these values is the clear communication of exemplary behaviors to the rest of the workforce. Thus, leaders can help disseminate the values throughout the organization by clearly stating the values, defining the values, clarifying desired behaviors that exemplify the values, and tying performance measures and rewards to the defined target behaviors (Brown, Trevino, & Harrison, 2005; Buchko, 2006). Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, "walking the talk," in other words modeling the behaviors they want to see in others, is another essential component of the process (Despain & Converse, 2003).

Through the lens of values-based leadership theory, the terms *sustainability* and *corporate social responsibility* can be viewed as overarching values that an individual, and for that matter, an organizational culture, holds. Just as other organizational values, the values of sustainability can be operationalized for the workforce, used as metrics to measure success, embodied by the leadership, and embraced by the whole culture. By internalizing sustainability as a value, organizational members start to realize a higher purpose in their contribution to the organization. What used to be just a job now can be filled with meaning that transcends personal benefits to doing something for the collective good. Only then do we see an authentic, socially responsible, and sustainable business structure (Amodeo, 2005; Anderson, 1997; Barrett, 2008).

There is some evidence that triple-bottom line leaders purposely employ this type of leadership style. The interviewees in Cox's (2005) study, for instance, all expressed the importance of values in the business setting. Not only did the participants have a lot of core values in common, they also acknowledged that they purposefully lead from their values and play

a central role in defining and institutionalizing those values throughout the organization. Other research on ethical and values-based leadership supports this notion and addresses the impact of a leader's value set (Brown et al., 2005; Buchko, 2006). With their high social intelligence and communication skills, triple-bottom line leaders often use charismatic techniques such as framing and storytelling to give meaning to certain values and permeate their belief system and ethical standards throughout the organization (Cox, 2005). Jeffrey Hollender, CEO of Seventh Generation, confirms the importance of an intentional values-driven leadership approach in a triple-bottom line organization:

> Altogether, this business of bringing socially responsible goals to life is quite a process, and companies looking to do the same should understand that there's nothing easy about it. Many things have to happen before you can even take the first step. It all starts with values. You have to get really clear about what they are, and also about what it means to live by them. On the road to social responsibility, a company isn't going anywhere without this necessary map.
>
> (as cited in Cox, 2005, p. 139)

Our recent study also tested the hypothesis that triple-bottom line leaders engage in values-based leadership (Lombardo et al., 2011). We created a quantitative measure called the Values-Based Leadership Questionnaire (VBLQ) for our study on triple-bottom line leaders. Our data indicated that both participant groups equally practice values-based leadership by actively bringing their values into the work setting, leading from and sharing their values, and relying on personal values when making difficult decisions on behalf of the organization. Although the traditional leaders and triple-bottom line leaders in our study did not differ in terms of the degree of their values-based leadership style, there were important differences in the type of values that underpinned their leadership, as the next section will explain in detail.

PERSONAL VALUES OF TRIPLE-BOTTOM LINE LEADERS

Recognizing the importance values play in sustainability-focused organizations, researchers have turned to the question: What types of values

motivate the triple-bottom line leader? In the attempt to structure values conceptually and empirically, researchers such as Schwartz (1994) have created models that define the content as well as the interactions of human values. Schwartz's widely accepted theory categorizes all universal human values into 10 value types. Each of the 10 value types encompasses several values that help define the type. These values act as the survey items in Schwartz's Value Survey. For instance, the value-type tradition defined as "respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture provide the self" is composed of the items humble, accepting my portion in life, devout, moderate, and respect for tradition (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22).

The theory is accompanied by a visual model (Schwartz, 1994) that helps explain the structure of value systems and acts as an interpretation tool of survey data. Based on a smallest-space analysis, the model depicts the 10 value types arranged in a circular fashion. Starting at the top and progressing clockwise through the model, they are titled as follows: universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction. Value types located next to each other are assumed to be compatible, while values located far away from each other are assumed to be competing. Additionally, several value types are clustered into four overarching dimensions to further demonstrate the tension between competing values. Openness to change (encompassing hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction) and conservatism (encompassing security, conformity, and tradition) form opposite poles of one continuum; self-transcendence (encompassing universalism and benevolence) and self-enhancement (encompassing hedonism, achievement, and power) form opposite poles of the other continuum.

Several studies—some using Schwartz's model—have investigated leaders' values and have shown high levels of agreement on the very core of a triple-bottom line leader's values set (e.g. Barling & Turner, 2005; Cox, 2005; Egri & Herman, 2000; Lombardo et al., 2011). The values that have emerged as being central to triple-bottom line leadership are self-transcendence values, namely universalism and benevolence. Benevolence is defined as the "preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Universalism is defined as the "understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22).

Our recent study found strong support for the notion that leaders of triple-bottom line organizations have specific values in common, and that

those values are distinctly different from those held by more traditional business leaders (Lombardo et al., 2011). As part of our series of quantitative measures, we administered the Schwartz Value Survey to our two participant groups. The value orientation self-transcendence was found to be the dominating value orientation for the triple-bottom line group, and statistical testing found a significant difference between this group and our comparison sample regarding this orientation, with the comparison sample having much lower scores in this quadrant of the model.

Additionally, the comparison sample (namely more traditional leaders) scored higher on values that are associated with the value orientation of self-enhancement—the quadrant that is positioned opposite of self-transcendence and as such is considered a competing disposition. The self-enhancement orientation consists of hedonism, defined as "pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself," and the value type power, defined as "social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources," and the value type achievement, defined as "personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22).

As mentioned earlier, the circular arrangement of the values in Schwartz's model represents a motivational continuum. The closer any two values in either direction around the circle, the more similar the underlying motivations; the more distant, the more antagonistic the motivations (Schwartz, 2006). Thus, the model would predict a tension between behaviors that are motivated by self-transcendence—which is focused beyond the self and on other natural and societal entities—and behaviors that are motivated by self-enhancement—an orientation that emphasizes "pursuit of one's own interests and relative success and dominance over others" (Schwartz, 2006, p. 10). Thus, the antagonism in value orientations we found in our study participants illustrates a difference between a mainly personal focus of the traditional leader and a mainly social focus of the triple-bottom line leader.

So what do these findings tell us about the type of leader we typically find in triple-bottom line organizations? First, values may tell us something about the motivations of someone's behavior, and thus, in the triple-bottom line leader's case, about his or her authentic conviction about sustainability. The strong inclination of these leaders toward self-transcendence values may show a personal and emotional connection to the organizational sustainability mindset. The concept of self-transcendence puts priorities on values such as wisdom, unity with nature, broad-mindedness, loyalty, honesty, and equality, and, more generally, represents

"values that emphasize concern about the welfare and interests of others"—beliefs one should find at the core of an authentic sustainability-focused culture (Schwartz, 2006, p.10). The emphasis is on *authentic* because not all social and environmental programs may be driven by these values, but might be "greenwashing" tactics that are solely motivated by self-enhancing objectives, such as positive publicity and image in the marketplace.

Second, values may influence many workplace behaviors. Illies and Reiter-Palmon (2008) argue that the leader's personal values and subsequent problem-construction process mediate how people respond in leadership situations. Organizational leadership often requires interpretation of the situation at hand. This interpretation process is influenced by the leader's views, beliefs, and values. Consequently, these personal attributes affect the choices and decisions made by the leader (Illies & Reiter-Palmon, 2008). Several studies provide a glimpse into these effects of triple-bottom line leader values in the workplace.

For instance, researchers have found self-transcendence values to be positively correlated to environmental concern for others and the biosphere (Hansla, Gamble, Juliusson, & Gaerling, 2008; Schultz, 2001). Based on this literature, it could be assumed that triple-bottom line leaders tend to use a different kind of self-construal than traditional business leaders, an intrinsic connection to the bigger world that includes other people and other living things within their notion of self (Arnocky, Stroink, & DeCicco, 2007). This self-construal enables them to not just be aware of egoistic, but also the social-altruistic and biospheric consequences of their environmental behavior (Hansla et al., 2008). In an organizational setting, the leader's personal connection with the human and natural environment may lead to a much more inclusive worldview that is focused on long-term, sustainable organizational success within the context of the needs of others, instead of on short-term gains and personal benefits. Thus, it is apparent how this set of values can support an authentic triple-bottom line leadership approach.

Similarly, Schwartz (1996) reported self-transcendence values to be positively correlated to interpersonal cooperation. While self-enhancement values found among the more traditional leaders drive behavior that maximizes own gain even at the expense of others, self-transcendence, on the other hand, promotes cooperation with others. Additionally, our data suggest that triple-bottom line leaders would be more likely to engage in ethical, constructive organizational behavior than the comparison group. As previously mentioned, according to decision-making literature, leaders rely on their personal values when interpreting ambiguous organizational

situations and choosing their decision-making paths. Accordingly, the self-transcendence values of universalism and benevolence would create a natural tendency in the leader to make ethical decisions that are more likely to have a positive impact on the organization's long-term health (Illies & Reiter-Palmon, 2008).

Interestingly, in our study, the triple-bottom line leaders scored significantly lower than the comparison sample only on the two self-enhancement values of power and hedonism, but not on the third, achievement (Lombardo et al., 2011). Schwartz (1994) defines achievement as "personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" (p. 22). The lack of a statistically significant difference for this value type may indicate that both types of leaders may be equally driven by achievement values. In fact, Egri and Herman (2000) found that besides self-transcendence values, need for achievement was one of the highest ranked values among green leaders. When put in the context of business, the tension between the seemingly competing values of self-transcendence and achievement may add to the understanding of the complex leadership dynamics of a sustainability-focused company. It seems that triple-bottom line leaders have learned to embrace values that, per Schwartz, would be regarded as competing forces within a person. The potentially self-centered behaviors associated with the desire for achievement and power are combined with values of self-transcendence, which are focused beyond the self and on the needs of society and the natural environment. Possibly, corporate leaders in triple-bottom line organizations have a rather unique profile in that they highly value personal achievement within the context of social and environmental responsibility (Egri & Herman, 2000).

Numerous authors have discussed the notion that triple-bottom line leaders have a unique value structure that combines seemingly competitive values (e.g., Amodeo, 2005; Cox, 2005; Egri & Herman, 2000). While they are often described as having deep personal convictions about social and environmental issues, these leaders are also pragmatic, rational businessmen and businesswomen. In fact, their *ecocentric* values seem to fall in between those of traditional, profit-driven business leaders and those of leaders of nonprofit organizations in the environmental sector—the latter of which has been found to have much higher adherence to ecocentric values associated with radical environmentalist philosophies (Egri & Herman, 2000).

In summary, by connecting the various recent findings on triple-bottom line leaders' value orientations, we may be able to begin to illustrate

distinctive value structure differences between those values that underpin the widespread, traditional business philosophy and those that underpin the mindset of the pioneering organizations in the sustainability realm. The studies cited in this section may give a glimpse into those differing business mindsets and should serve as a starting point for further investigation.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Recent Research and Theory Development

When examining leadership theories in the context of sustainability, it is apparent that traditional theories do not fully describe all aspects of triple-bottom line leadership. In the last two decades, however, several leadership theories have been proposed that acknowledge the affective and moral sides of a leader. Theories such as ethical and servant leadership, as well as stewardship, expand and enrich the role of a leader to encompass those issues that are becoming increasingly important in today's world and that are the focus of a sustainability-focused organization. According to these theories, success is defined in a much broader sense than in the traditional bottom-line approach. These theories speak to the responsibilities of the leaders beyond just producing high performance through their followers. They take into account the treatment of people, the consequences of organizational decisions, and the impact one has on society and the natural environment.

One of the theories that represents a more holistic approach to leadership is *ethical leadership*. In the last 15 years, researchers have started to call attention to the idea that a leader is a source of guidance for ethical behavior to his or her followers and thus a big influence on the overall organizational culture (Brown et al., 2005). Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) built on their previous work and argued that to be truly transformational, leadership must have a moral foundation. Several definitions of ethical leadership have been proposed, most of which revolve around the themes of morality, fairness, responsibility, integrity, transparency, power sharing, and equality (e.g., Brown et al., 2005; De Hoogh & Den Hartog, 2008; Keating, Martin, Resick, & Dickson, 2007; Resick, Hanges, Dickson, & Mitchelson, 2006). Resick et al. (2006) found that behaviors and characteristics associated with ethical leadership, such as behaving with integrity, displaying and encouraging altruism, and motivating followers,

as well as instilling self-efficacy in followers, were highly endorsed and largely universal across cultures. Several researchers have focused on identifying the positive consequences associated with ethical leaders, such as perceived effectiveness of leaders, followers' job satisfaction and dedication, and willingness to report problems to management (Brown et al., 2005). Furthermore, ethical superiors have been found to decrease their subordinates' unethical behavior and workplace deviance (Brown & Trevino, 2006) and enhance the job performance, job involvement, and affective commitment of their subordinates (Khuntia & Suar, 2004).

Along with the insurgence of ethical leadership literature emerged an interest in a related concept—*stewardship*, in which leaders have responsibility beyond their immediate environment and current context. It implies that as a leader, one should not be guided by self-interest but by the genuine concern for serving others and ensuring the well-being of future generations (Hernandez, 2008). Thus, when stewardship is practiced, this sense of personal responsibility for the long-term well-being of the organization and society is promoted in followers as well (Hernandez, 2008). These behaviors may include formulating the social contract, upholding personal moral principles, fostering intrinsic motivation in followers (Hernandez, 2008), embracing democracy, and promoting teamwork (Block, 1993).

Servant leadership theory takes a similar position by proposing that effective leaders see themselves first and foremost as servants to their followers and the organization as a whole. Although the concept was introduced several decades ago by Greenleaf (1977), servant leadership has received growing attention and recognition in recent years (e.g., Schneider & George, 2011). There is not one universally accepted definition of this concept; rather, many authors have come up with their own definitions (e.g., Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006; Ehrhart, 2004; Greenleaf, 1977; Page & Wong, 2000; Washington, Sutton, & Field, 2006), all centered around the idea of seeing followers as equals and facilitating achievement of a shared vision via the development and empowerment of those followers.

These are just a few of the many new leadership theories that describe a form of leadership that is built on personal values and focus on leading the organization to success while embracing ethical behavior and the importance of serving society as a whole. As CSR is increasingly practiced throughout the world, we are sure to see an insurgence of rich data about the organizations, processes, and leaders in the sustainability realm that will bring these theories to life and expand our knowledge in this field.

As mentioned earlier, top leadership is only one, yet one important, contributor to the change processes involved in creating and running a successful, authentic sustainability-focused organizational culture. Recognizing the importance of leadership, some I-O psychology and management scholars have moved their focus from the organizational level down to the individual and team levels, focusing on how the next generation of leaders can be developed who will embrace sustainability in their approach to business (e.g., Burke, 2007; Svoboda & Whalen, 2005). Many universities and business schools have done the same: college curricula are increasingly incorporating ethics and environmental consciousness in MBA, human resources, and leadership classes; and executive education programs such as Leadership for Sustainability, Ethical Leadership, and Values-Driven Leadership are quickly appearing (e.g., Center for Values-Driven Leadership at Benedictine University, Center for Responsible Business at University of California, Berkeley; Center on Leadership and Ethics at Duke University).

Active business leaders wishing to integrate CSR practices can find support and inspiration in several associations. The U.S. Business Council for Sustainable Development (USBCSD), for instance, is a forum for sustainability pioneers to shape and to advance the field of sustainability in the US. On a much larger scale, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), a CEO-led, global association of some 200 companies, provides a platform for companies to explore sustainable development and share knowledge, experiences, and best practices worldwide. To reinforce goals and ensure competitive equality, the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) has established worldwide guidelines for sustainability reporting. In addition to these major coalitions, there are countless grass-roots efforts to unite around, strategize about, and support and advance the greening of American business.

And of course, there remains the question of how to "green" a more traditional company. While organizations such as The Body Shop, Patagonia, and Ben and Jerry's were founded on the principles of the triple-bottom line paradigm, many others may decide to undergo a strategic change process to incorporate a sustainability focus, whether it be out of personal conviction and passion or out of necessity because of market demands. Several case studies have been conducted in which researchers study the "how" of successfully pioneering triple-bottom line organizations (e.g., Amodeo, 2005; Colbert & Kurucz, 2007; De Wit et al., 2006; Rothenberg, 2007). These studies focus on the people, processes, and systems that enabled organizations to break out of the traditional

single-bottom line approach to a more innovative way of doing business. Others have taken it a step further and are proposing models, best practices, and systematic programs for building a sustainable organization (e.g., Barrett, 2007; Benn et al., 2006; Cox, 2005; Neville, 2004; Senge, 2007; Senge, Lichtenstein, Kaeufer, Bradbury, & Carroll, 2007; Von Bogulawski & Ardelt, 2005) and incorporating CSR into the business strategy (Cramer, 2005; Khoo & Tan, 2002; Maignan, Ferrell, & Ferrell, 2005; Maon, Lindgreen, & Swaen, 2009; Panapanaan, Linnanen, Karvonen, & Phan, 2003; Werre, 2003). Most of these frameworks build on traditional change theories and strategic planning literature and add to it the particular issues of CSR. However, the majority of these frameworks do not address the type of deep transformational change of triple-bottom line organizations.

Amodeo (2005), however, investigated the question of how to turn a more traditional company into an organization whose culture fully embraces the triple-bottom line philosophy. Her case study on Interface Inc. tells us that to truly become a sustainability-seeking company, an organization needs to undergo a journey of both the head and the heart. Interface Inc., an international carpet manufacturer, was founded and operated for many years as a traditional, profit-driven, profit-focused company, before the founder Ray Anderson had a change of heart. Today, the company is considered one of the pioneers of sustainability.

Utilizing a new methodology, called "grounded documentary," which combines the conventions of documentary filmmaking with grounded theory, Amodeo conducted a series of employee interviews and analyzed secondary data such as Interface speeches and reports within the framework of organizational theory. The content analysis in this case study of Interface's change process provides empirical data that are useful in helping leaders understand how they can lead an organization down the challenging road to sustainability. A key finding of this case study was the realization that "becoming sustainable" requires incorporating new values deep into the organization's culture. Thus, the change process consists of what is traditionally referred to as the hard side (technology) as well as the soft side (mindset) of change—a notion that has been emphasized by other researchers of sustainable development (e.g., Andersson & Bateman, 2000; De Wit et al., 2006; Mirchandani & Ikerd, 2008).

The Interface Inc. journey can be described as an integrated process of culture change and identity change; an interaction Amodeo (2005) refers to as identity dynamics within cultural incrementalism. As the collective identity of the organization changes to embrace a different set of values, new behaviors associated with these values are reinforced and become more

embedded in the culture. Accomplishments along the way fuel the innovative fresh thinking within the culture as well as produce a sense of pride, purpose, and commitment among the workforce. The tipping point is reached when the values themselves become important instead of a means to an end. The benefits of the internalized sustainability values become evident, and the thought of *not* changing evokes more anxiety than the thought of changing (Amodeo, 2009). At the same time, the organization receives external reinforcement benefiting from a positive reputation as well as stronger connections and higher levels of trust within the marketplace (Anderson, Amodeo, & Hartzfeld, 2010). Thus, these three facets of the organization (identity, culture, and image) feed off of each other as the organization moves through the different stages of the sustainability journey.

Several success factors that lie in the hands of the top leadership team have been identified. First, in order to achieve a deep cultural change within the organization, "leaders must put forth bold visions—so bold that they take your breath away—and they must engage their organizations in different, deeper conversations about the purpose and responsibility of business" (Anderson et al., 2010, p. 97). Furthermore, the uses of metaphors and storytelling, passionate communication, and inspiration, as well as education, are all essential skills in the leader's toolbox for change (Amodeo, 2005; Andersson & Bateman, 2000; Wilson, 2007). Other key success factors on the sustainability journey include the encouragement of risk, an appreciative mindset focusing on possibilities instead of shortcomings, well-defined metrics and measurement, and reward, recognition, and celebration as objectives are achieved along the way (Amodeo, 2005).

Suggestions for Future Research

The premise of the type of research reviewed in this chapter is that if we find out more about the type of leader it takes to successfully run a triple-bottom line company, we may be able to expand our list of known sustainability success factors. This knowledge may help us in training and even selecting the "right" type of personnel to lead the next generation of responsible businesses. Several topics for future studies come to mind. First, it should be noted that the VBLQ as well as the 3-P Questionnaire used in our most recent study (Lombardo et al., 2011) should be used for research with bigger sample sizes to further refine the validity and internal reliability of subscales and to explore if additional items need to be added to fully measure the intended constructs.

Furthermore, studies should investigate the specifics of triple-bottom line leaders' motivation for pro-environmental behavior and attitudes. These studies should aim to confirm our study's indication that the top leadership of pioneering green companies may have an authentic, emotionally driven, values-based connection to nature and humanity. Related topics such as behavior in social dilemmas, sources of environmental concern, and self-construal as it relates to pro-environmental behavior should be explored with this target population.

Another body of research could go beyond the individual level to focus on the organizational level of triple-bottom line organizations. As we learn more about the type of leadership style, philosophy, and values that are commonly found among the top leadership in these organizations, we can start making predictions about the type of organizational culture that is most likely to emerge and reflect these leader characteristics. For instance, if future studies confirm that triple-bottom line leaders tend to be transformational leaders, then researchers in the I-O psychology field could explore the cascading effect on an organizational level. According to transformational leadership experts, there is a tendency for this leadership style to cascade downward in an organization, so organizational-level measures such as Bass and Avolio's (1992) Organizational Description Questionnaire (ODQ) could be used to explore if a transformational culture is typically found in triple-bottom line organizations (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Practicing consultants and coaches could help triple-bottom line organizations embrace this leadership style and develop these skills in their managers through training frameworks such as the Full Range of Leadership program (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Future research in this area should also have a strong focus on values. The studies reviewed in this chapter reinforce the important topic of values in general, which so many academic and business articles have addressed when discussing the drivers and pitfalls of corporate social responsibility and sustainability (Anderson et al., 2010; Barrett, 2007). As mentioned earlier, many authors emphasize the importance of the leadership's, and ultimately the entire organization's, emotional commitment—stemming from personal values—in pursuing a sustainability-driven business vision (Amodeo, 2005; Anderson, 1997; Cox, 2009b). In order to be able to view obstacles as opportunities, setbacks as critical learning, lacking industry standards as a chance to create and define a new way of doing business, and financial compromises as worthy concessions to a noble cause, the leadership team needs to have a deep conviction and personal connection to the triple-bottom line business philosophy. Values, as many authors

would argue, create the foundation that is necessary for this level of connection and commitment (Amodeo, 2005; Anderson, 1997; Cox, 2005; Despain & Converse, 2003; Fernandez & Hogan, 2002). Thus, one string of research could focus on identifying the subtle difference between authentic, values-driven cultures, and those of organizations engaging in greenwashing. These studies may be able to detect a disconnect between the image, culture, and organizational identity of those organizations that only pursue a "greening" of their company to attain an advantage in the marketplace, but have not taken the time to change the organization's culture from within.

Additionally, there is a need for value assessments specifically tailored for the organization wishing to create a culture focused on sustainability. These tools could be used at the individual, group, and organizational level in order to help the organization reflect on existing and aspiring values that will help it reach its sustainability-related objectives.

I-O psychologists can also investigate and possibly facilitate values alignment. For instance, researchers could explore if the values set found among leaders in previous studies is similar to the values of their organizational members, and in the organizational culture as a whole. Existing literature on values and values-based leadership (e.g., Fernandez & Hogan, 2002) would predict high levels of values congruence among organizational members in sustainability-focused organizations. Thus, the leader's value orientation of self-transcendence may be shared by other members in the top leadership team and dispersed into lower ranks, eventually spreading throughout all organizational levels. Future research should first confirm that these value orientations are indeed characteristic of sustainability-driven organizations and, if so, to which degree values alignment within the organizational culture exists. I-O psychologists could then facilitate the integration of certain values into training and selection processes to increase the chances of person-organization fit and ultimately the long-term success of the sustainability mission.

SUMMARY AND CALL TO ACTION

The leadership theories summarized in this chapter demonstrate the critical issues academicians and practitioners emphasize regarding current and future organizational leadership. Scholars have built on older, more traditional theories, such as trait and behavior theories and

transformational leadership, and added to them important facets of the 21st-century business climate, such as ethics and values. One of these facets that has become increasingly relevant to organizational research is the responsibility business has for its social and natural environments. Many authors suggest that to lead a high-performance organization in the 21st century successfully, leadership needs to encompass more than just a focus on the bottom line (e.g., Ncube & Wasburn, 2006; Tebo, 2005). In order to realize the potential of an organization, the organization has to act as a catalyst for personal development and transformation by appealing to employees' values, sense of purpose, and intrinsic motivation to be part of something that positively contributes to society. Social responsibility and sustainability offer a platform for leaders to do just that.

Most recent research indicates that there are indeed measurable differences between triple-bottom line leaders and other more traditional leaders that can be discovered through qualitative and quantitative measures. There is some evidence that a sustainability-focused organization is most likely spearheaded by values-driven leaders employing an authentic transformational leadership style (Avolio & Gardner, 2005). The self-transcendence value orientation of this group of leaders matches the values set that is said to be at the heart of an authentic, purpose-driven organizational culture that embraces corporate responsibility and sustainability as a core business philosophy. The personal values of triple-bottom line leaders have practical implications since we know that values influence personal decision-making processes and behaviors in the work setting.

We cannot stress enough the importance of organizational values when discussing authenticity and long-term success of a sustainability-focused company. Pioneering research investigating the internal processes of an organization seeking sustainability tells us that it must be a journey of the head and the heart involving all organizational members, and that "sustainability derives its greatest power and effect in organizations when it is deeply embraced as a set of core values" (Anderson et al., 2010). The road to sustainability is not an easy one; it takes committed leaders who full-heartedly believe in doing business in a way that is congruent with the security and health of future generations and the planet. Leaders such as the ones who participated in the studies reviewed in this chapter take high risks to pave new paths on the road to sustainability. In turn, every business that is exploring new ways of ethical, eco-conscious, and responsible behavior serves as a role model to others. As M. Bedessem, CFO of Organic Valley, points out, "The best way to make a social statement is to run a

good business that people will talk about and emulate its values" (Lombardo, 2010, p. 126).

As scientists, we must not lose sight of the need for timely, practical implementation. Current environmental and social conditions around the world are reminders of the urgent need for the business community to find innovative solutions to the tough challenges of the 21st century. This is where we come in. I-O psychologists can accelerate the sustainability learning curve by using their education and talent to consult with, conduct research on, and facilitate interpersonal and organizational development processes in for-profit, sustainability-seeking organizations. This book is yet another example of how I-O psychologists can contribute to making a difference. The hope of the authors is that each chapter provides guidance and inspiration to our colleagues in the field to explore and further knowledge that will—in the biggest sense—serve the greater good. While the sections of the book on nonprofits and non-traditional domains may represent more direct ways to achieve environmental and social reform, this and the other chapters that discuss the corporate domain can serve to inform and inspire our colleagues to perhaps *facilitate* positive change in the corporate world. If we, as I-O psychologists, can illuminate the power leaders have to inspire and empower followers by espousing authentic values, the corporate sector presents many opportunities to achieve far-reaching impact indeed.

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4

Volunteer Programs in the Corporate World

Jaime B. Henning and David A. Jones

Volunteering is a prevalent form of unpaid work activity. In the United States, for example, almost 63 million Americans donated their time to volunteer work in 2010 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011), making volunteerism a significant portion of the U.S. economy. Volunteer time in the US has recently been valued at over $20 per hour (Independent Sector, 2011), and the 8.1 billion hours of volunteer service in 2010 has been valued at $173 billion (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2011).

Volunteer work is integral to the provision of important social services (e.g., health care, education, community development) around the world. Many nonprofit and community-based organizations could not effectively function, or even survive, if not for the tireless efforts of their volunteers (Toppe, Kirsch, & Michel, 2001). Fortunately, the for-profit sector has emerged as an important source of volunteer workers. An increasing number of companies—especially US-based companies and multinationals, but also companies elsewhere—have implemented programs and policies that support and encourage their employees to volunteer in their communities. Together, these companies achieve social impact on a colossal scale. In 2005, for example, employees in just one company volunteered over 1.8 *million* hours serving causes and communities around the globe (IBM, 2004–2005).

As we discuss in this chapter, corporate volunteer programs (CVPs) have the potential to simultaneously benefit employee volunteers, the employing organizations that support them, and the communities and causes served. Despite this, rigorous scientific research on CVPs is lacking, with extant studies largely focusing on U.S. companies and employees. Researchers also lament that the literature is dominated by anecdotal, practitioner-oriented

accounts of how these programs are implemented and "opinion-poll" studies that provide snapshots of how people *claim* they feel about and react to CVPs (Benjamin, 2001; Cihlar, 2004).

As Tschirhart (2005) notes, the literature on CVPs is "desperately in need of theory" (p. 25) that can be used to guide policy and practice (Benjamin, 2001). Although recent studies have begun to address this gap through the application of organizational identification and social exchange theories to understand employee responses to CVPs (e.g., Booth, Park, & Glomb, 2009; Jones, 2010), theoretically grounded research is needed to illuminate the reasons why employees choose to volunteer through CVPs and why some employees respond positively to such programs. Also unfortunate is that little to no scholarly attention has been devoted to the questions of why for-profit organizations choose to implement CVPs and what they hope to achieve through such investments. Moreover, few studies have examined the effects of employee volunteering—positive or otherwise—on the nonprofits and communities served.

The purpose of this chapter is to review what is currently known about CVP and to offer guidance for future research and organizational practice. We begin by defining CVPs and reviewing their common forms and prevalence. We then explore why organizational leaders choose to implement CVPs and the antecedents to employees' decisions to volunteer. Finally, we turn our attention to the consequences and outcomes of CVPs for employees, organizations, and the communities and nonprofits served by these programs. Throughout, we discuss issues for research and practice, and offer suggestions for how I-O psychology can contribute to the study of CVPs and, ultimately, the greater social good.

CORPORATE VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS

CVPs Defined

Volunteerism is defined as "any activity intended to help others that is provided to an organization without obligation and for which the volunteer does not receive pay or material compensation" (Okun & Michel, 2006, p. 613). Volunteering is planned and sustained, involving a commitment of time and effort, and is expected to produce public good or benefit (Penner, 2002; Wilson, 2000).

While volunteerism is well defined, corporate volunteerism is not. The term *corporate volunteerism* is often used interchangeably with *employer-supported volunteerism* and *employee volunteerism*, although some reserve the latter term for any volunteering that employees perform independently from their work environment, and the former terms for an employer's explicit support for employee volunteering (Graff, 2004; Lukka, 2000). In this chapter, we use the terms *corporate volunteerism* and *corporate volunteer programs* (CVPs) to describe the formal and informal practices, policies, and programs created by organizations to coordinate and encourage community service among their paid employees (Tschirhart & St. Clair, 2008). Corporate volunteerism is limited to service activities that support communities, society, or social causes; it does not include, for example, employees' participation in professional or trade associations.

The degree of involvement and support for volunteerism from employing organizations varies considerably, as does the level of involvement on the part of employees. CVPs can range from being more "employee-led" and involving relatively little organizational support (e.g., when an organization allows employees to plan after-work volunteer activities with the aid of its computers and office space), to being more "employer-led," which often involves systems and programs that help employees locate and plan volunteer opportunities, and sometimes includes provisions for flexitime, paid time off, or grants to support employees' volunteering efforts (Graff, 2004; Lautenschlager, 1993; Lukka, 2000; Seel, 1995). CVPs also differ in the amount of time and service that the sponsoring organization commits to one or more nonprofit organizations. For example, the CVP at JP Morgan Chase involves thousands of employees located around the world who participate in local volunteer projects over the course of several weekends, whereas other programs involve one-time or annual participation in events such as the Special Olympics or Toys for Tots. Some CVPs emphasize ongoing partnerships with a specific organization, such as the United Way or Habitat for Humanity, while others leave the recipient of volunteer services to the discretion of employees.

Common Approaches to CVP Design

The design of most CVPs reflects one of four common approaches (Jones, 2006), with some companies incorporating elements from multiple approaches into their broader corporate volunteerism strategy (e.g., Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, IBM, and Timberland). Companies that use a *large-group approach* focus on organizing volunteer activities for

large groups of employees who engage in community service on specific days (e.g., JP Morgan Chase's Global Days of Service, Discovery Communications' Discover Your Impact Day, Kraft Food's Kraft Cares Day). A *grant-based approach* involves the use of financial grants to promote employee volunteerism. Typically, a company provides grants to nonprofits in the name of particularly dedicated employee volunteers (e.g., American Express' Global Volunteer Action Fund, Green Mountain Coffee Roasters' Dollars for Doers). A few companies use an *own-time approach*, in which they encourage volunteerism outside of the normal work hours, such as during employees' lunch breaks (e.g., The MONY Group) or through well-developed support technologies such as a company intranet system that allows employees to locate volunteer opportunities that match their interests, skills, and available time (e.g., IBM).

A fourth design strategy utilizes a *paid-volunteerism approach*. Some organizations allocate a specified amount of paid time that each employee can use to volunteer in a nonprofit or community-based organization that is usually selected by the employee. For example, some companies offer one to three days of paid leave per year for volunteering (e.g., CIGNA, Vanguard), and other companies offer their employees 40 hours or more each year to engage in community service (e.g., Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, Timberland, ING). Some people may question whether this type of CVP promotes true volunteerism, given these employee "volunteers" receive compensation from their employer for their time. After all, what differentiates volunteer work from paid work is the exchange of goods or services produced without the expectation of "exclusive and immediate benefits" (Wilson & Musick, 1999, p. 244). We suggest that the paid-volunteerism approach does encourage true volunteerism because the compensation is not provided by a volunteer organization as payment for services rendered. Moreover, our experiences suggest that salaried employees are more apt to view their participation in a CVP as an officially sanctioned departure from their regular work duties, rather than a paid day off that provides an opportunity to volunteer.

Although less common, some organizations offer time off for volunteering in the form of service sabbaticals. For example, IBM's Corporate Service Corps program sends small groups of employees to developing regions for a month to perform community-based projects. This program is designed to offer the triple-benefit of solving community problems, developing and training IBM leaders, and developing non-employee leaders in the communities served. Through Timberland's Service Sabbatical program, employees with at least three years of tenure could apply to work

on service projects at home or abroad for up to six months while receiving regular pay and benefits. Citizens Bank also offers a community service sabbatical, enabling employees with at least three years tenure to work full-time in the community for up to three months.

Little is known about the effects of these different design approaches on the outcomes for employees, organizations, and the nonprofits served by employee volunteers. We will discuss potential effects of these approaches when we review future research needs below.

Prevalence of CVPs

The prevalence of CVPs appears to be on the rise in the US. In 2003, 47 of the Fortune 50 companies had some form of employer-supported volunteerism in place, and 60% of the Fortune 500 companies mentioned volunteering efforts on their company websites (Cihlar, 2004; Points of Light Foundation, 2004). By 2009, over 90% of the Fortune 500 companies responding to a survey had formal CVPs in place (Boccalandro, 2009). And CVPs are not limited to the Fortune 500: among all large companies in the US, approximately 80% have CVPs (Burnes & Gonyea, 2005). Although one estimate suggests that larger organizations are twice as likely as smaller organizations to offer a CVP, rates of employee participation in these programs appear to be similar across organizations regardless of their size (Walker Information, 2003).

ORGANIZATIONAL MOTIVES FOR DEVELOPING CVPS

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is becoming an increasingly important aspect of corporate strategy. Organizational leaders recognize that an organization's reputation, ability to retain high-performing employees, and financial bottom-line are partly dependent upon their commitment to socially responsible practices (e.g., Fombrun & Shanley, 1990). In response, many companies explicitly incorporate CSR into their corporate strategy as a means of satisfying the interests of various stakeholder groups. When approached strategically, an organization's CSR program is more likely to maximally benefit the organization and the greater good (Porter & Kramer, 2006). Indeed, researchers have demonstrated a positive relationship between the social and financial performance of organizations (Orlitzky, Schmidt, & Rynes, 2003).

Conceptualizing CVPs as a Strategic Asset

Different conceptualizations of CSR exist (see Section I, this volume), but most encompass charitable giving on the part of the organization (see Chapter 5, this volume), as well as support for employee volunteering. Historically, a company's philanthropic activities focused on financial donations, but these activities are now expanding to include the donation of employee time and other resources (e.g., the donation of computers to schools; Lukka, 2000). Organizational leaders have become increasingly interested in displaying good corporate citizenship behaviors (see Chapter 2, this volume), and CVPs are becoming one of the fastest growing means to do so (Austin, 2001; Cihlar, 2004). This is reflected by the inclusion of CVPs in strategic business plans as a means to manage public relations, improve brand image, increase customer loyalty, develop employee skills, and facilitate employee recruitment and retention (Barbian, 2001; Points of Light Foundation, 2000; Witter, 2003). Some executives believe so strongly in the return on investment of CVPs that they feel they cannot afford to terminate them (Wild, 1993). Given this, it is surprising that little research has focused on what drives organizations to implement CVPs, although recent evidence and theory shed light on this issue.

Based on theory that specifies three motives for engaging in corporate social responsibility (Aguilera, Rupp, Williams, & Ganapathi, 2007) and interviews with corporate leaders regarding why organizations implement and support CVPs (LBG Associates, 2005), several potential drivers of CVPs can be identified. First, some leaders may initiate CVPs largely out of *instrumental motives*, such as the desire to gain competitive advantage. Many organizational leaders believe there are tangible business benefits to be reaped from strategically designed CVPs, such as the benefits to employees and the organization that we later review. Other leaders are driven more by *relational motives*, such as the desire for social legitimacy and the long-term growth of a collective identity; supporting corporate volunteerism may be valued by important stakeholders such as employees and shareholders. Finally, *moral motives* can drive the pursuit of CSR, such as stewardship interests or higher-order values among top management teams. For some organizations, their commitment to volunteerism is part of their culture, and some leaders believe community service is a core organizational value that distinguishes their company from competitors or is just the right thing to do, especially given that companies often possess considerable resources and abilities that can be leveraged to give back to their communities in meaningful ways.

Aguilera et al. (2007) note that decisions to pursue CSR initiatives likely develop out of a combination of these three motives. For example, Cognizant Technology Solutions (Inc.) introduced a CVP in 2011 through which tens of thousands of their information technology workers can volunteer their time in support of STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) education in the US. Presumably, Cognizant implemented this CVP to promote social good while also attempting to address their future labor needs, in addition to reaping the potential benefits of corporate volunteerism that are discussed throughout this chapter.

Research is needed to examine how the reasons organizational leaders implement CVPs might influence the design of CVPs and employees' attitudes toward them. For example, Vlachos, Theotokis, and Panagopoulos (2010) found that employees' beliefs about the motives for an organization's partnership with a nonprofit affected levels of organizational trust, such that more instrumental motives were negatively related to levels of trust, while moral motives were positively related to levels of employee trust in the organization. Examining the employee, organizational, and community outcomes and effectiveness associated with these reasons may also be informative. For example, it has been suggested that CVPs tied to an organization's strategic plan are more likely to be maximally effective in terms of the benefits to the organization and society (Porter & Kramer, 2006), but this assertion remains largely untested.

ANTECEDENTS TO EMPLOYEES' DECISIONS TO PARTICIPATE IN CVPS

Understanding who volunteers through CVPs and why they do so, we believe, is critical for informing the design and management of CVPs. Although few studies have focused on the antecedents to employees' decisions to volunteer, research on volunteerism independently from a CVP and on organizational citizenship behavior point to a number of plausible antecedents. Penner (2002) proposed a conceptual model of the volunteer process, suggesting that demographic characteristics, personal values and personality, and functional motives for volunteering are some of the variables that interact to influence an individual's initial decision to volunteer. In turn, Penner (2002) suggests, initial volunteering experiences influence an individual's volunteer role identity, which affects subsequent decisions about volunteering. Using this model as an organizing framework, we review probable antecedents to employees' volunteer decisions.

Demographic Characteristics

Research on volunteerism has focused on examining the kinds of people who volunteer and other correlates of volunteering decisions (Smith, 1994). Earlier studies tended to focus on characteristics such as social status (e.g., Lemon, Palisi, & Jacobson, 1972; Smith, 1983). These perspectives suggest that individuals weigh the costs and benefits of volunteering, and the ability to volunteer is constrained by one's available resources, such as financial standing (Wilson, 2000). However, researchers have found mixed support for this "dominant status perspective." Although education levels are among the most consistent correlates of volunteering, with more highly educated individuals more likely to volunteer (Lammers, 1991; Penner, 2002; Wilson, 2000), most volunteers appear to be Caucasian females from middle-income levels, rather than wealthy Caucasian males who often hold more privileged positions (Lammers, 1991; Toppe et al., 2001).

Research on volunteerism has shown that volunteer rates drop during the transition from adolescence to young adulthood (approximately ages 25–34) and peak during middle adulthood (approximately ages 35–44; Herzog, Kahn, Morgan, Jackson, & Antonucci, 1989; Wilson, 2000). In the US, the highest rates of volunteering occur among unemployed, married women with children living at home, who volunteer for community-oriented groups (Toppe et al., 2001; Wilson, 2000). Employed individuals and males, we suspect, might volunteer more often if they had opportunities to do so through their employing organization.

In one study, researchers examined demographic differences between employees participating in a CVP, individuals who volunteer on their own time, and non-volunteers (de Gilder, Schuyt, & Breedijk, 2005). Individuals who volunteer on their own time were found to be more religious, married with children, and somewhat older than non-volunteers; however, demographics did not play much of a role in determining who participated in CVPs.

Values and Personality

Different personal values (e.g., religious beliefs) and personality traits (e.g., prosocial personality; Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, & Freifeld, 1995) affect people's decisions to volunteer. Meta-analytic evidence indicates that the Big Five factor of Conscientiousness is positively related to commitment to and investment in one's role as a volunteer ($\rho = .15$, $k = 5$; Lodi-Smith & Roberts, 2007). Additionally, Carlo, Okun, Knight, and de Guzman (2005) argued that given the prosocial nature of volunteering and the high

degree of social interaction often required, among the Big Five factors, Agreeableness and Extraversion would be most strongly related to volunteering. They found this to be the case, however the effect of Agreeableness was partially mediated, and the effect of Extraversion fully mediated, by prosocial value motives. The authors suggest that because both of these factors reflect positive orientations toward others, individuals who are more agreeable and extraverted might be more likely to value prosocial behaviors.

Regarding employee volunteers, we are not aware of published research on the effects of personality on decisions to volunteer. However, unpublished findings showed that communal orientation (the extent to which one believes good deeds should be committed according to need and without expectations for something in return), altruism, and attitudes toward CSR were all related to stronger intentions to participate in a CVP (Jones, 2007).

Studies on demographics, values, and personality are useful for understanding *who* volunteers, but are not as useful for understanding *why* they volunteer. This focus on individual factors has been criticized as atheoretical and lacking the consideration of internal motives and external influences (Greenslade & White, 2005). Moreover, understanding *why* employees decide to volunteer is important to promote sustained participation in CVPs (Grant, 2012).

Functional Motives for Volunteering

Individuals' motives for volunteering have received a great deal of research attention (e.g., Clary & Snyder, 1991; Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). Researchers have proposed that individuals volunteer, and continue to volunteer, to the extent they perceive volunteering as fulfilling primary motivational functions or needs (Clary & Snyder, 1999; Clary et al., 1998; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). According to this perspective, different individuals may engage in the same activity to meet different motives, individuals may have multiple motives, and these motives may change over time (Kiviniemi, Snyder, & Omoto, 2002; Omoto, Snyder, & Martino, 2000).

Researchers provide general support for this functional motives perspective. For instance, recruitment strategies for obtaining volunteers are most effective when they match the primary motives of potential volunteers (Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Miene, & Haugen, 1994; Clary et al., 1998). Similarly, Peterson (2004b) found that, due to changes in motives across the lifespan,

the most effective strategies for recruiting participation in CVPs depended on the age of the volunteers. Furthermore, some researchers suggest experiences that satisfy the motives of volunteers lead to greater satisfaction with and continued participation in volunteer activities (Clary et al., 1998; Houle, Sagarin, & Kaplan, 2005).

Clary et al. (1998) described six functional motives underlying volunteerism. The first motive, *values*, stems from a desire to help others and contribute to society. The next motive, *understanding*, reflects a desire to learn; volunteering can provide opportunities to utilize current knowledge to help others and to gain new knowledge and skills. The *social* function relates to a desire to conform to social pressures or spend time with friends. Volunteerism may also facilitate entry into desirable social groups and attainment of new social ties. The *career* function reflects the desire to gain career-related benefits such as résumé enhancement and job prospects. The *protective* function serves to reduce experiences of guilt associated with feeling more fortunate than others. Finally, the *enhancement* function stems from a desire for growth and development. Individuals may volunteer in order to improve their self-esteem and self-confidence. While research is generally supportive of these motives, findings have been inconsistent concerning their relative effects on volunteering (e.g., Finkelstein, Penner, & Brannick, 2005; Mowen & Sujan, 2005; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998). These inconsistencies may be explained by variations in this core set of motives as a function of the particular volunteer activity and context, as Clary et al. (1998) recognized.

Researchers have also studied the motives driving organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), which we believe are relevant to understanding employees' motives to participate in CVPs given that both behaviors occur in the context of their employing organization and are, or at least have the appearance of being, prosocially motivated. OCB is not necessarily prosocial, as these behaviors may benefit the organization to the detriment of the larger community (e.g., unethical pro-organizational behavior; Umphress, Bingham, & Mitchell, 2010). Similarly, it may also be the case that engagement in corporate volunteering is motivated by a desire to benefit oneself or the organization (e.g., organizational image) without a desire to benefit the community, a possibility discussed below. Rioux and Penner (2001) identified three motives for OCB. The *prosocial values* motive reflects a desire to help others and is conceptually similar to the motive of *values* identified by Clary et al. (1998). O*rganizational concern* includes a desire to help the organization, stemming from a sense of pride and commitment to the organization. Finally, *impression management*

concerns desires to avoid looking bad to co-workers and to obtain organizational rewards. These motives have each been found to be related to ratings of OCB (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004; Rioux & Penner, 2001). Researchers have also examined the individual consequences of these behaviors, finding that OCBs are related to managerial ratings of employee performance (e.g., Allen & Rush, 1998; Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009).

This research on OCB adds two potential motives for participating in CVPs. First, employees may volunteer through their employers' CVP because of impression management motives, as some employees might perceive this behavior as directly or indirectly rewarded, especially when it is more strongly supported by management (Peloza & Hassay, 2006). Just as with OCB, managers may incorporate information regarding employee volunteerism into their overall evaluations of employee performance, and some research suggests employees do perceive this to be the case (Deloitte, 2007). Second, organizational concern could also motivate corporate volunteering. Consistent with this notion, Jones (2007) found that in one company, employees who more strongly believed that the company wanted its employees to volunteer through the CVP and that their immediate supervisor was supportive of the program had greater intentions to participate and valued the CVP to a greater degree. Furthermore, given that socially responsible organizations are viewed more positively by internal and external constituencies (Austin, 2001; Walker Information, 2002), participation in a CVP may be perceived as a means to both helping the organization and creating an organization in which one feels a sense of pride and commitment (Jones, 2009, 2010; Peterson, 2004a).

A few studies have examined the motives for volunteering among employee volunteers. A survey by Zappala and McLaren (2004) found that for employees of a large financial institution in Australia, motives relating to values, understanding, and enhancement were the most important drivers in decisions to volunteer, while career motives were rated as least important. Peloza and colleagues (Peloza & Hassay, 2006; Peloza, Hudson, & Hassay, 2009) grouped the motives identified by Clary et al. (1998) and Rioux and Penner (2001) into three categories of motives for engaging in employer-supported volunteering: egoistic motives (e.g., desire to develop skills, gain recognition, interact with colleagues); charity (e.g., desire to help the charity); and organizational citizenship motives (e.g., desire to assist employer or co-workers, present positive image of employer). Peloza et al. (2009) found that for employees in various industries in the US, egoistic and organizational citizenship motives were related to participation in a

CVP, however altruistic motives were not. The authors suggest this may occur because employees are less likely to be personally attached to a cause chosen by the employer. On the other hand, a qualitative case study found that for a sample of IBM employees in New Zealand, altruistic or values motives were frequently reported as a driver of participation in a CVP (Pajo & Lee, 2011).

Pajo and Lee (2011) further suggest the importance of considering the task and relational context or characteristics of the volunteering activity as important drivers of sustained participation in CVPs. For example, employees' perceptions of the significance and meaningfulness of the task may influence employee satisfaction and motivation surrounding the CVP. Similarly, Grant (2012) proposes that sustained participation in a CVP may stem from corporate volunteer projects meeting compensatory motives activated by depleted job designs. For example, it may be the case that jobs low in knowledge enrichment activate developmental and career motives for volunteering. To the extent that initial experiences participating in the CVP meet these motives, greater participation in the program would be expected. Thus, we suggest these *compensatory motives* may be an additional reason employees would participate in a CVP. This approach also implicates the design of corporate volunteer programs/projects as important to sustained participation. Sustained participation, however, is expected to also be dependent on internalizing a volunteer role identity.

Volunteer Role Identity

In Penner's (2002) model of the volunteer process, people's initial experiences volunteering can shape their volunteer role identity, a concept grounded in research on identity theory (McCall & Simmons, 1966; Stryker, 1980; Turner, 1978). One's volunteer role identity, or the extent to which individuals internalize their roles as volunteers and incorporate these roles into their self-concepts (Grube & Piliavin, 2000; Piliavin & Callero, 1991; Van Dyne & Farmer, 2004), is thought to be influenced by expectations of others and to become stronger as a result of having positive initial experiences with the volunteer role (e.g., Lee, 1997; Penner, 2002; Piliavin & Callero, 1991). The strength of one's volunteer identity has been found to relate to outcomes such as number of hours volunteered and intentions to continue to volunteer (e.g., Grube & Piliavin, 2000), as individuals strive to behave consistently with their role identities.

Finkelstein and colleagues (e.g., Finkelstein & Brannick, 2007; Finkelstein et al., 2005) have empirically examined aspects of Penner's

conceptual model, in general finding support for the integration of functional motives and volunteer role identity, and a positive relationship between volunteer role identity and volunteer activities. For example, Finkelstein (2008) found that the degree of motive fulfillment through volunteering was related to strength of volunteer role identity in a sample of hospice volunteers. Additionally, Finkelstein (2009) found that volunteer role identity was related to an intrinsic motivation orientation but not an extrinsic orientation, and role identity was related to time spent volunteering.

A similar model explaining the process of sustained OCB suggests initial engagement in OCB occurs to satisfy functional motives; this behavior is sustained because over time an individual develops an organizational citizen role identity (Penner, Midili, & Kegelmeyer, 1997). Finkelstein (2006) found empirical support for this model, also finding that impression management motives were related to OCBs directed toward co-workers but not to the development of a role identity. Taken together, Finkelstein's (2006, 2009) findings suggest that employees whose motives stem from other-oriented functions may be more likely to develop an employee-volunteer role identity. Therefore, CVP leaders may wish to foster these motives and take steps to reduce feelings of pressure to volunteer, which may enhance impression management motives. Research is needed to determine whether this motive fulfillment-role, identity-sustained volunteerism process functions similarly in a corporate volunteering context.

Given the volitional nature of volunteerism, an understanding of the processes driving individuals to this action is useful for several reasons. For example, whereas personal characteristics may be difficult to change and individual differences such as personality are fairly stable across the lifespan (Conley, 1985; Costa & McCrae, 1988, 1997), motives (although rooted in dispositions; see House, Shane, & Herold, 1996) and role identity are somewhat malleable and can be influenced by outside forces. For example, situational variables such as norms or pressures may influence an individual's motives for participating in volunteerism. In the case of CVPs, an individual may perceive it is "expected" by co-workers or supervisors that employees participate, thereby influencing likelihood to volunteer. Along similar lines, more egoistic concerns may motivate one to volunteer. If participating in a CVP appears to be rewarded or valued by managers, it may come to be viewed as an impression management technique. Employees may become motivated to volunteer simply to present themselves to others in a favorable light, although, as discussed

above, this may be less likely to result in sustained participation. Moreover, the motives for volunteering have implications for the effectiveness of CVPs because the fulfillment of these motives provides benefits to employees, thereby affecting the likelihood that employees will reciprocate through work attitudes and behaviors that benefit their employing organization. Research is needed to determine how organizations may best use this information to enhance CVPs.

CONSEQUENCES OF CVPS FOR EMPLOYEES, ORGANIZATIONS, AND COMMUNITIES

The consequences of CVPs have been described as a "win-win-win-win-win" situation, benefiting the employee volunteer, the employing organization, the volunteer organization or community, individual citizens, and the government (Graff, 2004, p. 14). Although it is assumed CVPs lead to positive outcomes, oftentimes these outcomes go unmeasured by organizations (Points of Light Foundation & The Center for Corporate Citizenship at Boston College, 2005). Systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of CVPs is lacking, and, as noted, is mainly in the form of case studies and anecdotal evidence (Burnes & Gonyea, 2005; Cihlar, 2004). In this section, we review the available research on individual, organizational, and community consequences and outcomes of CVPs.

Employee Outcomes

CVPs as a Work-Life Benefit

Research suggests that employees tend to value CVPs and believe that they benefit from them (Jones, 2010). But in what ways might employees benefit? One answer to this question is to view CVPs as a work-life benefit. While scholars have not tended to explicitly view CVPs as a work-life benefit, there may be good reason to do so. Work-life benefits refer to initiatives implemented by organizations to help employees balance the competing demands between important life roles. Although much of the research on work-life benefits has focused on practices developed to help employees manage the interface of work and family roles, it is clear that many people also value their role as a community volunteer. Thus, CVPs may serve as a means to help employees manage competing demands between their

valued roles of employee and volunteer. In fact, the most commonly reported reason why individuals do not volunteer is lack of time (Toppe et al., 2001). By providing employees with resources and support for their volunteer activities, organizations can help employees successfully overcome this barrier.

Although many find the act of volunteering highly rewarding, some people find it difficult to meaningfully serve their communities because there simply "are not enough hours in the day." As such, for time-constrained employees who wish they had more time to volunteer, CVPs represent an important work-life benefit because they offer a means to manage the demands associated with competing life roles. Through CVPs, employees can find the freedom to be committed volunteers while still maintaining other important life roles. Indeed, employees report that as a result of their volunteering, they feel a greater sense of balance in life and a reduction in stress (Pancer, Baetz, & Rog, 2002). In addition, some individuals strive to incorporate a sense of personal purpose in their career-related pursuits (Jakobson, 2008) and CVPs can provide an officially sanctioned and structured outlet to do just that.

Although various work-life benefits may result in different outcomes for different employees (Grover & Crooker, 1995), some generalizations can be made from the research on work-family benefits. Work-life benefits are associated with higher job satisfaction (Thomas & Ganster, 1995), and they also engender higher levels of perceived organizational support (Allen, 2001; Clark, 2001), which presumably are positive psychological outcomes for employees.

Rewards from the Experience of Volunteering

Employees can also benefit through the act of volunteering itself. For some people, volunteering can provide the ultimate "feel good" experience. Employees can achieve a sense of personal fulfillment through serving others (Austin, 1997). People who volunteer through their employer report experiencing positive effects from believing that they made a difference in the lives of others (Pancer et al., 2002), which may be one reason why some employee volunteers claim to enjoy an enhanced sense of self-esteem (Pancer et al., 2002) and confidence (Tuffrey, 2003). Employee volunteers can also benefit from meeting new people and spending quality time with co-workers and friends who volunteer with them (Peloza & Hassay, 2006; Ross, 1997; Tschirhart, 2005).

CVPs may also have further influences on employee health and well-being. Researchers have related helping behaviors to better health, finding that volunteers tend to experience better physical health in old age (Stephan, 1991) and have a lower risk of mortality (Musick, Herzog, & House, 1999). Additionally, benefits appear to include better mental well-being, such as enhanced life satisfaction, as well as reduced levels of stress and depression (Harlow & Cantor, 1996; Musick & Wilson, 2003; Thoits & Hewitt, 2001). It should be noted that these studies focus on volunteering in general and not through CVPs. Given rising health care costs, future researchers should examine the potential benefits to employee health and well-being from participation in CVPs.

Benefits Relating to Paid-Employment Roles

Employees may have opportunities to develop and improve their work-related skills through volunteering; at the very least, employees believe that they do. Approximately one-third of the employees sampled from one company believed that they developed work-related skills from volunteering through their company's CVP (Jones, 2007). Results from another study of over 3,600 employee volunteers sampled from different organizations likewise showed that many employees believed they acquired or refined work-related skills through their volunteering, and the perceived extent of skill development was higher among employees who spent more hours volunteering (Booth et al., 2009). Enhanced employee skill-development is also likely to result in benefits to the organization, which will be discussed below.

In addition to improving skills, CVPs are also thought to provide opportunities for professional development, such as gaining new business contacts, experience with different constituents, and a better understanding of government policies and regulations (Geroy, Wright, & Jacoby, 2000; Wild, 1993). One recent study showed that some employees from a U.S. company viewed their volunteering as an opportunity for career development (Ingram, 2011).

CVPs may also benefit employees through providing them with opportunities to perform meaningful service work and have social impact, thereby fostering a sense of task significance that may be lacking in their paid employment activities. Volunteer activities and the skills required to perform them can differ markedly from the day-to-day tasks employees perform at work. As explained to one author of this chapter by an employee who worked in a packaging and distribution center, the opportunity to

perform meaningful service work is of particular benefit to employees whose paid work activities are monotonous, repetitive, and lacking in personal meaning. CVPs have also been associated with pleasurable attitudes and psychological states at work. A little over 60% of the employees in one study reported that their volunteer experiences through a CVP put them in a good mood when they returned to work and that they felt energized (Jones, 2007). Another study reported that employees' job satisfaction was higher to the extent they believed their employer gave back to its community (Valentine & Fleischman, 2008). While job satisfaction may be enhanced by all of the benefits of CVPs discussed thus far, studies suggest that a major CVP-based driver of employees' attitudes is the sense of pride they experience from working for an employer that invests resources to promote volunteerism.

Organizational pride refers to the experience of pleasure and self-respect arising from one's organizational membership (Jones, 2010). Employees report feeling organizational pride as a result of the opportunity to volunteer on company time (Pancer et al., 2002); for instance, 60% of a nationally representative sample of employees in the UK claimed that corporate community involvement had a "great deal" or "fair amount" of impact on their organizational pride (Tuffrey, 2003). In addition to these opinion poll findings, Jones (2010) found that employees who held more favorable attitudes toward their company's CVP tended to possess higher levels of organizational pride. In turn, employees' pride was found to enhance their identification with the organization (Jones, 2010) because people who feel proud of their organizational membership are motivated to identify with their organization to enhance their self-worth (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Another study provides insight into two potential causes of organizational pride from CVPs: employees' perceptions of value fit with the organization and the company's external prestige each explained unique variance in pride (Jones, 2009).

Notably, the pleasurable feelings of pride are not limited to employees who volunteer through their company's CVP. Research on perceived external prestige (e.g., Mael & Ashforth, 1992) suggests that employees who do not volunteer can still feel a sense of pride if they believe outsiders view the company more favorably as a result of its CVP (Jones, 2010). De Gilder et al. (2005) compared attitudes among Dutch employees participating in a CVP and those not participating. Their results suggest all employees held generally positive attitudes toward the CVP, with attitudes being most positive among those participating in the program. Additionally, attitudes toward the program were positively related to organizational identification.

Similarly, Peterson (2004a) examined the benefits of participation in CVPs across a number of organizations, finding organizational commitment was higher for individuals employed in organizations with a CVP, regardless of whether they participated in the program.

Potential Negative Employee Outcomes

Although most research has focused on the positive effects of CVPs on employee well-being, potential negative effects should be considered. Corporate volunteering might blur the boundaries between an individual's role as an employee and volunteer. Individuals differ in the extent to which they prefer to separate their work and non-work roles (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). As suggested by Grant (2012), individuals who prefer to keep these roles segmented may respond negatively to CVPs, and future research is needed to address this potential concern. Jones (2007) found that almost 65% of respondents in one company reported that viewing volunteerism as a personal decision was a barrier to participating in a CVP. Along similar lines, given that CVPs may increase the permeability between these two life roles (e.g., employee, volunteer), spending time in the volunteer domain may drain resources available for the work role (e.g., time spent participating in a CVP may make it difficult to meet the requirements of one's work role). For example, approximately 25% of employees sampled from one company indicated they felt overwhelmed with the amount of work they needed to accomplish after returning from a volunteer experience (Jones, 2007). On the other hand, it is also possible an enrichment effect occurs, such that resources (e.g., skills, self-efficacy, information) gained in one's role as a corporate volunteer positively influence performance in the work role. More research is needed to determine whether and when corporate volunteering depletes or enriches resources in the work domain.

Volunteering through a CVP may also create undue burden on co-workers, who may feel resentful as a result. Research regarding telework, a work-life benefit offered by many organizations, suggests that non-teleworking co-workers report more negative work experiences, including greater workload, when their co-workers telework (Greer, Payne, Huffman, Henning, & Rasmussen, 2011). Future research should examine whether this is the case for participation in CVPs. Additionally, participation in a CVP may interfere with performance objectives and associated bonuses, including pay increases and promotion opportunities. Although many employees view volunteerism as a personal decision, some may feel

pressured to volunteer. For example, 26% of respondents in one survey reported their organization considers their community involvement as part of their performance review (Deloitte, 2007). This "mandatory volunteering" has been associated with negative outcomes such as reduced commitment and intentions to volunteer in the future (Stukas, Snyder, & Clary, 1999). This pressure might negate the positive effects employees may garner from participation in a CVP, and future researchers might examine the extent to which perceived organizational pressure for volunteering influences employee outcomes.

It is also possible that CVPs create resentment among individual employees. When organizations target their CVPs to benefit certain political, religious, or cultural causes, or to serve certain groups of society that some employees may find offensive or undeserving, negative employee attitudes may result. Future research is necessary to determine if this is the case and whether this resentment may lead to inter-team or inter-organizational conflict. This may especially be the case in situations where employees feel pressured to participate in a CVP and may be alleviated when CVPs are designed in such a way as to allow employees to choose the causes or organizations for which they will volunteer.

CVPs and Employee Outcomes: Future Research Needs

Several avenues of future research regarding employee outcomes of CVPs warrant attention. Research is needed regarding the role CVPs may play as a work-life benefit. For instance, do employees believe that CVPs help them align their employment and volunteer-related roles without creating undue burdens on their available time? Are some types of CVPs more effective in this regard than others, such as programs that encourage volunteering during regular work hours? Research is also needed to understand the extent to which employees perceive CVPs as indicative of their organization's support for its employees' needs. Future studies should also examine the effects on employees from the act of volunteering itself, and whether their satisfaction with volunteering is higher when their goals and motives for volunteering are fulfilled through a CVP. It is plausible that CVPs are more effective at fulfilling employees' motives for volunteering when they are designed to give employees control over where and how they volunteer, which are typical features of CVPs that utilize "paid-volunteerism" and "own-time" approaches.

Rigorous empirical research is needed to test a possibility that is often suggested by business leaders and employee volunteers—that employees

can actually develop and hone their work-related skills through volunteering. Researchers should also focus on further examining potential positive and negative outcomes of CVPs relating to employees' psychological and physical well-being (e.g., life satisfaction, self-esteem, mood and affect at work, resource depletion, reduced or increased levels of work-related stress). Finally, research is needed to address potential negative outcomes, such as resentment among employees who feel pressured to participate and among non-participating co-workers who resent those who do participate.

Organizational Outcomes

As with employee-related outcomes, few empirical investigations have examined employer-related consequences of CVPs. Research on work-family benefits shows that such benefits are positively related to firm productivity and share price reactions to the adoption of these policies (Arthur, 2003; Konrad & Mangel, 2000; Meyer, Mukerjee, & Sestero, 2001). Researchers suggest that an organization's community involvement is positively related to business performance (Lewin & Sabater, 1996), but it is unknown whether and how different types of CVPs might affect financial success. In this section, we explore direct and indirect evidence regarding the ways in which CVPs can affect organizational performance.

Effects of CVPs on Organizational Reputation and Consumers

CVPs have a favorable impact on an organization's reputation (Jones & Willness, in press), and this may ultimately affect consumers' purchasing decisions. Of the 248 CVP managers responding in one survey, 100% believed a CVP would help improve an organization's image (Points of Light Foundation, 2000), and many individuals report thinking more positively of organizations that encourage community involvement over donations of large sums of money (Hill & Knowlton, Inc. & Yankelovich Partners, 1998). Stakeholders who hold more favorable impressions of a company's community involvement are believed to be more likely to recommend the organization and its products and services, as well as continue to do business with or invest in the company (Walker Information, 2002; Wild, 1993). In short, some customers may reward companies that contribute to and serve their communities by "voting with their pocketbook" (Smith & Langford, 2009).

Effects of CVPs on Employee Recruitment

Research shows that job seekers are attracted to organizations that offer work-life benefits (Casper & Buffardi, 2004; Thompson & Aspinwall, 2009). Although some researchers suggest employees are differentially attracted to different work-life benefits based on perceived need and desire (Rau & Hyland, 2002), others suggest these benefits are universally appealing and may signal a supportive organization to prospective employees (Bretz & Judge, 1994; Casper & Buffardi, 2004). Accordingly, CVPs might help organizations distinguish themselves from other potential employers (e.g., Jones, Willness, & Madey, 2010). In a survey of U.S. employees ages 21–35, over 60% reported an organization's commitment to the community would play a role in their decision when choosing between jobs (Deloitte, 2011), and a survey of employed 18–26-year-olds found that 62% would prefer to work for an organization that provides opportunities to offer one's skills to benefit nonprofits (Deloitte, 2007). Following September 11, 2001, job applications at Timberland, an organization known for its corporate citizenship, greatly increased. Many of these applicants cited the company's dedication to social responsibility as an important factor in their decisions to seek employment there (Pereira, 2003).

In both experimental and field studies, researchers have found that people are more attracted to working for a company when its web pages or other recruitment materials included information about its CVP (Jones, Willness, & MacNeil, 2009; Jones et al., 2010). Evidence was also found in these studies for three signal-based mechanisms that explain this effect: a CVP sends signals about the organization's prestige that inform job seekers' anticipated pride (i.e., people want to feel proud about working in well-regarded organizations), signals about organizational values that inform job seekers' perceived fit (i.e., people are attracted to organizations that share their personal values), and signals about the organization's pro-social orientation that inform job seekers' expectations about employees are treated (e.g., "if this company cares so much about its community it surely must treat its own people really well"). Through attracting more applicants, CVPs may ultimately increase selection system utility and an organization's ability to hire high-performing employees (Boudreau & Rynes, 1985), and the three explanatory mechanisms can be leveraged by organizations seeking to maximize the return on their investments in CVPs.

Effects of CVPs on Employee Commitment and Retention

Tuffrey (1995) suggests that CVPs may favorably affect employee morale and retention, thereby enhancing the organization's performance, and

some researchers' studies provide support for this notion. Research on employee responses to CVPs, and to community involvement and social responsibility more broadly, suggests that CVPs likely promote employee commitment and retention. Organizational commitment has been positively associated with individuals' perceptions of their organization's social performance (Peterson, 2004a), and with employees' beliefs about the extent to which their company is a responsible member of the community (Brammer, Millington, & Rayton, 2007). Focusing on CVPs more specifically, the de Gilder et al. (2005) study showed that Dutch employees' attitudes about their company's program correlated positively with their organizational commitment. However, these studies provide little insight into why employees become more committed in response to their organization's CVP, which is a point to which we soon return.

Perhaps reflecting the notion that CVPs can enhance employees' organizational commitment, other evidence suggests that CVPs likely promote employee retention. One descriptive survey-based study reported that 44% of a large sample of UK-based employees claimed they were more likely to stay with their company because of the pride they felt from its community involvement (Tuffrey, 2003). Other studies similarly suggest that employees' CVP-based organizational pride ultimately leads to stronger intentions to remain (Jones, 2009, 2010) and that this occurs because the pride employees experience motivates them to identify with the organization more strongly (Jones, 2010).

Effects of CVPs on Performance-Oriented Employee Behavior

Several writers claim that CVPs increase an organization's global competitiveness through employee skill-building, and the development of team spirit and various teamwork competencies (e.g., Barbian, 2001). Interviews conducted with human resources administrators indicate they believe a change in skills occurs after participation in a CVP, particularly for junior staff and those in lower-skill positions. Furthermore, these human resources administrators believe CVPs could in some cases serve as an effective substitute for formal training (Points of Light Foundation & The Center for Corporate Citizenship at Boston College, 2005).

Additionally, about 60% of the employees sampled from one company agreed that the shared experience of volunteering with co-workers increased their cohesion at work (Jones, 2007). A survey-based study showed that employees believed that volunteering through CVPs helped them develop or enhance their teamwork, leadership, communication, and project management skills (Peterson, 2004a). Some caution must be taken

when considering the propositions that participation in a CVP enhances job skills and team cohesion, as most available information is self-report or based on the beliefs of directors or managers of CVPs who may have a vested interest in demonstrating the benefits associated with these programs.

In contrast to claims about effects on job performance and teamwork skills, evidence does suggest that CVPs can ultimately promote discretionary extra-role or citizenship behaviors at work. In a Dutch financial-services company in which employees could volunteer on "paid time" for up to 36 hours annually, employees' attitudes toward the CVP were found to correlate positively with self-reported citizenship behaviors (de Gilder et al., 2005). In another study focusing on responses to a CVP in which employees could volunteer up to 52 hours annually during their paid work hours, results showed that employees who more strongly valued their CVP had higher levels of self-reported citizenship behavior involving the promotion of the organization's interests. Some employees who believed they benefited from the CVP were also found to "return the favor" by performing citizenship behaviors directed toward their work group and the larger organization, which were measured via supervisory report six months following the measurement of CVP attitudes (Jones, 2010). Importantly, this same study also provides insight into *why* some employees respond positively to CVPs.

Why Do CVPs Promote Positive Employee Responses at Work?

Multiple mechanisms likely exist through which employees respond positively to CVPs. The literature on work-family benefits points to the likely role of perceived organizational support as a linchpin between CVPs and employees' positive attitudinal and behavioral responses, and some researchers suggest it is the perceptions of organizational support for the use of these benefits, as opposed to the existence of the benefits themselves, which results in positive outcomes (e.g., Allen, 2001; Clark, 2001). The same may be true with CVPs. Having a CVP in place may result in encouraging some employees to volunteer (especially those with stronger volunteer role identities); however, it is likely the case that perceived upper-management support of the CVP will result in greater levels of participation and greater employee and organizational benefits.

Exchange theory is often implied as the underlying mechanism for why organizations can benefit through employees' responses to CVPs. Relationships between employees and their employing organizations often

involve exchanges of symbolic and intangible resources (Blau, 1964), such as when employees feel compelled to act in their organization's interests because they feel supported and valued by the organization and its authorities. Social exchange theory has been a useful framework for understanding how perceived organizational support influences employee attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Casper, Martin, Buffardi, & Erdwins, 2002; Rhoades, Eisenberger, & Armeli, 2001). To the extent that employees perceive their organization cares about their well-being, the more likely they are to feel obligated to reciprocate through means that benefit the organization, such as positive work attitudes and behaviors (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchinson, & Sowa, 1986).

This exchange-based mechanism may also explain why some employees respond to CVPs through positive work attitudes and behavior. CVPs may initiate reciprocation processes because employees can benefit from CVPs in a number of ways, as already reviewed. Moreover, an organization's choice to invest in a CVP is highly discretionary, so much so that it can signal that the organization genuinely values its employees and is committed to their well-being, resulting in greater perceptions of organizational support (Jones, 2010). Reflecting these principles, among employees who had stronger exchange ideologies (i.e., the extent to which they believe their efforts at work should depend on how favorably they are treated; Eisenberger et al., 1986), the extent to which they believed they benefited from their company's CVP was associated six months later with higher levels of supervisory-reported citizenship behavior (Jones, 2010).[1] Another study of CVPs provides evidence, albeit less directly, for the existence of such reciprocation processes: employees who viewed their volunteering as a career development activity and who believed their employer was supportive of their volunteering efforts were found to be more engaged at work (Ingram, 2011). These findings are consistent with the notion that employees reciprocate through greater work engagement in response to benefiting from the development opportunities afforded by the CVP and to feeling supported in their efforts to serve. Booth et al.'s (2009) findings are also interpretable from an exchange perspective: employees' beliefs that they acquired job-relevant skills through their CVP correlated positively with their perceptions of their job success and recognition from their employer, which may partly reflect their efforts to reciprocate through increased work effort.

A second theoretically grounded mechanism that has received empirical support appears to occur through the effects of CVPs on employees' organizational pride and identification. Organizational identification refers

to employees' feeling of oneness with their organization—a sense of shared identity with an organization whose successes and failures are experienced as their own (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Employees tend to identify more strongly with an organization when doing so enhances their sense of self-worth (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). An organization's community-focused activities are believed to have strong effects on organizational identification because "such actions can be especially character-enhancing or damning" (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991, p. 548). As such, when employees' organizational pride is enhanced by their company's CVP, they are motivated to identify with the organization more strongly, as two studies have demonstrated (Jones, 2009, 2010).

Employees who identify with their organization tend to internalize its goals as their own and are motivated to help the organization succeed (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). For this reason, employees who have a stronger sense of organizational identification tend to be more committed, have stronger intentions to remain in the organization, and perform more citizenship behavior (Riketta, 2005). It is these very responses that appeared to have been fostered by the effects of employees' CVP attitudes on their organizational pride and identification (Jones, 2010).

Potential Negative Organizational Outcomes

As with employee outcomes, research is needed to identify potential negative consequences of CVPs on organizational outcomes. Related to negative employee outcomes, if participating in a CVP results in resource drain, this participation may have a negative effect on employee work performance. As mentioned previously, employees' perceptions of being obligated to participate, or feelings of resentment, may result in negative organizational outcomes. Some of these potential negative outcomes, however, may be mitigated through how CVPs are structured and managed (Tschirhart & St. Clair, 2008; van der Voort, Glac, & Meijs, 2009). For example, if a program is structured such that hourly employees cannot use work time to volunteer while salaried employees can, this may result in resentment from those unable to fully participate in the program.

CVPs and Organizational Outcomes: Future Research Needs

Research is needed to measure the impact of different types of CVPs on organizations' financial performance and the mechanisms through which any such effects operate. To the extent that the commonly presumed

benefits of CVPs truly occur, demonstrating a sufficient return on investment may assist the internal champions of corporate volunteerism in their efforts to implement and expand their CVPs. However, rigorous research is needed to test specific ways in which companies may profit through their CVPs because, while intuitive, some purported benefits may not hold up to empirical scrutiny. For instance, consumers may claim to reward companies for their CVPs through their purchasing power; however, one study reported that while 30% of consumers stated they would consider a company's ethical standing in their purchasing decisions, only 3% actually did (Futerra, 2005). The potential effects of CVPs on consumer behavior may be strongest for CVPs that use a "large-event" approach or that involve a close partnership with a single nonprofit organization because these types of CVPs may have the greatest effects on organizational image.

Research is also needed to examine other mechanisms that can explain why some job seekers appear to be attracted by CVPs and the potential boundary conditions for such effects. For instance, some job seekers may infer from a recruiting organization's CVP that the company is in good financial standing and therefore can provide secure employment, and the effects of CVPs on job choice decisions are likely heightened to the extent that job seekers are unfamiliar with the recruiting organization (Jones & Willness, in press).

Researchers should also study responses to CVPs among incumbent employees. As we mentioned, research is needed to test whether team-based volunteering can foster team cohesion and performance, and whether CVPs actually improve employees' skills and performance. Presumably, the potential for performance-enhancing skill acquisition through volunteer experiences is largely contingent on the receipt of effective training and mentorship from the associated nonprofit organization, which is perhaps a "missing link" in a possible chain between CVPs and employee job performance. Similarly, the potential effects of CVPs on employees' teamwork skills are likely dependent on having volunteer experiences that include team-skills training or proactive efforts to practice skills that were previously introduced at work.

Research is needed to understand the mechanisms through which employees may respond positively to CVPs, such as social exchange and the related mediating role of perceived organizational support. Researchers should directly measure employees' perceptions of benefit from their company's CVP, and what specific aspects of the programs or volunteer experiences provide them such benefits. Given the evidence that employees experience pride as a result of their employer's CVP, organizational

identification theory provides a particularly useful framework that can guide future research. Research is needed, however, to test whether the effects of organizational pride and identification last only as long as the "feelings of glory" associated with volunteering (Jones, 2010). Research is also needed to test whether individuals who are uninterested in volunteering still respond positively to CVPs to the extent they believe the programs are mission relevant.

Community Benefits

While little research has focused on benefits to the employee volunteer and employing organization, even less has examined the benefits to the volunteer organization and surrounding community. One community benefit of having a CVP in place may be an increased likelihood that more individuals will volunteer. Peterson (2004a) surveyed individuals across a number of organizations regarding their participation in CVPs and volunteering in general. He found that a higher proportion of individuals volunteered when employed in an organization with a CVP. Furthermore, of those respondents employed in an organization offering a CVP, the majority of those who volunteered did so through corporate-sponsored activities, as opposed to on their own. Booth et al. (2009) found that employees who received volunteering benefits (e.g., time off, use of equipment) from their employers volunteered more hours. CVPs may make volunteering more convenient, thus encouraging volunteerism from those who would not normally do so (Lee, 2001; Zappala & McLaren, 2004). It may also be the case that increased numbers of employee volunteers and volunteer hours will result in a broader pool of skilled volunteers and increased financial and in-kind donations on the part of the corporate sponsor.

Community organizations may also benefit from CVP alliances through other corporate resources, such as the corporation's ability to lobby for specific social causes (e.g., Cognizant's CVP that focuses on STEM education in the US). An alliance with a particular corporate partner may also result in enhanced credibility and reputation for the community organization. However, some researchers caution that the support provided by CVPs may only result in the appearance of a problem solved and decrease support on the part of other relevant entities (Tschirhart, 2005). For example, by employee volunteers serving as tutors in an underprivileged school district, the public and relevant government agencies may perceive the underlying problem as solved and their own support as unnecessary

although no fundamental change in the system has occurred. Additionally, assistance from corporate volunteers may interfere with existing work in a community if these endeavors are not properly coordinated with experts, the broader community, or relevant government agencies.

Finally, CVPs may help create a healthier community. Through the support of corporations and increased numbers of volunteers, community organizations may be able to offer enhanced services and better combat the numerous social issues they deal with (Graff, 2004). Additionally, increased awareness of community needs among employee volunteers may further support these causes (Thomas & Christoffer, 1999; Tuffrey, 2003). In the long run, this may contribute to a community's social and economic development.

CVPs and Community Outcomes: Future Research Needs

CVPs may be a particularly pertinent way to help alleviate community problems and help nonprofits function more effectively, yet clearly more research is needed to substantiate these claims, especially given few organizations currently assess the community impact of their CVPs (Lee, 2011). In order to determine whether CVPs truly serve the greater good, research regarding the benefits of CVPs to the organizations and populations served by the program, in addition to benefits to the surrounding community, is sorely needed. Meijs and Roza (2009) have begun to develop an instrument for measuring the effectiveness of CVPs both internally and externally. This measure is designed to assess the effects of corporate volunteering not only for the organization, the employees, and other organizational stakeholders, but for the nonprofit or volunteer organization and the population served by the volunteer organization. An instrument such as this is essential to not only gauging the internal effectiveness of CVPs, but to determining the potential effects a CVP may have on the community and society.

Potential negative consequences of CVPs should also be examined. For example, for those individuals who already volunteer in the community, participation in a CVP may decrease their likelihood to volunteer on their own time, and may therefore decrease their overall time volunteered. Future research is needed to determine whether this trade-off exists, why this may occur (e.g., possible resource depletion), and what the cost–benefit ratio is of gaining individuals who might not volunteer without the assistance of a CVP. Additionally, Tschirhart (2005) suggests nonprofit organizations may shift their mission or how they operate in order to attract

corporate support and satisfy employee volunteers. This may come at a cost to the mission and clients served by the nonprofit, and future researchers must also examine this potential pitfall.

It should also be noted that benefit to a community organization is not likely simply a function of hours volunteered, but also a function of the quality of the volunteer work. For many organizations, it may be the case that a poor performing volunteer is worse than no volunteer at all. Additionally, for some organizations, the work necessary may be complex or expertise may be necessary. Therefore, if one outcome of CVPs is increased volunteer hours, such programs may result in more harm to the community and organization served than good if not approached in such a way that quality of participation is considered. For example, allowing employees to choose the organizations they volunteer for may increase the likelihood of a match between one's skills and expertise and the services offered.

Future research is also needed to examine whether the type of CVP (e.g., large-group, paid-volunteerism) may influence the community benefits gained. For example, individuals are likely to volunteer more hours when able to modify their work schedule to do so (Hall, McKeown, & Roberts, 2001). Thus, paid-volunteerism options may result in greater community impact. It may also be the case that long-term partnerships (including sabbaticals) with a single nonprofit that the organization is particularly suited to serve given its core competencies and resources will produce greater impact, compared to short-term or temporary partnerships that may be terminated after perceived or real dependences on the program are created.

KEY ISSUES AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Although interest in and research surrounding CVPs is growing, a key issue is the lack of rigorous empirical, theory-based research on the topic. Limited programmatic work has been conducted regarding the antecedents of developing and participating in CVPs, the design and implementation of CVPs, and the evaluation of consequences and effectiveness of CVPs has been conducted. For example, only one third of respondents in a survey conducted by the Conference Board and Points of Light Foundation collect data regarding their volunteer programs, and these data were

oftentimes incomplete (Wild, 1993). Several reasons for this lack of assessment exist, including insufficient organizational resources (e.g., staff, time) for doing so, in addition to the contention that measuring and evaluating employee volunteerism may infringe upon the spirit of volunteerism (LBG Associates, 2005).

Additionally, the available empirical research has limitations as well. These studies are typically cross-sectional, therefore obscuring cause-effect relationships. For example, does participation in a CVP result in enhanced employee attitudes or do positive attitudes result in greater participation? Longitudinal studies may help reveal both the reasons for participation in these programs and the benefits that may accrue. Additionally, much of the available research is focused on US-based companies in particular industries. There may be national, cultural, and socio-economic boundary conditions limiting the generalizability of these findings, and more research is necessary to examine whether and how these results extend across organizational contexts and cultures. However, before undertaking such studies, researchers should consider the theoretical underpinnings of the relationships examined.

Throughout the chapter, we have discussed ways in which I-O psychology can contribute to the study of CVPs. In general, this area is in great need of theory and research that can inform the design and management of CVPs as part of a larger human resource management strategy that ultimately benefits the organization, its employees, and the communities and causes served.

Conclusion

Corporate volunteer programs are often viewed as an employee perquisite or a good thing to do, as opposed to a strategic business asset. However, it appears that organizations that strategically initiate their CVPs have the opportunity to not only gain business advantages, but improve the well-being of their employees and have a meaningful, beneficial impact on society. Given the relative lack of theoretically and empirically rigorous research surrounding the outcomes of CVPs, it must also be acknowledged that CVPs may not have meaningful impact and may do more harm than good. Given the organizational context in which corporate volunteering takes place, I-O psychologists are in a unique position to offer their knowledge and skills to improve our understanding of these programs so that any potential benefits may be fully realized by all involved.

NOTE

1. However, similar effects were not observed on employees' job performance, which Jones (2010) attributed to the less discretionary nature of job performance, as its variation is constrained by the employment contract, the threat of employment termination, reward systems, and employee ability.

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5

Corporate Philanthropy and the Role of Industrial-Organizational Psychology

Sara P. Weiner

Corporate philanthropy is one of the critical topics within the overall theme of this book of integrating industrial-organizational psychology theory with prosocial activities. This chapter will provide an overview of corporate philanthropy (CP) and discuss contributions I-O psychology can make to decision-making regarding CP within the context of the organizational work in which I-O psychologists are typically engaged. Specifically, this chapter will cover the different types of philanthropy; the debate over the responsibility of and benefits to corporations of engaging in CP; the current research available on the outcomes for organizations; the theoretical underpinnings that provide a framework for understanding the relationship of CP to attraction, engagement, and retention of talent; the employee outcomes that can be expected from engaging in CP; other programs related to CP; the role of I-O psychologists regarding CP; and future research needed.

OVERVIEW OF PHILANTHROPY

Corporate philanthropy is an active, purposeful dedication of corporate profits to fund organizations or institutions that make a beneficial contribution to society. The recipients of these contributions are typically 501c3 charitable organizations, which is a United States Internal Revenue Service tax status for nonprofit organizations (Internal Revenue Service, 2012). Other countries have varied approaches. Corporations engaged in CP provide support to organizations with a wide range of missions—the

arts, education, or those that address some of the many societal ills we face of disease, poverty, hunger, homelessness, environmental or natural disasters, or other challenges. Corporations may also contribute directly to communities in need. Strategic decisions are made to ensure the greater health in local communities with the belief that healthier communities lead to healthier corporations. Investments are made in "cash, products, in-kind services, or employee voluntarism. Many companies make charitable contributions through both a company-sponsored foundation and a corporate contributions program" (Council on Foundations, 2011, para. 1).

Corporations may focus their giving in a single country or have giving programs that are multinational or global. The approaches, laws, tax implications, and guidelines around CP vary worldwide. Though a detailed discussion of these laws and guidelines are outside the scope of this chapter, they are critical to investigate to launch and manage a successful CP program.

There is a continuum of philanthropy from pure altruism, which is giving without any expectation of a commensurate return, to strategic philanthropy, where organizations target their resources in a specified way at particular societal problems that simultaneously align with the core values and mission of the firm (Saiia, Carroll, & Buchholtz, 2003) and are expected to create some benefit for the organization in return even if that direct benefit is difficult to demonstrate. The latter end of the continuum may be viewed as a paradox—that is, if philanthropy should be by definition without any expectation of returns, then how can it be strategic? Companies may hold a strict interpretation of shareholders as those with a financial interest in the company or adopt a broader conceptualization of stakeholders as including society. In the latter case, corporations engage in strategic corporate philanthropy in their own best interest (Ricks & Williams, 2005). That said, it should be noted that typically an organization is actually prevented from showing a direct relationship to profit from grants of a company's foundation. For example, within the United States, the IRS 501c3 status can be revoked if "self-dealing," or getting a direct benefit from a grant, is shown (R. A. Brown, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

> In order to qualify for exemption an organization has had to demonstrate that it is organized and operated exclusively for exempt purposes and that no part of its net earnings inure to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.
>
> (Internal Revenue Service, 1985)

Corporations may set up foundations, establish grant-making programs, and/or engage in various types of strategic giving. Strategic giving has different end goals than those of gaining goodwill, positive publicity, and/or increasing employee satisfaction, and is also distinguished from cause-related marketing (Porter & Kramer, 2002) or brand enhancement. Cause-related marketing is an approach where a portion of proceeds from selling products or services is donated to a specific cause (e.g., after the 2004 Indonesian Tsunami, Starbucks donated a portion of the money received for every pound of Sumatran coffee sold; Gupta & Pirsch, 2006). Brand enhancement includes efforts to increase the awareness of the attributes of a company's brand in the marketplace and specifically to promote a positive view of that brand. Below is an overview of the different types of giving.

Strategic Giving

Strategic giving aligns giving with corporate strategic goals while simultaneously benefiting the community. That is, the giving has a clear strategic business purpose and a dual motive of positive publicity for the organization. Some argue that corporations have an obligation to engage in "strategic investing behavior" regarding philanthropy to ensure positive outcomes for the charity as well as a return on the investment back to the business (Fioravante, 2010, p. 92). For example, American Express provides preservation grants to historic sites globally. The societal benefit is to preserve these important places, which aligns well with the company's travel business. When philanthropy is strategic, there are formal processes and procedures in place and often there are board members involved in the giving decisions (Brammer, Millington, & Pavelin, 2006). Here, I-O psychologists can identify the opportunities for mutual benefit through research that quantifies the cases where the giver (the company) and the receiver (the recipient) both receive, or are expected to receive, some monetary benefit.

Strategic Need

Strategic need is giving designed to strategically enhance or alter perceptions about a company and, further, to offset any detrimental effects of a company's products (Tesler & Malone, 2008). For example, Philip Morris, the largest tobacco company, has five areas of giving that are

prominent on its website: hunger and extreme poverty, education, rural living conditions, domestic violence, and disaster relief (Philip Morris International, 2002–2011). The purposeful humanitarian giving in which they are involved has been shown to increase the positive views about the corporation and counter some of the negative publicity surrounding the tobacco industry (R. A. Brown, personal communication, February 1, 2011; Tesler & Malone, 2008). Companies' actions are often scrutinized when involved in these practices. For example, criticism has been aimed specifically at Philip Morris as engaging in government lobbying under the guise of strategic philanthropy to manipulate public health legislation (Tesler & Malone, 2008).

Sustainable Value Creation

Sustainable value creation is touted first and foremost as a business strategy to identify services and products that will reap profits for the organization and simultaneously better society (Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy, 2011). "Sustainable value creation is a core business strategy focused on addressing fundamental societal issues by identifying new, scalable sources of competitive advantage that generate measurable profit and community benefit" (Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy, 2011, para. 2). More than a decade before this report was released, Rosabeth Moss Kanter wrote about using the difficult challenges faced in society to promote innovation while also benefiting society. She said that businesses should

> view community needs as opportunities to . . . demonstrate business technologies, to find and serve new markets, and to solve long-standing business problems . . . Tackling social sector problems forces companies to stretch their capabilities to produce innovations that have business as well as community payoffs . . . This is not charity; it is R&D – a strategic business investment.
>
> (Kanter, 1999, p. 124)

Two examples illustrate the profit achieved from innovation in poorer areas of the world. Unilever developed innovative refrigeration methods and now can sell ice cream in India for pennies; Citicorp developed innovative financial technology and now provides financial services in India for those who have as little as $25 (US) to invest (Handy, 2002).

Impact Investment

Impact investment is a newer innovation in philanthropy of for-profit investing that results in both societal impact and profitable outcomes. For-profit investing provides funds to companies that contribute to the greater good or helps the extreme poor establish businesses to support themselves and escape poverty (Omidyar, 2011). Impact investment is a hybrid model whereby a foundation's mission is merged with a venture capitalist approach. Impact investment is the result of a single man's vision—Pierre Omidyar, the founder and chairman of eBay. At the end of the day that eBay went public in 1998, Omidyar was worth more than one billion dollars. A few months later after pondering how his new-found wealth could contribute to the greater good, the hybrid model for his foundation was conceived and funding of for-profit ventures began. Experts in the specialized field of "impact investing" evaluate the prospects of for-profit funding. One example is Ethos Water, which donates a portion of its proceeds to promote safe drinking water in Third World nations. Another is the broader mission of micro-financing, which helps the poor to build sustainable businesses. This financing is one of the Omidyar Network's largest recipients—$100 million of the $203 million in for-profit investments, while the remaining $239 million has been given in nonprofit grants (Omidyar, 2011). This new innovation is not yet widely applied but may gain more traction over time as research can be conducted to determine the positive effects it may have.

In the areas of strategic giving, sustainable value creation, and impact investment, I-O psychologists can conduct valuable research on how perceptions about the company activities among stakeholders, employees, or applicants are affected, or would be affected, given different scenarios of giving. Such research can also serve to help senior leaders and impact investors make informed strategic decisions in the best interest of the success of the company. Whether or not corporations have a moral imperative and responsibility to engage in any type of corporate philanthropy, strategic or not, is covered in the next section.

THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITY DEBATE OVER CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY

Philanthropy is viewed by executives as voluntary and discretionary, and the level of available resources (e.g., profits) within an economic context

has been found to influence the level of giving (Seifert, Morris, & Bartkus, 2004). Alternatively, there is some evidence that the economy has not influenced corporate giving—either because it is viewed as so critical that even in downturns it maintains leadership support, or because as a percentage of overall corporate spending its relatively smaller impact saves it from reductions in difficult times (Campbell, Moore, & Metzger, 2002). In this discretionary context, there exists a debate on whether or not there is a moral responsibility of corporations to "give," whether there are market expectations about giving, and over exactly what effects can be attributed to CP on company profit or attraction, engagement, and retention of talent in organizations. Each of these components of the debate is examined below.

Moral Responsibility

One fundamental question is whether or not corporations are morally responsible to society. There certainly is not universal agreement on this point. Economist Milton Friedman's (1970) position heralded decades ago posited that businesses are responsible only to increase their profits and that those shareholders who benefit from these profits may choose, or not choose, to disseminate their own funds for philanthropic purposes. Friedman saw no benefit in corporations engaging directly in any philanthropic work and argued that the invisible hand of the free market would serve the purpose indirectly that CP directs overtly. The argument is that the free market itself will guide appropriate allocation of profits. He further felt that senior leaders are not experts in righting societal ills and thus are the wrong choice for making decisions about funding (Friedman, 1970). Another economist, John Kenneth Gailbraith, held that governments and laws provide the system within which moral decisions by a corporation are made and corporations need not go beyond these parameters (Goodpaster & Matthews, 1982). In neither of these views would the corporation or its managers be responsible to make moral decisions (Goodpaster & Matthews, 1982).

In the United States, a corporation is afforded equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. "In the [1886] case of Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that a private corporation is a person and entitled to the legal rights and protections the Constitutions affords to any person" (United States Supreme Court, 1886). The ruling that a corporation is entitled to the same protections as a person seems a strong counter-

argument to Friedman's position that a corporation does not have the same expectations and responsibilities as individuals in society. That is, if a corporation may reap the protections as if an individual, and is indeed an entity that affects and influences many individuals, then it could be argued that the collective entity, itself a collection of many individuals, may have a duty to the community in which it operates.

On this point, others agree. "A corporation can and should have a conscience. The language of ethics does have a place in the vocabulary of an organization . . . Organizational agents such as corporations should be no more and no less morally responsible . . . than ordinary persons" (Goodpaster & Matthews, 1982, p. 133). Every corporation exists in a larger political and social environment and is subject to the pressures that are exerted in that context (Martin, 2002). Corporations also benefit from the tax reductions, exemptions, and subsidies that are frequently allocated to corporations by local governments to encourage them to do business in a particular city. Some call this corporate welfare and "corporate philanthropy is but one-way to inject some humanity back into what is generally an impersonal market mechanism" (Saiia et al., 2003, p. 187). That is, when a community provides these types of benefits to a corporation, the community may expect quid pro quo returns other than the specific jobs and tax base infusion that the corporation will bring.

Friedman (1970) also argues that the primary role of senior leaders is to pursue profits and that they should not in isolation determine how to spend the corporation's money. Mulligan (1986) argues that it is an unlikely scenario for any reputable senior leader to act in isolation but that he or she acts with the input of his or her employers and stakeholders in a system of checks and balances. Friedman also argues that there is a zero-sum outcome between CP and the financial impact on the corporation—that what goes out from the company is only on the debit side of the ledger and is not repaid in kind. Mulligan (1986) counters that "the exercise of social responsibility in business suffers no diminishment in meaning or merit if the executive and his employers both understand their mutual interest to include a proactive social role and cooperate in undertaking that role" (p. 266). Executives take into consideration many factors and make responsible decisions regarding products, services, and marketing. Similarly, philanthropic decisions "can be made using this 'business-like' approach" (Mulligan, 1986, p. 268).

Another argument against CP is that the benefits of philanthropy sponsored by a corporation would equal the benefits of a non-organized group of individuals (Porter & Kramer, 2002). However, "philanthropy can

often be the most cost-effective way—and sometimes the only way—to improve competitive context" (Porter & Kramer, 2002, p. 9) that not only benefits a company, but also results in positive changes in society. For example, contributions to a university could then lead to a collaboration whereby the company obtains access to training and development for the company's employees that might otherwise require an expensive internal infrastructure. The Frontline Initiative of 3M is another example of collaboration. 3M provides donations and in-kind support to large universities that include critical content in their curriculum so students who are recruited by 3M have the skills to immediately perform when they are hired, thus substantially reducing 3M's training needs (Ricks & Williams, 2005). Another avenue to enhance competitive context would be to collaborate with other corporations to share the cost of such programs, which would lead to more predicable funding for nonprofits. These cooperative efforts could also lead to partnerships with governments that may otherwise be difficult to establish for a single company (Porter & Kramer, 2002). Government partnerships are often a critical component in doing business in an area—and the local government benefits by increasing the tax base and providing jobs for local labor.

On the opposing side are those in favor of CP as a moral and strategic imperative. Smith (1994) had a vision of an approach to CP that would ensure a competitive edge via long-term initiatives. He advocated strategic alliances with nonprofits and argued that advancing one's business goals while promoting social change is part of being a corporate citizen, part of a social compact. He also cited examples of relationships that have benefited corporations in controversial industries in times of distress. For example, Exxon did not have any relationships with environmental groups before the Valdez disaster in 1989, but Arco had developed these types of relationships, which helped them to recover more quickly after their own accidents based on the advice they received from these organizations (Smith, 1994).

Kaku (1997) argues that there are benefits to the broader business environment when engaged in CP. Kaku's argument is based on the idea of "Kyosei," which is when individuals and organizations cooperate for the greater good and can help to rectify three imbalances in the world that threaten corporate success and environmental stability: (1) trade imbalances between those countries with deficits versus those with surpluses, which are a huge challenge to international business that lead to troubled business interactions and higher tariffs on imported and exported goods; (2) income imbalances across countries and within

countries that are a challenge for marketing products and also promote unrest in the very countries in which the company wishes to do business; and (3) the imbalance of the use of resources today that threatens the availability of resources for future generations (Kaku, 1997). Kaku argues that cooperative actions through Kyosei can lead to solving some of these great challenges, with potentially very positive effects on profits. For example, by establishing business facilities in poor countries, the local labor force can increase their standard of living through the availability of training and higher pay while simultaneously expanding the company's customer base; or, by bringing higher standards of environmental protection to areas with substandard records, the corporation may influence stricter standards for all.

Finally, game theory provides a rationale for corporations to engage in philanthropy. Game theory has shown that cooperation of two parties is proven to result in the best outcome for both parties (for a more detailed explanation of game theory, see Wright, 2000, Appendix I). Without cooperation and reciprocal altruism, humans would eventually become extinct; yet with it, we expand and grow. In this view, CP is therefore a necessity for corporate and societal survival. As we provide for others, we do not simply lose what we give—it is not a zero-sum result. Human communities have long cooperated by helping those who need help today knowing they may provide help in return at some time in the future (Wright, 2000).

MARKET EXPECTATIONS AND FINANCIAL OUTCOMES OF CP

Beyond the moral debate are the expectations of the marketplace and of the community in which the company operates. Corporations exist in a society that extends beyond its shareholders (Martin, 2002). "A company cannot thrive and grow without its community, which includes its suppliers, its customers, its shareholders, and members of the general public" (Kaku, 1997, p. 61). Research has identified that there are both push and pull factors from the marketplace, governments, and society to engage in certain behavior. There is certainly "a widespread expectation . . . today that companies conduct themselves with at least a minimal degree of social responsibility" (Martin, 2002, p. 75).

Push factors (Weiner, 2008) include those things that are intended to avoid negative outcomes or that are required when yielding to external pressures. These external pressures may include things such as government regulations, federal agency oversight (in US–EPA or OSHA), pressure from "watchdog" groups, averting additional negative publicity stemming from previous corporate scandals (Koehn & Ueng, 2010), stakeholders with an eye on corporate conduct, and/or investors and board members who value social responsibility (Weiner, 2008).

Beyond the market expectations, there is evidence that it makes good business sense to engage in socially responsible activities (e.g., Patten, 2008; Wang, Choi, & Lee, 2008; Wang & Qian, 2011). The triple-bottom line of focusing on social responsibility, environmental sensitivity, and economic viability (profit) has been championed in a number of organizations (e.g., Novo Nordisk, 2011). Some people may buy a product because they feel it is the best available, but others make purchasing decisions because of the socially responsible actions of that corporation. Customers who are favorable about the philanthropy of a company are three times more likely to be loyal and 91% have reported that if they found out about negative citizenship activities they would consider another company's products (Council on Foundations, 2011). Even if these research results are subject to some social-desirability bias, there are still multitudes of consumers and investors with expectations regarding philanthropic activities who will vote with their wallet in response to each company's decisions in this regard (Saiia et al., 2003).

Pull factors include things perceived or known to contribute to organizational value and competitive advantage (Porter & Kramer, 2002) such as: socially conscious or ethical investing—investors choosing organizations with high level of corporate social responsibility (CSR) or CP; enhancing talent attraction, that is, the desire of job seekers to align their personal and company values (e.g., in the person-organization fit paradigm discussed more below); enhancing organizational reputation, such as appearing on "100 best" lists (e.g., 100 Best Corporate Citizens, Most Admired Companies); or doing the right thing, that is, when CSR strategy is purposeful in recruiting talent with the business acumen to find solutions for societal ills whether or not those ills have been caused by that organization (Carroll & Buchholtz, 2009). In a survey of international opinion leaders, three quarters agreed that social responsibility would have an increasing effect on stock prices; in another study, investors said if they found out about negative corporate citizenship activities, they would refuse to invest in the company (Council on Foundations, 2011).

Making the "100 best" lists is a source of pride for companies and requires a substantial investment of time and resources to apply (Great Place to Work, 2012). Teams of people are often assigned to collect and provide the evaluating organizations the information needed to make the decision. Once the organization is chosen for the list, it is often touted on the "winner's" website or in advertisements. One example is Aflac, which had a full-page ad in the Harvard Business Review identifying Aflac as the only Fortune 500 company to be named on both the "100 Best Companies to Work For" and "One of the World's Most Admired Companies" lists (Aflac, 2011).

Another pull factor is tax incentives to lower the tax burden of an organization. In fact, some have argued that if we lower tax rates, giving will increase (Guthrie, Arum, Roksa, & Damaske, 2008). One analysis of this theory has shown the opposite—increased taxes actually result in increased giving. "As state-level corporate taxes rates rise . . . corporate giving to local schools rises . . . Taxes and giving are inextricably related, as the tax system creates the incentives to seek write-offs against tax liability . . ." (Guthrie et al., 2008, p. 869). The bottom line is that "opportunities abound to devise programs and processes that benefit society as they enrich shareholders" (Martin, 2002, p. 74).

There is some evidence that CP may not directly benefit a firm's financial performance. Seifert et al. (2004) examined multiple factors in a study across more than 150 firms and could not find any direct links to market-based financial measures. However, it is important to note that in a cross-sectional study, finding a linear association may be elusive. Wang et al. (2008) found an inverted-U relationship where philanthropy is beneficial to financial performance up to a certain point and then benefits decline due to limits on stakeholder support and increased direct costs of supporting the causes and of supporting an agency to direct the funding.

Further, a study in France used a conceptual framework that defined four aspects of corporate citizenship: economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary. The researchers found that only economic citizenship had a significant relationship to business performance (Maignan & Ferrell, 2001). Economic citizenship includes things such as tracking customer satisfaction, ensuring high employee productivity, and focusing on maximizing profits and long-term strategies, which are "basic business activities that a company must engage in to assure its prosperity" (Maignan & Ferrell, 2001, p. 46). The other forms of citizenship were not found to have direct effects on business performance, but it was specifically noted that they did not have a negative influence. The authors offered a cultural explanation that

there is a "traditional lack of involvement of French businesses in society's welfare" (p. 46) so unless companies are publicizing their involvement, and demonstrating their views on its positive impact, customers in France are not going to know about the citizenship activities enough to measure those effects (Maignan & Ferrell, 2001).

Alternatively, much research has shown that socially responsible decisions can be in the best interest of a corporation in terms of a number of business-related outcomes. Orlitzky, Schmidt, and Rynes (2003) conducted a meta-analysis aggregating data from 30 years of research that showed a universally positive relationship between the broader concept of CSP, which is the actions a corporation takes to benefit society and financial performance across industries and contexts. Prahalad and Hammond (2002) outline the major benefits to corporations of serving the world's poor, which are achieving cost reduction, promoting need-inspired innovation within new markets that can then be brought to more traditional markets, and untapped market potential in which to promote products and services. In fact, investing in underdeveloped neighborhoods can be a huge boon to an organization. Over a decade ago, it was estimated the inner cities in the United States had $331 billion of untapped buying potential (Adams Lang, 2000). As corporations open businesses in these underdeveloped areas, they may ward off urban decay, promote urban renewal, and stimulate innovation, all while simultaneously growing their profits.

Engaging in these types of activities can also have a very positive effect on consumers and their buying decisions. Sen and Bhattacharya (2001) used real descriptions of actual products and the company's actual CSR initiatives in a study to test relationships to consumer perceptions. They found that if an individual considers CSR important, and they feel an alignment with the company (P-O fit is stronger), then they will have a more positive evaluation about the company as a whole. Their research indicated that companies whose CSR efforts are negatively perceived will have a negative effect on all consumers regardless of those consumers' personal stance on CSR, and that companies who wish to attract consumers who have an affinity for supporting CSR efforts will be rewarded by engaging in CSR. Therefore, the relationship between a company and its customers can be strengthened by engaging in CSR, specifically philanthropy and community programs. Customers who are aware of philanthropic and community programs will likely be more loyal (Hall, 2006).

There are clearly conflicting results about the effects on business outcomes. In a seminal paper on the topic, Godfrey (2005) provides a

thorough overview of the studies analyzing a link between philanthropy and financial performance, with some studies demonstrating a positive link; others showing no link; and many with methodological challenges in the research. Godfrey (2005) proposed a well-constructed treatise on supporting the benefits of engaging in philanthropy based on the basic argument that "good deeds earn chits" (p. 777), that is, CP engenders "positive moral capital." In times of controversy, corporations can essentially cash in their chits; their previous genuine efforts in the area of philanthropy serve as insurance for times when there may be negative publicity about the firm, thus buffering the company from potentially more severe negative stakeholder and consumer perceptions. Further, as relational wealth increases (intangible, relationship-based assets), "stakeholders will both tolerate and encourage higher levels of philanthropic activity to accrue more insurance-line protection" (p. 791).

This theory is borne out in a study of companies in the United Kingdom, where it was found that the more money that is donated to philanthropic causes, the greater the positive effect on company reputations. These effects were larger for those companies that produce controversial products such as tobacco or alcohol. "Philanthropy may help companies to atone for socially irresponsible behaviours and . . . protect corporate reputations against these negative stakeholder reputations" (Brammer & Millington, 2005, p. 40).

Not surprisingly, support of controversial causes or organizations can generate negative moral capital and Godfrey (2005) proposes that corporations wishing to maximize positive moral capital focus their portfolio on "activities supported by values consistent with specific communities and/or the larger community in general" (p. 794). This is not to say that corporations may not be involved in controversial philanthropy, but must do so with eyes open and acknowledge it may result in building negative moral capital. Godfrey (2005) provides two examples to illustrate the positive and negative moral capital that can be generated from supporting controversial organizations. The first is the case of AT&T supporting Planned Parenthood until, under pressure from pro-life advocates, it ended its support to avoid the negative moral capital being generated in that group; yet simultaneously generated negative moral capital among pro-choice advocates by yielding to the pressures of the pro-life advocates and abandoning its support of Planned Parenthood. The second example is the support of the Boy Scouts by many U.S. corporations until the Boy Scouts won the right in the 2000 U.S. Supreme Court ruling to screen scoutmasters and scouts based on their sexual orientation (i.e.,

exclude them from the organization if they were not heterosexual). Many organizations pulled their support of the Boy Scouts to avoid the negative moral capital that was anticipated to ensue, and generated positive moral capital among many of their stakeholders and consumers who favor inclusion over exclusion.

Another key point is that philanthropy must be perceived as a genuine effort on behalf of the organization to do good as opposed to simply gaining favor (Godfrey, 2005). One study bore out this contention. In response to the 2004 Asian Tsunami, many organizations contributed money to help with the recovery efforts. Patten (2008) found that there was a general positive reaction in the market for the U.S. companies whose press releases indicated contributions to Tsunami relief, and the larger the contribution, the more positive the reaction. There was one notable exception. There was not a positive market reaction to companies who contributed exactly $1 million. It was proposed that this amount may have been viewed as disingenuous; perhaps viewed as a "knee-jerk" contribution versus a thoughtful allocation of funds. This exact amount, therefore, did not have positive market results, though other monetary amounts did have a positive result (Patten, 2008).

EMPLOYEE-RELATED OUTCOMES AND CP

The effects on consumers are one critical consideration. The effects of corporate philanthropy on employees are another. The I-O theoretical underpinnings of the relationship seen between CP and employee responses are covered first below, followed by empirical research regarding employee outcomes.

Theoretical Underpinnings

The potential effects CP has on job seekers and current employees are framed well in the context of the theory of person-organization fit (P-O fit). P-O fit is "the congruence between the norms and values of organizations and the values of persons" (Chatman, 1989, p. 339). Attraction to and satisfaction with an organization is influenced by congruence with or alignment to a culture. Job seekers are more attracted to organizations when there is alignment between their own values and the objective, or perceived, values of the organization (Judge & Cable, 1997).

"Culture reputation is the average, consistent perception of an organization's culture across multiple job seekers" (Judge & Cable, 1997, p. 387). An organizational culture profile administered to applicants can determine how close the fit is between the person and the actual values of the organization. The better the fit, the more likely the person is to be engaged and succeed in the company. There is also a reciprocal relationship whereby membership within an organization can, over time, modify the values of those who are members or an individual's values can, over time, influence the collective norms and values held in the organization (Chatman, 1989).

Kristof's (1996) seminal paper describes P-O fit as a theory that addresses the compatibility between people and organizations: one provides what the other needs; they share characteristics; or both. There is a complementary fit between the needs of the employee and what the organization supplies (pay, development, resources, etc.); and between the organizational demands and what the employee can provide (time, commitment, knowledge, skills, passion, etc.). Similar people are attracted to and selected by organizations whose goals are similar to their own or who will enable them to attain their individual goals. The other fit dyad that is relevant here is that of person-culture fit, which is the congruence between an individual's and an organization's values. Regarding outcomes, there are at least three aspects of the employment lifecycle that P-O fit may affect from the perspective of the individual, the organization, and the interaction between the two. The first is during recruiting; the next is during onboarding and socialization; and finally over the course of employment and the many outcomes that P-O may affect, including levels of engagement and retention. When P-O fit is high, then work outcomes such as satisfaction and engagement are higher; intention to quit and turnover is lower; organizational citizenship (discretionary effort), teaming, and ethical behavior are higher; and work performance is higher (Kristof, 1996). All of these components are critical aspects of I-O research and consulting within organizations. I-O psychologists provide leadership on the research that explores the role that CP plays in influencing P-O fit and the known outcomes of better P-O fit.

Company identity-attractiveness (IA) (Marin & Ruiz, 2007) is the logical extension of P-O fit that provides a framework for understanding consumer interactions with companies. Consumers are expanding their attention to factors beyond cost and quality in making purchasing decisions. Perceptions about CSR are stronger than perceived company ability in making

those decisions (Marin & Ruiz, 2007). Further, knowledge of broader CSR practices of a company influence the way people view the company, its reputation, and how they evaluate their products. "Consumers are demanding more out of organizations than simply a product of quality at low price . . . they expect organizations to demonstrate congruence with some social values as contribution to the community" (Marin & Ruiz, 2007, p. 246).

As mentioned earlier, game theory has shown that cooperation between people provides the best results versus all other scenarios (Wright, 2000). Decision-making by organizations about their degree of involvement in CP should also be considered in the framework of game theory. Cooperation and reciprocal altruism have been shown throughout history to benefit all in a community—we do not simply lose what we give in a zero-sum way; rather, what we give now we may gain later in a commensurate way (Wright, 2000).

These theoretical underpinnings provide a useful grounding for the rest of the discussion in this chapter regarding the moral debate about a corporation's responsibility, the market expectations of engaging in CP, and the financial and employee outcomes that have thus far been found in the research.

Empirical Research

I-O psychology theories provide grounding for understanding the relationship between CP and employees. In this section, research is reviewed on outcomes that can be expected from engaging in CP. In addition to potential financial benefits, there are many studies that explore the effects of philanthropy, and CSR, on perceptions of employees and their attraction to, engagement in, and commitment to an organization. These positive employee outcomes of attracting and retaining top talent, along with having higher numbers of engaged employees that exhibit greater degrees of discretionary effort, all do indeed have positive effects on business outcomes as many other studies, outside the scope of this chapter, have shown.

Research indicates that when an individual who values CP seeks employment, he or she is more likely to include organizations in his or her search that are more generous to the communities. Greening and Turban (2000) found there was a higher probability to pursue, interview with, and accept a job offer from firms with a positive reputation about corporate social performance (CSP). The authors concluded that in the context of

signaling theory, engaging in CSP provides organizations an effective communications mechanism to signal applicants about the workplace climate. They also found that in line with social identity theory, applicants have a higher self-image when working for socially responsible firms. In previous work by Turban and Greening (1997), those firms higher on the Kinder Lydenberg Domini (KLD) Index of CSP (a publicized measure of corporate social performance) were perceived as more attractive employers. In the context of the theory of P-O fit that was previously discussed, these findings indicate that the better the fit is between organizations and candidates and those hired, the more likely they will be engaged while on the job and committed to staying with the company for the long term.

Corporate reputation and attraction to a firm are intertwined and related to the theory of person-organization fit. In one study, 15% of U.S. workers said the number one reason (out of 26) for selecting their last job was because of the organization's values/reputation (Kenexa, 2008). In another, Albinger and Freeman (2000) found that CSP is related to employer attractiveness for those who have a high level of job choice but not for those who do not. These findings suggest that companies are able to attract higher-quality (more difficult to attain) candidates when engaged in CSP. It has also been found that person-organization fit is predictive of satisfaction and organizational commitment one year after the fit assessment; and of turnover two years later (O'Reilly, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991). Poor P-O fit can also have negative consequences on individuals, such as increased levels of stress (Greene-Shortridge, 2007), which may certainly impact absenteeism, discretionary effort, and retention. Therefore, when P-O fit is high and when corporate reputation is perceived as positive, many desirable employee outcomes result.

Some research suggests that organizations contribute to one's identity and influence one's self-esteem, as well as influences one's commitment to the organization (Turker, 2009). Employees have a preference for, and higher commitment to, organizations that are higher on CSR—that engage in activities that positively affect society and the environment, including future generations (Turker, 2009). In a study in France, there was a strong relationship found between corporate citizenship and employee commitment (Maignan & Ferrell, 2001). Employees who are positive about their company's philanthropic activities are five times more likely to remain with that company (Council on Foundations, 2011).

One study turned the tables on employee outcomes by finding that by enabling employees to give support to others, their commitment to the

company increased (Grant, Dutton, & Rosso, 2008). This study's findings are consistent with several relevant theories. The authors drew from the notions of prosocial identity, which is seeing oneself as caring and engaging in activities that demonstrate one is a caring individual and prosocial sensemaking, which is a process through which one interprets whether actions and identities (e.g., one's own or a company's) are caring. Grant et al.'s (2008) research suggests that if a company facilitates "giving" among employees, then the company shall receive in return because enabling employees to give support leads to increased organizational commitment. Further, exchange theory posits that one reciprocates what one receives, explaining why employee support ("giving") programs increase commitment (Grant et al., 2008). P-O fit also helps explain these findings because if an employee's values align with their organization's values, the fit is higher and fit leads to higher levels of commitment (Greene-Shortridge, 2007). Commitment is critical to an organization because it is a strong leading indicator of higher organizational performance along with decreased absenteeism and turnover, which contribute to financial outcomes.

In a study of over 10,000 workers in the United States, a strong CSR culture versus a weak CSR culture differentiated employee opinions on a number of factors such as leadership credibility, financial performance proxies, employee engagement, overall satisfaction, and retention (Herman, 2009). A strong CSR culture was defined as making regular contributions to the community, making sustainable and environmentally friendly business decisions, and being genuine about CSR-commitment. Three times as many respondents in a strong CSR culture felt that their leaders had the ability to deal with business challenges than those in a weak CSR culture (80% versus 27%). Those in a strong CSR culture were also much more likely than employees in a weak CSR culture to say that their company's financial performance had improved over the past year (59% versus 22%). The level of employee engagement also differed between the strong and weak CSR culture (82% versus 27%). Satisfaction with one's job was quite high for those in a strong CSR culture (87%) yet only one third (32%) of those in a weak CSR culture were satisfied with their jobs. Finally, of those not planning to retire soon, about half (49%) reported they were not considering leaving if they were in a strong CSR culture, versus 30% who said they were not considering leaving in a weak CSR culture (Herman, 2009). Acknowledging that CSR is a broader conceptual measure than CP, this study provides an excellent indication of how a strong CP culture would fare versus a weak CP culture on employee outcomes.

OTHER FORMS OF CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY THROUGH EMPLOYEE PROGRAMS

Corporations enable their employees to provide support to others through such programs as external volunteering opportunities with paid days off to participate, donating sick/vacation time into a pool for use by employees in need, or contributing money to a "tough times" fund where employees can apply for money needed for emergencies. Corporate volunteer programs are common in larger corporations, and research demonstrates employees who value these programs identify more strongly with the organization due to their greater pride in the organization (Jones, 2010). These employees then engage in more discretionary effort and are ultimately more committed to staying with the organization (Jones, 2010).

Two company employee programs, one with a specific-stated benefit back to the organization and one without, provide good examples of what some companies can do to promote philanthropy if not directly with cash. Please also see Chapter 4 in this volume for a thorough examination of employee volunteer programs.

IBM's "Corporate Services Corps" coordinates with nonprofits for management development opportunities (Deutsch, 2008). Hundreds of participants have and will work in underdeveloped countries (e.g., Ghana, Turkey, and Vietnam) on key projects to assist in the region while being paid by IBM. The regions benefit from the work of the gifted managers and IBM benefits from developing high-potential employees into better leaders who gain unique training under difficult circumstances. In addition, there is greater potential for selling products and services in the future (Osicki, 2009).

Kenexa, a company that provides business solutions for human resources, established the Time to Care program in 2011 that provided Kenexans with a passion for service a unique opportunity to work with nonprofit organizations or communities that provide a service to humanity. Each quarter, an internal committee reviewed and approved up to five applications for up to a three-month assignment. During the assignment with their selected organizations or communities, Kenexa provided the employees with their full salary and benefits. This opportunity was given without an expectation of a specific return to Kenexa, such as in the IBM example. Kenexa's CEO, Rudy Karsan, who conceived of this program, wanted employees to experience the joy of serving humanity, which is part of Kenexa's mission. Karsan also prefers the term "corporate service" over

"corporate philanthropy" or the term "giving back," both of which he feels are condescending terms from the perspective of the giver and demeaning from the perspective of the receiver. He argues that service is not one-sided, as both the giver and receiver benefit; while philanthropy is a one-way transaction by definition (R. Karsan, personal communication, April 15, 2011). In this author's view, it is worthwhile to consider a transition to a term such as "corporate service" that more accurately reflects benefits both to the recipient and the giver in an opportunity for mutual learning and mutual growth.

FUTURE RESEARCH AND THE ROLE OF I-O PSYCHOLOGY IN CORPORATE PHILANTHROPY

I-O psychology may not have responsibility for resolving the argument about whether or not corporations have a moral responsibility to society, though, as individuals, I-O psychologists may choose to engage in this debate. However, I-O psychology does have a significant role in conducting the research that identifies and measures the linkages and effects of CP and myriad outcomes of CP. For example, future research is needed to further examine the effects on corporate financial performance and brand image; the fit between philanthropic strategy and stakeholder expectations and their subsequent decision-making (Brammer & Pavelin, 2006); consumer perceptions of and subsequent behavior toward a company based on the perceived motives of a company for sponsoring a cause (Rifon, Choi, Trimble, & Li, 2004); the connections to individuals in terms of their attraction to, engagement in, and retention with a company (Jones, 2010; Turban & Greening, 1997; Greening & Turban, 2000); and attitudes toward companies based on the fit between a company's image and the cause it is supporting (Gupta & Pirsch, 2006). For example, on this last point, DHL's involvement in disaster management given its expertise in logistics is well aligned, but this type of service would not be as well aligned for an entertainment company (Chong, 2009). I-O psychologists can advise corporations from a business perspective on the potential benefits or disadvantages of engaging in CP and what type of CP in which to engage.

Future research is also needed to identify what is important to stakeholders to ensure there is a strong fit between corporate social performance and the firm's stakeholder environment. Future research can determine if the cause-related marketing in which the company wishes to

engage is perceived as a good fit for the organization's identity, thus increasing the desired outcomes of raising more money and, of course, selling more products. I-O psychology research is also needed to support the increased collaboration needed across internal departments within an organization that are engaged in different aspects of corporate citizenship, which have substantial effects on organizational image. In fact, future research is warranted as to whether bringing various components together under one umbrella (e.g., ethical compliance through the legal department; work/life balance programs through the human resources department; cause-related marketing through the marketing department; and CP) would result in enhanced benefits for the greater good. "Proactive corporate citizenship emerges when the organization systematically monitors and addresses the demands of each stakeholder group, regardless of whether these demands are exercised in the economic, legal, ethical, or discretionary area" (Maignan & Ferrell, 2001). This monitoring and response can be orchestrated well through I-O psychology research both in data gathering and the data-based strategic decisions that follow.

Though an executive in an organization may not be the most knowledgeable person about how to spend CP/CSR dollars, he or she can certainly choose experts who will make sound data-based decisions. No rational and competent executive would jeopardize eroding shareholder value (Martin, 2002). In the past, pet projects of senior leaders may have directed funding. Today, empowered arms of corporations in the form of departments dedicated to the CP function to make decisions in the best interest of the corporation and their recipients. Companies often employ those with expertise in the area of philanthropy (Brammer et al., 2006). These philanthropic leaders would be well advised to engage the guidance of I-O psychologists who have the expertise to synthesize data for use in business decision-making and are knowledgeable about strategic decision-making.

There are also alliances available with external organizations to help with decision making such as the Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy (2011). The mission of the Business for Social Responsibility organization is to "create a just and sustainable world" (BSR, 2011, para. 2). "BSR contends that socially responsible behavior can enhance a company's commercial success" (Adams Lang, 2000, p. 4). Another organization is Ceres, with "a vision of a world in which business and the capital markets promote the well-being of human society and the protection of the earth's environment" (Ceres, 2010, para. 1). Future research should continue to test the premise of these visions and missions with sound

research strategies to determine the links to business success and quantifiable benefits to the earth.

Future research is also needed to evaluate the relation between measures of CSP and traditional I-O psychology outcome variables. There are measurements available to help in decision-making such as the KLD Index that measures eight components of CSP about the companies that are rated (Griffin & Mahon, 1997). There is also the annual Fortune Corporate Reputation Survey, also known as America's Most Admired Companies, in which experts use their judgment to make ratings about eight attributes of a company from poor to excellent (Flanagan, O'Shaughnessy, & Palmer, 2011; Griffin & Mahon, 1997; Welsh & Davis, 1994). Future research that examines the psychometric qualities and predictive utility of these common measures is needed.

Finally, a concept that fits well with CP is organization identity, which refers to an "organization's distinctive character" that is agreed to by participants in the organization such as employees and management, along with external observers such as stakeholders. "Identity-strong organizations [are expected to be] more focused, deal with change more effectively, perform better, and . . . outlive identity-weak organizations" (van Tonder, 2004, pp. 72–73). Van Tonder (2004) posits that a primary responsibility of an organizational practitioner (an I-O psychologist) is to ensure a strong organizational identify to enhance performance and "strengthen its long-term survival capabilities" (p. 74). Helping to resolve the arguments regarding CP within a company are a part of these responsibilities. Another area of research to explore is whether corporate giving and philanthropy encourage greater giving and philanthropy among employees. That is, does corporate philanthropy facilitate a broader commitment to the greater good?

Collaboration of I-O practitioners and academicians will bring together the best thinking in this area to determine if corporate philanthropy is linked to desirable outcomes with employees and ultimately the greater good in society.

CONCLUSION

Weighing all the advantages and disadvantages of engaging in corporate philanthropy, as identified in the literature, leads this author to a simple

question: Why not? Why not be a good corporate citizen and woo investors and customers to whom CP is important? Why not be involved in the community because the community is home to your business and it makes sense to take care of your home? Why not be supportive of service-oriented employees because the joy and satisfaction they receive from serving and being allowed to serve increases their commitment to the organization? Why not make the world a better place for future generations? Why not be service-oriented in your organization because it is the right thing to do? When corporations can enhance the community and reap positive payoffs for the organization, then why would they not?

The wealthiest families in the United States have taken the Giving Pledge to donate more than half their wealth to philanthropy or charitable causes either during their lifetime or after their death (Giving Pledge, LLC, 2010). The great icons of American business Warren Buffet and Bill Gates are partnering to support philanthropy in this significant way. Their commitment is a resounding endorsement of the imperative to give, indeed an acknowledgment of the obligation of those who have a great deal to share with those who do not. The need is great and the good that has and will come from their contributions is immense.

Some, such as Friedman (1970), argue it is undemocratic to decide to spend a corporation's money on social and/or environmental "good." Many others, including this author, disagree. The shareholders may indeed benefit, as some research has shown and is reviewed in this chapter. And even if positive direct results are not seen on the balance sheet, there does not seem to be a downside. The relationships may exist but may be hard to detect; and even if the relationships are not there, they do not seem to cause a negative effect as Maignan and Ferrell (2001) pointed out. Ultimately, stakeholders have a choice to continue to associate with a company that has a philanthropy program or to extricate themselves from an organization should they learn of activities about which they disapprove. In this respect, it is clear that every company has a responsibility to clearly communicate with stakeholders about any philanthropic activity so the stakeholders can make informed decisions about their investments. Clarity and transparency in communications about philanthropic activity must be standard operating procedure.

As outlined in this chapter, previous research has shown that some effects of CP on financial or other outcomes may be difficult to detect: the effects may be obscured because of complex relationships; recipients of the goodwill may not be easy to identify and measure; or some philanthropic efforts may simply not have direct effects on the organization.

However, there is also solid research that demonstrates relationships of CP, and broader CSR activities, to positive business and employee outcomes. Further, good sense dictates that organizations will benefit from a genuine involvement in corporate social and environmental responsibility, sustainability, and CP. The question remains whether a lack of detection or direct effects make philanthropy or corporate service any less important, critical, or valuable in the broader sense of the societal good that it can do.

> Representing the affected parties solely as economic variables in the environment of the company is treating them as means or resources and not as ends in themselves. It implies that the only voice which affected parties should have in organizational decision making is that of potential buyers, sellers, regulators, or boycotters . . . many affected parties may not occupy such roles and those who do not may not be able to signal the organization with messages that effectively represent their stakes in its actions.
>
> (Goodpaster & Matthews, 1982, p. 141)

Industrial-organizational professionals' contributions in this area can be profound. I-O psychologists have deep knowledge and expertise in how to find extant and reliable research, design original research, appropriately question sources of research, make recommendations on organizational structures that will be successful, test links to employee outcomes and business outcomes, and guide execution of strategy using data-based decisions. As the discipline of I-O psychology expands its expertise in the area of research regarding CP, I-O psychologists working with organizations can identify the positive effects on corporations' profits and reputation from involvement in corporate philanthropy. Senior leaders would be wise to ensure I-O psychologists who have this expertise are involved in the decision-making regarding philanthropic programs to ensure the greatest benefits to the organization and to society. And I-O psychologists should be cognizant of how our profession and their individual contributions can have broad-reaching effects on the greater good.

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6

Building an Inclusive Work World: Promoting Diversity and Positive Inter-Group Relations Through CSR

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Despite well-documented decreases in blatant racism (e.g., Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997), sexism (Spence & Hahn, 1997), and other forms of prejudice and discrimination, much evidence suggests that more subtle forms of bias continue to plague modern American organizations and society (Deitch et al., 2003; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). Grim statistics documenting inequalities in employment rates, education, and income are not hard to come by. Women and racial minorities in the US continue to be overly segregated into low-pay, low-status positions (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009). People with disabilities are much more likely than other individuals to be unemployed (Stone & Colella, 1996) and to face discrimination (Harcourt, Lam, & Harcourt, 2005). The story is the same for many older workers. In 2010, more than 23,200 charges of age discrimination were filed with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2011). These statistics have become so oft-cited that diversity scholars could quote them in their sleep.

Yet other marginalized and underrepresented groups have received little attention from organizational scholars and practitioners, such as workers who are lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB), low-wage workers, single parents, ex-convicts, and migrant workers. The scant literature that does exist on these groups suggests that they face many of the same workplace barriers as other marginalized groups: people who are LGB suffer discrimination in hiring and on the job (see Lubensky, Holland, Wiethoff, & Crosby, 2004); ex-convicts—even non-violent offenders—face many obstacles to gaining employment (Harris & Keller, 2005); and the working poor are not only negatively stereotyped, but are often without health care and access to reliable transportation and childcare—all of which make

their employment and financial status all the more precarious (see Bullock, 2004).

In the current chapter, we argue that corporations can and should play a key role in helping to abate the inequalities that pervade modern life. Corporations have an increasingly powerful role in today's society (see Stern & Barley, 1996), directly and indirectly impacting the lives of every person on the planet. Arguably, corporations have substantial influence in politics and legislation in the form of lobbying and political contributions; and, in terms of financial clout, some of the largest corporations have higher sales than many countries' GDP (Anderson & Cavanagh, 2001). Although the extent to which corporations rival the power of nations is debatable (Wolf, 2002), it is undeniable that corporations do play a significant role in all of our lives—either as employees, consumers, shareholders, or members of the same economic and environmental community.

To be clear, governments play a powerful role as well; with regard to diversity, federal, state, and local governments prohibit discrimination based on factors such as age, sex, race, religion, and national origin. However, because this chapter and book is about the prosocial role of I-O psychology and organizations in achieving the "greater good," we are less interested in governmental regulation and compliance and more interested in corporations that wish to move beyond the bare minimum legal requirements of not discriminating. We argue here that diversity-related corporate social responsibility serves the greater good of society by helping to break the cycle of inequality and marginalization. As a source of social status and financial standing, work is a central mechanism through which inequities are perpetuated. The fact that discrimination persists, despite existing government programs and legal requirements, suggests that more must be done to address gaps in hiring, compensation, promotions, and interpersonal experiences. Although definitions of corporate social responsibility (CSR) vary, a common theme among most definitions is that CSR involves more than just adherence to the law. For example, McWilliams and Siegel (2001) define CSR as "actions that appear to further some social good, beyond the interest of the firm and that which is required by law" (p. 117). Diversity-oriented CSR requires that employers do more than adhere to anti-discrimination laws and develop affirmative action policies as obligated by law.

This chapter will explore diversity-oriented CSR in the United States from both an applied and theoretical standpoint. We start by further elaborating on what we mean by CSR as it relates to diversity, and we explore organizational motives for pursuing diversity-oriented CSR.

Next, we review the existing research on "best practices" for diversity management and explore the theoretical underpinnings behind these practices in order to better understand how, why, and in what contexts they are likely to work. We then present some relatively new (or seldom discussed in the organizational literature) practical applications and theoretical approaches that focus not only on employees but on stakeholders outside the organization, including those that have been largely neglected by organizational scholars: ex-convicts, migrant workers, and the working poor. In the last section of the chapter, we present what we believe are interesting and important research questions that have the potential to advance our understanding of diversity-oriented CSR.

WHAT IS DIVERSITY-ORIENTED CSR?

There are many possible correct answers to the question of what encompasses diversity-oriented CSR. Thus, it might help to start with what diversity-oriented CSR is *not*. First, and most obviously, companies that do not follow diversity-related laws—for example, discriminating against qualified workers who have a disability—are not engaging in diversity-oriented CSR. However, in our view, even organizations that do follow all relevant laws are not necessarily engaging in diversity-oriented CSR. Our view is in line with the broader literature, which defines CSR as actions that are "discretionary" (e.g., Barnett, 2007) and go beyond legal compliance (e.g., McWilliams & Siegel, 2001). Paine (2003) differentiates between organizations that act at a basic level of ethical commitment and organizations that act at the full level of ethical commitment. The former involves avoidance of wrongdoing (making good on contracts, obeying laws) while the latter exceeds the basic level by actively striving to promote goodness, justice, and well-being. In the context of diversity, several frameworks have been offered that help to differentiate various organizations in terms of their diversity management (for a review, see Agars & Kottke, 2004). Powell (1993) offers one such framework; in his view, organizations may be benignly neglectful (doing nothing to avoid discrimination), reactive (taking action in order to comply with the law and avoid lawsuits), or proactive (voluntarily pursuing and valuing diversity).

These distinctions might also be understood in light of regulatory focus theory (Carver & Scheier, 1998; Higgins, 1997), which suggests that efforts

can be described as stemming from an *approach* or "promotion-focused" orientation to diversity rather than an *avoidance* or "prevention-focused" orientation. When people are prevention-focused, either because of disposition or the situation (Higgins, Shah, & Friedman, 1997), their emphasis is on avoiding losses and negatives; as such, they tend to view goals as "oughts" (or "musts" in the case of following legal regulations) and pursue strategies of vigilance (Higgins, 1997). Applied to the diversity context, the objectives of a prevention focus might include avoiding lawsuits and preventing bad publicity and inter-group conflict among diverse employees. In contrast, when people are promotion-focused, their emphasis is on gains and accomplishments; goals are viewed as "ideals" and are pursued with eagerness (Higgins, 1997). For example, a promotion-focused approach to diversity would emphasize fostering and celebrating diversity and helping marginalized group members to thrive. Although not much research has applied regulatory focus theory to managing diversity, a few studies indicate that such applications hold promise. Trawalter and Richeson (2004) induced a regulatory focus in participants prior to an interracial interaction by instructing them to either avoid prejudice (prevention focus) or have a positive interracial exchange (promotion focus). Consistent with expectations, promotion-focused participants showed less depletion than prevention-focused and control participants on a Stroop test measuring executive attention function.

Given these theories as a framework, we consider diversity-oriented CSR to be similar to Paine's (2003) "full" level of ethical commitment, Powell's (1993) "proactive" organization, and Higgins' (1997) "promotion" focus. Additionally, it is useful to note that several international organizations such as the United Nations have developed standards that guide organizations on ethical matters such as human rights and managing diversity. Such standards are particularly helpful when considering that laws vary across the world and, as such, a multinational company may be in compliance with local laws in one country where it is operating but some actions (e.g., child labor, dangerous working conditions) may be considered illegal and even unethical in other countries. The Guide for Integrating Human Rights into Business Management (www.integrating-humanrights.org) was created jointly by the UN Global Compact, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the Business Leaders Initiative on Human Rights. These organizations established a set of "essential steps" that companies must take *at a minimum* to meet their responsibilities for respecting human rights. There are many steps required, including a number that pertain to managing diversity and the treatment

of historically marginalized groups. A few of the essential diversity steps include: (1) not discriminating; (2) providing a work environment free of sexual harassment; (3) not making use of slave, forced, or compulsory labor; (4) not withholding individuals' original travel or identity documents; (5) not asking workers about health or pregnancy status except when directly relevant to job duties; (6) making reasonable accommodation for the practice of faith in the workplace and with respect to time off; (7) not preventing workers from wearing religious clothing or symbols (provided they do not interfere with safety or job duties); (8) ensuring hate speech is not endorsed or used by employees while at work; and (9) allowing employees to speak in their own language at work, provided it does not interfere with job duties or safety (www.integrating-humanrights.org/data/fe/file/ES%20final%20for%20web.pdf).

Organizations that wish to move beyond basic legal compliance and the "essential steps" above have a variety of options available to them in pursuing diversity-oriented CSR. These include but are not limited to mentoring programs for women and minorities, diversity training, family-friendly work policies, providing living wages for employees, and establishing formal diversity committees or positions that create accountability for diversity initiatives. The efficacy of these various strategies and the theoretical rationale underlying their effectiveness will be discussed later in this chapter, but first we consider different motivations for engaging in diversity-oriented CSR.

WHY DIVERSITY-ORIENTED CSR?

The decision for a company to engage in diversity-oriented CSR and other types of CSR can be based on a number of factors and motivations. Some organizations may engage in diversity-oriented CSR simply out of self-interest because they believe it is good for business, while other organizations might view diversity-oriented CSR as their ethical obligation independent of any profit motives.

Although there is not a large literature specifically focusing on diversity-oriented CSR, a growing body of research has shown that CSR in general can benefit the acting organization in a number of ways. Numerous studies and at least one meta-analysis (Orlitzky, Schmidt & Reynes, 2003) have demonstrated a relationship between CSR and corporate financial performance (CFP; see Margolis & Walsh, 2003), and other studies have

shown that CSR is positively related to organizational reputation (e.g., Bear, Rahman, & Post, 2010) and customer relationships (e.g., Lacey & Kennett-Hensel, 2010). With regard to diversity, research shows that diversity may be related to CSR ratings and reputation (Bear et al., 2010); moreover, firms with demographically diverse boards of directors appear to outperform other firms (Erhardt, Werbel, & Shrader, 2003). Beyond representation as an indicator of diversity-oriented CSR, research has demonstrated that financial success of diverse sales units increases with the supportiveness of the unit's climate for diversity (McKay, Avery, & Morris, 2008).

However, the notion of engaging in CSR simply because it yields self-interested benefits does not sit well with everyone. Margolis and Walsh (2003) argued that organizations and organizational scholars should turn their attention to how CSR impacts society as opposed to the organization's financial bottom line. Paine (2003) and Bradley, Brief, and Smith-Crowe (2008) also asserted that the "ethics pays" message is misguided and implies that CSR is really nothing more than the "business as usual" focus on the financial bottom line; of course, it is hard to object with CSR if everyone wins, but unfortunately that likely is not always the case. Despite many studies linking CSR with CFP, a study by Bird and colleagues (2007) showed that not all CSR activities get equal accolades; their analysis revealed that the market has recently valued proactive employee-relations efforts; however, with regard to diversity, the market has valued firms that satisfy minimum (as opposed to proactive) requirements in diversity. Moreover, while many studies demonstrate positive relationships between diversity and organizationally relevant outcomes, other studies indicate that diversity can present challenges to organizations: diverse groups are sometimes less cohesive (e.g., Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998; Lichtenstein, Alexander, Jinnet, & Ullman, 1997) and may have higher levels of conflict in some cases (Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999). Other research shows that there is no discernible relationship—either positive or negative—between diversity and such outcomes (e.g., Webber & Donahue, 2001).

In short, the relationship between diversity and organizationally relevant outcomes is complicated and is highly dependent on the nature of the diversity (e.g., social category, informational, values; see Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999) and other factors (see King, Hebl, & Beal, 2009). As such, it seems safe to say that organizations may well be disappointed if their sole motivation for engaging in diversity-oriented CSR is the promise of performance gains. Yet if diversity CSR is undertaken only if it can directly benefit group or financial performance, then it is hardly consistent with

the "responsibility" part of the name "corporate social responsibility." As such, while any motivation to engage in CSR is arguably better than no motivation, corporations that are truly serious about diversity-oriented CSR should view it as a desirable goal in and of itself and focus on social outcomes as opposed to only financial ones. Motivations aside, however, we next consider specific diversity-management strategies that organizations might adopt.

BEST PRACTICES IN DIVERSITY CSR: HOW GOOD ARE THEY AND HOW DO THEY WORK?

In this section, we review research on some commonly espoused "best practices" and discuss the empirical evidence for (or against) these practices, as well as the theoretical underpinnings for these practices. Although some of these strategies—such as affirmative action—might be thought of as addressing the "basic-level" of diversity management by focusing on compliance with anti-discrimination law, most of the strategies can be used for achieving diversity-oriented CSR that goes beyond mere compliance.

Affirmative Action

Of all the strategies we are to review here, affirmative action (AA) is probably the most controversial and perhaps the most misunderstood (Crosby, Iyer, & Sincharoen, 2006). Introduced in 1961 by President Kennedy's Executive Order 10952 and again in 1965 by President Johnson's Executive Order 11246, AA has since received a great deal of attention not only from academics but also from the general public and the court system. According to Crosby et al. (2006) affirmative action occurs "whenever an organization devotes resources (including time and money) to making sure that people are not discriminated against" (p. 587).

AA is often confused with related concepts such as equal employment opportunity (EEO) and quota systems. In contrast to "equal opportunity" policies, Crosby et al. (2006) argue that affirmative action is more proactive in attempting to avoid discrimination up front. Quota systems—the policy of setting aside a certain percentage of "seats" for women and minorities—is also distinct from AA. In fact, while some countries such as Norway have implemented quota systems, in the US, the Supreme Court generally has not looked favorably on selection practices resembling quotas (*Regents of*

the University of California v. Bakke, 1978), and in many cases quotas would be considered illegal discrimination (Connolly, 2005). However, because the Supreme Court has actually required the temporary use of quotas to help redress a few especially flagrant cases of discrimination (e.g., *United States v Paradise*, *1987*), it is easy to understand the confusion about what AA entails and what is required of organizations. AA plans are required for some organizations (e.g., large federal contractors) but not for others. For organizations in which AA is required, it is arguably more along the lines of the "basic level" of commitment to diversity rather than the "full level" associated with CSR. On the other hand, because AA policies can vary greatly, it is possible that organizations can use AA proactively to achieve more than meeting minimum standards of compliance. AA policies may range from weak to strong (Lowry, 1995) and can include a wide variety of actions, including outreach programs, training programs, and the use of banding with selection tests (Sackett, Shmitt, Ellingson, & Kabin, 2001). Some of these practices, such as banding, are surrounded with a good deal of controversy (Aguinis, 2004).

Conceptual confusion about what exactly AA entails may be partly to blame for the controversy surrounding its use (Crosby & Cordova, 1996). However, even in spite of backlash, AA has arguably been reasonably successful in achieving the objective of integrating more women and minorities into higher education (Bowen & Bok, 1998) and the workforce (Mosley & Capaldi, 1996; but see Baron, Mittman, & Newman, 1991). In a study of "best practices," Kalev, Dobbin, and Kelly (2006) found that organizational efforts to establish responsibility for diversity, including AA policies, were more effective at increasing the share of women and minorities than diversity training, mentoring, and networking. Interestingly, a study by Konrad and Linnehan (1995) comparing formalized EEO and AA HRM structures found that "identity-conscious" structures (i.e., those in which gender and race were explicitly taken into account, such as making accommodations for someone with a disability) were more positive indicators of women and minority representation than were "identity-blind" structures (i.e., those that were the same for all groups and did not overtly take demographics into consideration, such as providing on-site childcare). However, the authors noted other research showing that both majority and minority group members prefer identity-blind to identity-conscious structures (e.g., Davis & West, 1984).

In addition to some empirical support for the efficacy of AA, there are several practical advantages to AA over anti-discrimination laws. For one thing, AA is more proactive in not only preventing discrimination, but also

in making diversity an important priority for organizations. Another advantage noted by Crosby et al. (2006) is that, unlike anti-discrimination laws, AA does not require that victims come forward and advocate on their own behalf. Placing this burden on victims, along with fears of retaliation and victim-blaming, further disadvantages minorities and prevents many from coming forward. Also problematic is the tendency for members of minority groups to deny or fail to acknowledge that they have personally been discriminated against even though they recognize discrimination against their group as a whole (e.g., Crosby, Iyer, Clayton, & Downing, 2003); known as the "personal/group discrimination discrepancy" (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990), this tendency could contribute to the under-reporting of discrimination. Unlike anti-discrimination laws, however, AA does not necessitate that victims come forward, and in fact should reduce the likelihood that there would be victims.

Of course, AA is not without criticisms. It is no secret that AA has a branding problem of sorts and tends to be less popular with white people, men, and people who endorse sexist and racist attitudes (see Crosby et al., 2006; Harrison, Kraviz, Mayer, Leslie, & Lev-Arey, 2006; Kravitz et al., 1997). Support for AA varies too depending on the targeted group with more support for programs when targets have disabilities than when they are black or LGB (see Crosby et al., 2006). Such opposition is consistent with realistic conflict theory (Bobo, 1983) in that there is the most opposition from the groups that have the "most to lose" by a change in the status quo. Alternative theories, however, have focused on ideologies that support hierarchies in society (e.g., Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and the symbolic politics of race, which focuses more on what race relations symbolize than does realistic conflict theory (e.g., Kinder & Sanders, 1996). A different line of criticism about AA is that it has unintended negative consequences for minorities. Heilman, Block, and Stathatos (1997), for example, have discussed the "stigma of incompetence" that surrounds minorities and women thought to have been hired because of AA and thus assumed to be incompetent.

Given these criticisms of AA, what then can organizations wishing to use AA for CSR do to maximize the benefits while minimizing problems? Perhaps the most important factor is support by top management (Crosby et al., 2006). Communication and clarification about the AA plan is also critical. The goals of the plans and personnel procedures should be clearly articulated and should contain explicit statements about hiring and promotion qualifications (Crosby et al., 2006; Pratkanis & Turner, 1996).

The rationale offered and framing of the programs are also important (e.g., Fine, 1992). Gamliel (2007) found that participants responded more favorably when an AA program was presented in a positive frame ("preferring a target group's applicant over a majority group's applicant") than when presented in a negative frame ("rejecting the majority group's applicant in favor of the target group's applicant"). On the other hand, Kidder, Lankau, Chrobot-Mason, Mollica, and Friedman (2004) found that "reactive justifications" (affirmative action) resulted in more backlash than a "competitive advantage justification" (diversity management), thus suggesting that the very term "affirmative action" may be inflammatory. In sum, AA has much to offer diversity-oriented CSR initiatives; however, care must be taken in implementation to avoid some of its possible drawbacks. In addition to efforts that are explicitly labeled "affirmative action" programs, organizations can also implement other efforts designed to reduce discrimination such as diversity training.

Diversity Training

In recent years, training has become a popular attempt at managing diversity: approximately two thirds of companies provide some type of diversity training (Esen, 2005). In some of these cases, diversity training may be required. In California, for example, employers are required to provide sexual harassment training. Other organizations may be using diversity training merely as "window dressing" in response to some courts suggesting that companies with diversity training are acting in "good faith" and are thus better positioned if they are sued for discrimination (Edelman, Krieger, Eliason, Albiston, & Mellema, 2006). Clearly, neither of these reasons for conducting diversity training is consistent with the "full-level" of commitment to diversity-oriented CSR, and unfortunately, such diversity training might be ineffective or possibly even detrimental (e.g., Kidder et al., 2004; Rynes & Rosen, 1995).

In actuality, there are relatively few studies that have thoroughly examined the impact of diversity training (see Avery & Thomas, 2004; King, Gulick, & Avery, 2010). In the few studies that have been conducted, the support for diversity training is lukewarm, with some showing stronger support (e.g., King, Dawson, Kravitz, & Gulick, 2012; Kulik & Roberson, 2008) than others (e.g., Kalev et al., 2006). However, to completely abandon diversity training probably is inadvisable as many moderating variables exist (e.g., compulsory versus voluntary training, training format, training

content); just like any type of training or educational program, there are more and less effective ways of conducting diversity training.

Diversity training, if it is to be effective, should be taken seriously and handled like any serious attempt at training and should incorporate best practices such as feedback and active learning (see King et al., 2010). Also, as with any kind of training, a needs assessment should be conducted prior to diversity training (King et al., 2010). The needs assessment should identify any particular needs and concerns specific to the employer and their employees and should evaluate and address situational barriers and facilitators that could hinder or help program success. For example, top management support for diversity, devoting resources to diversity efforts (King et al., 2010), and evaluating and rewarding managers based on diversity objectives are likely to impact whether diversity training is adopted (Rynes & Rosen, 1995) and the effectiveness of that training (see King et al., 2010; Roberson, Kulik, & Pepper, 2009). As another example of the impact of situational variables on training outcomes, Kalev et al. (2006) found that training programs (and other diversity initiatives) are more effective when supporting structures such as diversity committees and AA are present.

The goals of training should also be determined prior to training. In fact, as we argue later in the chapter, a greater attention to goals—or a "criterion problem" of sorts (Austin & Villanova, 1992)—is warranted not only for diversity training but for diversity-oriented CSR in general. Frameworks of training evaluation criteria such as Kirkpatrick's four-level model of training evaluation could be a helpful framework for both developing and evaluating goals (Kirkpatrick, 1959, 1976; for an update and meta-analysis of the relation among training criteria, see also Alliger, Tannenbaum, Bennett, Traver, & Shotland, 1997). Kirkpatrick's model includes four levels of criteria that can be used to assess training effectiveness: reactions, learning, behavior, and results. The reactions level includes trainees' perceptions of the program; for diversity training this might be the extent to which participants liked the training or a *self-reported* shift in attitudes or knowledge about diversity and members of other groups and cultures. Positive reactions are probably important in diversity training because much of the training is geared toward shifting attitudes rather than simply knowledge acquisition. Kirkpatrick's learning level of criteria reflects knowledge gained in training and could be assessed by a knowledge test of concepts learned in training such as anti-discrimination laws or cultural knowledge about other groups. Positive reactions and learning outcomes are certainly beneficial in many respects;

however, it is also important that reactions and learning translate into tangible behaviors and outcomes, which are assessed at the behavior and results levels, respectively. Behavioral indicators might include more positive interactions between group members and results indicators might include more diversity in top management or fewer diversity or harassment-related complaints being filed.

Although the diversity training literature is relatively lacking in theory (King et al., 2010), several theoretical approaches could perhaps be applied to this context. First, social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) might explain how common diversity activities such as watching and participating in role plays help participants to build self-efficacy in handling interactions with members of other groups. Fear of appearing prejudiced is relatively common (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998; Winslow, 2004) and may lead people to avoid out-group members. As such, building self-efficacy for handling such situations may help alleviate these fears and tendency to avoid.

Depending on how diversity training is conducted, a second potentially relevant theoretical approach is the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), which suggests that positive interactions with out-group members can improve attitudes between them (assuming the existence of other factors such as common goals). To the extent that members of different groups are engaging in positive interactions with each other and these other factors are created through the training session, it is possible that training will result in more positive attitudes and behaviors. Importantly, scholars have stipulated many conditions for the contact hypothesis and these conditions should be considered when designing training. Pettigrew (1998), for example, argued that the potential for friendship can positively enhance inter-group contact, and Voci and Hewstone (2003) showed that inter-group anxiety mediates a negative relationship between inter-group contact and prejudice. Plant and Devine's (2003) model for interracial interactions suggests that high-quality interracial contact creates self-efficacy and positive expectations for future interactions, which in turn leads to more positive subsequent interactions and less avoidance of interracial interactions (Butz & Plant, 2006; Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant, Butz, & Tartakovsky, 2008).

A third and complementary strategy can be derived from social categorization theory: if diversity training programs are designed to encourage participants to recategorize themselves and others as members of a shared group, this might enable positive interactions (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Indeed, laboratory research on such techniques suggests

that crossed categorization strategies can change perceptions of who is a member of one's own group (for a review, see Paluck & Green, 2009).

Mentoring and Employee Network Groups

In this section, we discuss mentoring and employee network groups, two separate diversity-oriented CSR techniques that are connected in that they both rely on relationships to foster career progression. Although mentoring and networking often are informal and initiated by individuals, we focus here on planned formal mentoring and employee network groups as a way that organizations can engage in purposeful diversity-oriented CSR.

Common wisdom and some empirical evidence suggest that who you know matters when it comes to getting ahead at work (Lin, 1999; but see Mouw, 2003). Problematically, for women and minorities, "who you know" might be in less powerful positions with organizations (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). Although some positive change has occurred in integrating women and minorities into organizations, the persistence of the glass ceiling is undeniable (Grodsky & Pager, 2001; Reskin, 1993). In the Fortune 500, women hold only 15% of Fortune board of directors positions and less than 3% of CEO positions (Catalyst, 2010a). With regard to race, 6% of Fortune 500 CEO positions are held by black men or women and 4% are held by Latino men or Latina women (Catalyst, 2010b). In short, there are simply fewer women and minority leaders in top management positions, and thus there are fewer same-gender and same-race individuals for young professionals with whom to network and engage in mentoring relationships (see Alderfer, 1986).

The term "mentoring" means different things to different people (Haggard, Doughtery, Turban, & Wilbanks, 2011). In general, however, mentoring is defined as a relationship in which a more experienced person (the mentor) guides and helps a less experienced person (the protégé) through his or her career (Kram, 1985). Mentoring researchers tend to agree that mentoring involves two broad functions: psychosocial support (e.g., friendship) and career-related support (e.g., exposure and visibility) (see Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004; Noe, 1988). A meta-analysis by Allen et al. (2004) supported the efficacy of mentoring for positively impacting subjective outcomes such as satisfaction; however, the effect sizes for objective outcomes were small. Career-related mentoring was more highly related to objective outcomes than was mentoring of the more psychosocial type. Although these findings are not overwhelmingly

enthusiastic, it is important to note that subjective career outcomes are of importance too and that much is left to be known in the research about how mentoring quality varies (Allen et al., 2004; Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000). Moreover, because meta-analysis addresses mentoring outcomes across all individuals, it does not tell us whether minority status moderates these effects. A study of 708 private-sector organizations revealed that mentoring was related to an increase in the proportion of black women in the workplace; however, black men and white women did not receive the same benefits from mentoring (Kalev et al., 2006). Importantly, mentoring was found to be more effective in organizations with structural elements such as diversity committees than in organizations without them (Kalev et al., 2006).

Ragins and Cotton (1999) found that informal mentoring might be better than formal mentoring in terms of protégé perceptions and career outcomes. Although nothing is inherently "wrong" with formal mentoring, informal mentoring relationships might be stronger because they tend to develop based on natural affinity between the mentor and protégé. Organizations wishing to pursue formal mentoring programs might do well to "approximate informal mentors in as many ways as possible" (Ragins & Cotton, 1999, p. 546), perhaps by allowing some choice in the partnerings or by carefully assigning mentors and protégés based on factors such as common experience and career goals, personality, and expectations for the mentoring relationship (Ensher & Murphy, 1997). Whether mentors and protégés should be selected based on race and gender is debatable as some studies indicate differences in outcomes (e.g., Dreher & Cox, 1996; Ragins, 1999; Thomas, 1990) and other studies show only modest effects (e.g., Burke & McKeen, 1996).

In a study of networks, Ibarra (1992) showed that women received more social support from women and instrumental access through men; thus, it could be that women would benefit from both a male and a female mentor. Also along this line, Ragins and Cotton (1999) recommended that formal mentoring programs should not replace, but should rather serve as a springboard for, other informal mentoring relationships. A formal mentoring program could pair women and minorities with a formal mentor and simultaneously encourage them to seek out informal mentors to obtain support they might be missing from their formal mentor.

In contrast to mentoring, which centers on the relationship between two individuals, employee network groups are formally established groups of individuals (usually women, racial minorities, LBG employees) that meet

for support and networking activities such as luncheons, fundraisers, seminars, and conferences (Friedman & Craig, 2004). Although many employee network groups are self-funded or receive only some financial support from corporations, some organizations appear to be more supportive of network groups than others (Friedman & Craig, 2004). According to Friedman and Craig (2004), most companies require that network groups have a developed charter and leadership structure and that they be open to all employees. A policy of openness appears beneficial given that some research has found a type of backlash against minority members trying to organize (Friedman & Craig, 2004; Kalev et al., 2006).

Advocating the use of employee network groups comprised of women and minorities might seem somewhat counter-intuitive because these individuals are already likely to be informally networked with other women and minorities; moreover, networking within one's own group might serve to perpetuate divisions between groups. However, some research suggests that these homogeneous bonds within the workplace can be beneficial because women and minorities can learn and gain support from people who have gone through similar experiences. Ibarra (1997), for example, found that high-potential women (i.e., women identified by the firm as being on the "fast track" for career progression) had stronger same-gender ties than non-high-potential women. Other scholars have suggested that network groups can help to increase out-group ties as well as in-group ties; for example, Friedman, Kane, and Cornfield (1998) found that people in companies with network groups were more likely to have a white mentor than in companies without network groups.

Relatively few studies have examined the effectiveness of employee network groups; however, a few studies have shown some benefits (Friedman & Craig, 2004). Friedman et al. (1998) found that black employees in organizations with network groups had more career optimism. Friedman and Holtom (2002) found that network groups can help organizations reduce turnover among managerial-level minorities, thus positively impacting diversity. Kalev et al. (2006) also found some benefits of networking, but white women appeared to benefit the most from networking compared to black women and black men. As with mentoring, Kalev et al. (2006) showed that the effects of networking are enhanced when the organization also has structural support for diversity. Friedman and Holtom (2002) offered a series of recommendations regarding the implementation and use of employee network groups: they recommend that organizations support these groups and that they encourage high-performing and high-level minority members to join the network groups.

From a theoretical perspective, it is important to address why networks are important and why the informal networks of women and minorities differ from that of white men. To address the first question of why networks are important, one must consider how networks can be used. According to "social capital" models, the more well-connected a person is, the better off that person is likely to be in terms of occupational status and pay (Lin, 1999). Interestingly, the benefits might not be in the direct use of these contacts but rather in the "quality and quantity of the social resources that are accessed through using contacts" (Mouw, 2003, p. 869). In other words, powerful contacts may not directly provide a job so much as they provide information and influence that can indirectly benefit others in their network (Lin, 1999). For example, a mentor may provide guidance and expertise that result in better career outcomes for his or her protégé. Research on the direct relationship between one's network and job outcomes is mixed, with some studies showing that direct contacts help both minorities and non-minorities (e.g., Lin, Ensel, & Vaughn, 1981) and other studies showing no effect (e.g., Mouw, 2003) or even a negative effect on outcomes such as pay (e.g., Korenman & Turner, 1996). Overall, a recent meta-analysis suggested that organizational sponsorship such as formal mentors was positively related to how successful people feel in their careers (Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005).

Thus, there is probably little harm in organizational programs that would help women and minorities expand their social networks. As noted earlier, women and minorities are less likely to have high-status contacts because those positions have historically been dominated by white men. Theories of homophily help explain why networks tend toward homogeneity, thereby minimizing the likelihood that women and minorities will have an abundance of powerful white males in their networks.

Kanter's (1977) theory of homosocial reproduction holds that managers (like other people) tend to gravitate toward their own because they feel greater comfort and trust with people who are like them. Thus, white male managers tend to select and invest in developing other white males, in essence replicating themselves in their protégés. As argued by other scholars (e.g., Ibarra, 1992; McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987) people cluster in homogeneous demographic groups because similarity in demographics (e.g., age, race, and gender) implies a shared worldview of values and experiences. This sharedness—assumed or actual—facilitates communication, trust, and reciprocity, all key building blocks in relationships. Recent evidence even suggests neurological mechanisms underlying bonds within groups; oxytocin—a neuropeptide produced in the hypothalamus plays a

key role in promoting in-group love and defensiveness (but not offensiveness) toward out-groups (De Dreu et al., 2010). An alternative explanation to "choice" homogeneity is "induced" homogeneity (see Ibarra, 1992) that occurs not because people explicitly choose similar others for their networks but because similar others happen to be available to them (Blau, 1977). For example, female employees might congregate together simply because they are already segregated along gender lines by job positions.

One interesting point about these theoretical perspectives (particularly those focusing on "choice" homogeneity) is that their focus is quite different from the rationale that usually underlies diversity training and affirmative action. Diversity training, for instance, often seems to start from the theoretical position that stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination are the norm, and that people must be taught to overcome these tendencies. In contrast, theories underlying networks have more to do with in-group homophily as opposed to out-group antipathy. In other words, the fact that people tend to *like* similar others may be just as detrimental to the careers of women and minorities as the assumption that some people tend to *dislike* dissimilar others. Numerous scholars have argued that strong bonding and affiliation with similar others in an in-group can have deleterious effects on inter-group relationships (e.g., De Dreu et al., 2010). Fiske and Lee (2008) argued that "contemporary racism manifests through ingroup promotion more than active outgroup exclusion and through isolation more than active harm" (p. 26). In short, much theory and evidence is consistent with the notion that "birds of a feather flock together"—a truism that possibly hinders the career progression of women and minorities. Mentoring and employee network groups are two ways that can help overcome the limitations associated with people's informal (and often homogenous) networks.

Family-Friendly Policies

Family-friendly policies, such as flexible work schedules, on-site childcare, and telecommuting, have been explored in recent years to address family-work conflict. Family-friendly policies usually are not thought of specifically in terms of diversity-oriented CSR; however, such policies arguably might have positive implications for diversity management—particularly for women and single parents. Although heterosexual partnerships may be more egalitarian than in the past, a review of the literature from 2000–2009 reveals that women continue to do the "lion's share" of housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Such policies may allow or encourage

women to work in jobs that might otherwise be unfeasible. Indeed, in a survey investigating the reasons female managers leave their jobs, one of the factors reported was that their job lacked scheduling flexibility (Rosin & Korabik, 1991). According to Thomas, Mack, and Motagliani (2004), the lack of family-friendly policies and other forms of sexism are major sources of discontent for executive women (and arguably for other working women and men who are single parents).

Creating Diversity "Champions"

Diversity committees and positions developed explicitly for promoting diversity may be effective diversity-oriented CSR strategies, at least with regard to increasing the percentage of women and minorities (Kalev et al., 2006). The basic logic underlying the creation of these positions is that holding a central person or position accountable for diversity CSR may increase the likelihood that organizations implement and maintain new diversity programs and policies (including AA, diversity training, mentoring, and employee resource groups). Indeed, accountability can be a powerful force in reducing biases (see Lerner & Tetlock, 1999). In one experiment on racism in interviews, managers who were held accountable for their evaluations were less likely to exhibit discrimination toward African American interviewees than those who were not held accountable (Ford, Gambino, Lee, Mayo, & Ferguson, 2004). This is partly because of the unconscious nature of many biases: people are not immediately aware that they may engage in unfair behavior toward women and minorities, and so they do not naturally attend to it every moment. Accountability is critical, then, for enhancing attention to potential bias. In addition, accountability communicates an inherent value for diversity. At the level of the organization, formal recognition of diversity CSR as a central component of business or human resource management may communicate that fairness and inclusion are core business values (see McKay et al., 2008). Thus, a formal division, process, or senior executive (e.g., Chief Diversity Officer) may be helpful in ensuring accountability for diversity-oriented CSR.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

The science summarized up to this point clearly suggests there are some evidenced-based strategies that organizations can take to enhance their diversity-oriented CSR. Equally clear, however, is that the science has not

yet caught up to the challenges of the increasingly diverse workplace. Ideally, our analysis of extant research would allow generation of a list of general solutions that could be broadly applied in organizational settings. The review presented here demonstrates that organizational efforts to address diversity are not uniformly successful. Reactions to affirmative action programs are sometimes negative, mentoring programs might result in psychosocial rather than instrumental support, and beneficiaries of programs are sometimes denigrated. In line with these complexities, we note several areas in which future research is sorely needed to better inform theoretical understanding and applied practice.

Consideration of Understudied Marginalized Groups

Implicit in the review of research presented here is that the vast majority of research on diversity management has been conducted in reference to women and ethnic minorities. Indeed, a recent meta-analysis of over 50 studies on outcomes of discrimination demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of studies (approximately 85%) have been conducted on racism and sexism (Peddie, Gilrane, Jones, Gray, & King, 2011). This means that members of other marginalized groups are generally neglected in our scholarship. We argue that other populations such as ex-convicts, undocumented workers, LGBT workers, and workers in developing countries deserve additional attention. One overarching framework through which to explore these marginalized group members is stigma theory. Goffman (1963) specified that a stigma is an attribute that is devalued in a given context, much like the characteristic of a prison sentence, an "immigrant" label, or a gay or lesbian identity. Stigma theory emphasizes the interpersonal nature of marginalization: stigma involves not only its bearer, but also those with whom the target interacts. In addition, and of particular importance for the set of workers in greater need of attention, is the concealable nature of the stigma. For example, whether or not someone holds the identity of being an ex-convict, gay, or undocumented is likely not immediately observable. Thus, individuals who hold these identities face unique issues not held by people with more observable identities (e.g., gender, age, race); for example, the former must make decisions about whether, to whom, how, and when to disclose their stigmatized identity (Goffman, 1963). The identity-management process is likely a central, defining aspect of the day-to-day experiences of individuals from these groups. More details regarding each group's status and experience are considered below.

Although an understudied domain, a small body of research has shown that people identified as LGBT face discrimination on the job. As mentioned above, LGBT applicants and employees often must address the issue of whether or not to disclose their identity; either choice could face potential consequences. Until 2011, LGBT members of the U.S. military could not openly disclose their sexual orientation; civilians in the workforce too can suffer negative consequences for disclosure (see Croteau, 1996). However, choosing not to disclose may not be simple, particularly in workplaces where people routinely discuss their personal lives or socialize with each other outside work. In such environments, LGBT workers may become socially excluded if they do not choose to disclose their status. Indeed, some research has revealed that disclosure can yield positive outcomes for LGBT individuals in some cases (Day & Schoenrade, 1997).

Although federal protection against discrimination for LGBT individuals is largely lacking, many states and cities do offer such protections. Moreover, the great majority of Fortune 500 companies also have anti-discrimination policies and more than half offer domestic partner benefits (Human Rights Campaign, 2011). In their summary of actions organizations might take to improve the experiences of LGBT people, King and Cortina (2010) specified that organizations should: (1) include sexual orientation in anti-discrimination statements and policies; (2) look beyond employment decisions and ensure equal inclusion of LGBT and non-LGBT stakeholders in contexts such as benefits for same-sex partners, employee resource groups, and mentoring programs; and (3) advocate on behalf of LGBT interests. Indeed, because LGBT workers possess a concealable stigma that they might not choose to reveal in hostile contexts, diversity-oriented CSR may be the only way to ensure equality.

Ex-convicts represent another stigmatized group that could benefit from research and diversity-oriented CSR. This group has received very little attention from organizational scholars and decision-makers, perhaps because members of this group—unlike race, gender, or age, for example—are often perceived as being responsible for their social position. Problematically, this group has little legal protection to protect them in employment settings, often regardless of their work history or likelihood of recidivism (Harris & Keller, 2005). Employers can conduct background checks on applicants, and in some cases are compelled to do so in order to avoid negligent hiring if an employee goes on to commit a crime. Of course, depending on the nature of the conviction and the job, screening applicants for convictions is important. In other instances, however, when the ex-convict and job in question pose little risk, it arguably makes sense

for organizations to consider hiring ex-convicts. As noted by Harris and Keller (2005), society is best served and protected when criminals are rehabilitated, and a major determinant of rehabilitation is gainful employment. As such, we argue that more research in this area is greatly needed. In addition, organizations should carefully consider if screening out all ex-convicts is necessary for the safety of employees, customers, the organization, and the public.

Social class (specifically low-income individuals) is another domain that has been neglected in the organizational literature (Bullock, 2004). The few studies that do exist reveal that poor people are often disliked (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) and are negatively stereotyped as immoral, lazy, dirty, and uncivilized (e.g., Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001; Hoyt, 1999). As with race and gender, people are born into a particular social class. However, unlike these demographic factors, it is possible to change one's social class throughout life. As such, many people make individualist attributions for poverty. Blaming the poor for their social position is a common phenomenon and is consistent with various social psychological theories, including just world theory (e.g., Lerner & Miller, 1978), fair market ideology (Jost, Blount, Pfeffer, & Hunyady), and Protestant work ethic (Weber, 1946). Despite the popularity of rags-to-riches stories in American culture, escaping from poverty presents challenges including limited educational and workplace opportunities. Additionally, even for individuals who are working, low-wage jobs are often unstable. Because such jobs typically offer no health insurance or paid leave, low-wage workers may be one illness or flat tire away from losing their jobs. Of course, it is unreasonable to expect that all jobs be highly compensated. However, organizations wishing to engage in CSR should investigate the necessary compensation that would allow all workers a "living wage" and should consider offering leave and certain benefits for all employees as a moral rather than simply a financial decision.

Focus on the Criterion

In studying all marginalized group members, we need to give further attention to theoretical and practical developments on the criterion side of diversity CSR. Indeed, there is a lack of consensus regarding what outcomes are most valuable and how they should be measured.

According to the Chartered Institute for Personnel Development (CIPD, 2007) the effectiveness of diversity programs can be measured through

employee attitude surveys, number of complaints/grievances, turnover, ability to recruit, diversification of customer base, improvements in decision-making, individual performance, and business performance. Bielby (2008) also mentioned workplace climate assessments and monitoring of possible disparities by race and gender. Thus, a long list of possible outcomes is available to both scholars and practitioners.

But many questions regarding these outcomes remain. As examples: Is one outcome more important to employees or to the bottom line than another? Is one outcome more likely to be impacted by a particular diversity CSR strategy than another? Does one outcome garner more positive attention from stakeholders than another? Working together, scholars and practitioners should determine when, why, and how a particular outcome should be assessed. The appropriate specification and operationalization of these outcomes is critical for developing effective diversity CSR strategies—without this consideration, we might not even agree about what effective diversity-oriented CSR efforts are meant to accomplish.

Acting Outside the Organization

As organizational scholars, we tend to focus myopically on what is in front of us—the organization—without looking around us at the world in which it is embedded. Mor-Barak (2000) and Chen and Eastman (1997) have argued for an ecosystem approach to diversity. From this perspective, diversity, and inter-group relationships within the organization cannot and should not be viewed in isolation from the surrounding environment. To truly manage diversity, organizations should involve themselves in the community diversity matters (Mor-Barak, 2000), for example, by sponsoring educational programs or job trainings to help underserved groups (Agars & Kottke, 2004). Other efforts could be aimed at reducing barriers to gaining and keeping employment—for example, supporting or volunteering in public transportation initiatives or organizing clothing drives to provide work-appropriate clothing for individuals who cannot afford them (e.g., "Dress for Success"). Still, other efforts could reach out to children from marginalized groups to encourage achievement over the lifespan such as internships and scholarships for students from underrepresented groups. We contend that diversity-oriented CSR is likely greatest when considerations are constructed to support not only employees and customers, but also their communities. Future research in this area could explore the benefits derived from diversity-oriented CSR that is aimed beyond the boundaries of the organization.

CONCLUSION

Despite great strides in the realm of understanding and promoting organizational diversity, much remains to be known and done with regard to both theory and practice. In this chapter, we have advocated for diversity-oriented CSR initiatives that go beyond mere compliance of diversity laws. We have reviewed some common practices such as affirmative action, mentoring, networking, family-friendly practices, and diversity training. We have also discussed some newer ideas that stretch beyond the traditional boundaries of the organization and consider other marginalized groups. We have also suggested that organizations truly consider what is meant conceptually and empirically by "successful" outcomes of diversity initiatives and have implored them to think beyond the impact of diversity on the financial bottom line.

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7

The "We" in Wellness: Workplace Health Promotion as a Positive Force for Health in Society

Joel B. Bennett and Lois E. Tetrick

Throughout the last century, organizations increasingly have been held responsible for employee safety and health. Such responsibility is evident by legislation around the globe, including the Occupational Safety and Health Act in the United States (1970), the Single European Act (1987), and ongoing efforts from the European Safety and Health Legislation. Generally, legislation focuses on environmental risk reduction, specifically the prevention of accidents and illnesses due to exposure to hazardous materials and conditions. However, by the 1990s, research was beginning to accumulate that psychosocial factors can produce or mitigate risks to worker safety and health of employees. These psychosocial factors included such conditions as relationships with co-workers and supervisors, the organization of work, workplace climate and culture, and management and leader support. Industrial-organizational psychologists tend to emphasize the effect of these working conditions on performance and productivity. However, such risks also have an impact on the health of employees. This chapter emphasizes the importance of these psychosocial factors, especially for those who seek to create healthy workplaces not only as an end in itself, but also as a means to create a healthier society (cf. social capital, social entrepreneurship).

The concept of a healthy workplace (e.g., Bennett, Cook, & Pelletier, 2011)—especially one in which leaders support the well-being of all workers and a healthy work culture—ties into the theme of this book: how I-O psychology contributes to the greater good. For example, healthy workers bring that health into the work-family sphere, into neighborhoods, and the surrounding community (social capital). Research indicates that social cohesion among workers and supervisor support are strong predictors of

employee health and well-being. To the degree that an organization fosters these positive factors, it also role models social aspects of health (e.g., social support) that can ripple out into society. There can be, and often is, an intrinsic motive for organizations: workplace health efforts can go beyond what is mandated or what may result in a financial benefit to organizations via productivity gains or reduced health care costs.

There are many constructs in the I-O literature that lie at the intersection of organizational processes, employee well-being, and public health. This includes interventions or programs that foster positive psychological aptitudes (e.g., psychological capital), organizational citizenship processes (e.g., civic virtue) that may activate an employee's sense of responsibility for the greater good, and many team-building and leadership development programs. In this chapter, we touch on these ideas but focus on the growing importance of health promotion/health protection strategies, particularly as they relate to public health. The current increase in corporate use of such programs suggests that I-O psychologists must learn about them and help to leverage such programs for greater societal benefit. As explained below, the collective well-being that is possible inside organizational settings—something we describe as "The We in Wellness"—can be a major force for promoting health in society at large.

Two fields of research and practice—occupational health psychology and workplace health promotion—have emerged over the past two decades in the United States, Europe, Japan, and elsewhere that bridge the foci of the I-O, well-being, and public health literatures. The field of occupational health psychology is an integration of multiple disciplines, including industrial-organizational psychology, health psychology, human factors or ergonomics, and public health. Through the inclusion of the public health perspective, psychologists raised the issue that organizations could not only focus on health protection of their employees but could enhance the health of their employees, their families, and potentially larger communities and society. Similarly, there has been an increase of scope within the field of workplace health promotion, which tends to focus on physical health practices (primarily diet, exercise, tobacco cessation) to help reduce cardiovascular risks, obesity, and mortality in general. Within the field of workplace health promotion, there is a call for more "comprehensive" approaches with programs, policies, and environmental strategies. As such, workplace health promotion practitioners embrace public health initiatives, such as dietary guidelines from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (e.g., www.choosemyplate.gov).

This chapter reviews and organizes some of the occupational health psychology and workplace health promotion literature with a focus on evidence to support not only the enhancement of employees and their families, but also the enhancement of public health. There are many examples where psychosocial factors within the work context have an impact on public health. Some obvious examples include businesses that provide gainful employment, business-related civic organizations (e.g., Rotary Clubs) that contribute to health causes, work initiatives whereby employees get together to donate money or time to a health-related charity or cause, or when employers promote and subsidize flu vaccinations for employees and their family members. Across these examples—employment, altruism, and vaccinations—there can be a health enhancement effect such that health effects diffuse into the surrounding community. Family influence is also important; children, spouses, and seniors benefit when a worker changes his or her dietary, alcohol, or smoking habits due to health education at work. A further area—beyond the scope of this chapter—is the impact of public health institutions themselves, such as the Veteran's Administration or large nonprofit health organizations (e.g., American Heart Association, American Cancer Society). Such organizations, particularly in collaboration with workplaces, can play a significant role in promoting workplace social norms and values of relevance to public health.

We offer a guiding framework for studying both risk reduction and comprehensive health promotion at individual, group, and organizational levels that extend to the societal level (Kelloway & Day, 2005). A fundamental assertion of this chapter is that workplace health promotion is a viable method for achieving public health and that a core mechanism or mediator for this outcome are psychosocial factors within the workplace social environment, which may be referred to as "The We in Wellness" (Bennett, 2010). We take a diverse approach in order to stimulate thinking about different ways through which the workplace social environment may impact public health, and conclude with recommendations for future research to test these ideas.

This chapter is organized into four major sections. It begins with an overview of two related fields—health protection and health promotion—and suggests the emergence of a new integrated, systemic, and comprehensive approach where the two fields are becoming increasingly integrated. At the same time, even with such integration, there appears to be a gap or blind spot that we label "The We in Wellness." The next section provides some applied examples of integrated approaches with an eye to

those that impact public health. The third section reviews three broad perspectives that support integrative approaches: the workplace climate for health and safety, the work-family interface, and positive organizational dynamics. We suggest these perspectives point to mechanisms whereby workplace health promotion impacts public health and the good of society at large. The chapter ends with a proposal to consider "The We in Wellness" as the core mechanism that mediates workplace health efforts and public health outcomes. We propose that any health promotion effort will achieve optimal impact when it includes a focus on this "We" experience in any of its manifestations, including group cohesion, *esprit de corps*, sense of belonging, collective mission, intimacy, solidarity, interdependence, social support, socialization, etc. Methods for assessment are also proposed.

SYSTEMIC HEALTH PROMOTION—AN INTEGRATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH PERSPECTIVES

In order to affect public health, one first needs access to the public, and Rantanen (2003) argued that workplaces provide a convenient location for doing so. Occupational health psychologists further argue that workplaces integrate health protection/prevention with health promotion. These two activities are not necessarily incompatible; the elimination or reduction of risk factors often simultaneously involves the promotion of healthy environments. For example, workplace policies that seek to eliminate abusive supervision or bullying may occur in tandem with psycho-educational programs that promote positive supervisor behaviors and support. It may be further argued that—through effective education, constructive confrontation, and coaching—an abusive supervisor can be transformed into a supportive supervisor.

Health prevention activities, actually more properly referred to as health protection, focus on removing hazards in various ways (Nicoll & Murray, 2002). Employers can substitute hazardous with non-hazardous chemicals in the production process, provide mechanical controls to reduce exposure such as cover guards that prevent access to sharp edges, and give workers personal protective equipment. Of these methods, worker protective gear does not remove the physical risk of exposure but places responsibility for safety on the individual worker. This focus on personal responsibility runs contrary to most legislative positions; these place the burden of health

and safety protections on the organization through environmental strategies (Tetrick, 2008). Protective gear does cue or alert the worker that a hazard does or may exist in the environment, but workers vary in their adherence to such practices (Sorensen, Stoddard, Ockene, Hunt, & Youngstrom, 1996).

In contrast with health protection, health promotion has generally taken the view that employees are responsible for maintaining and enhancing their own health (Rantanen, 2003). The goal of health promotion is to improve the health of employees in general by reducing unhealthy lifestyles and has focused less on the specific workplace factors that may put employees at risk of ill health. Typically, health promotion programs focus on smoking cessation, weight loss, and fitness. The notion is to get employees to reduce their negative health behaviors and increase their positive health behaviors. Such on-site wellness programs are often justified based on the argument that the programs will reduce health care costs and lost time due to ill health. By proactively assisting workers to improve their health, productivity improves and ultimately the financial health of the organization improves as well.

Health promotion programs and policies have their challenges and criticisms. Some programs meet with employee resistance because many health behaviors are viewed as outside of management's rights—that is, what employees may or may not do when away from work lies outside the purview of the organization. In addition to these privacy issues, when workplaces initiate health promotion (with its emphasis on individual choice), managers may assume this represents a reduction of the organization's responsibility to providing a safe and healthy work environment (Sorensen et al., 1996). Health promotion activities focus on individuals' behaviors that put them at risk for poor health; they do not address occupational exposures.

Health promotion has focused almost exclusively on individuals' health. However, DeJoy and Wilson (2003) expanded health promotion to the organizational level. They observed that there are controllable risk factors for both organizational and individuals' health. In their model, organizations build health promotive capacity, that is, the ability of the organization to maintain and improve organizational health. This health promotive capacity facilitates organizational change and innovation, resulting in enhanced individual and organizational health. This model thus clearly calls for multi-level, dynamic models of health promotion where individuals' behaviors and perceptions of the environmental, organizational, and working conditions affect employees' health; where

organizational structure, policies, and practices affect organizational health; and where organizational factors affect the health of employees, which in turn affect organizational health.

We would add that the health of employees and the organization also affect the health of individuals outside of the organization, including family members and community members. The work setting is replete with social norms, social connections, peer-to-peer influence processes, social networks, socialization mechanisms, and occupational subcultures; all of which involve worker-to-worker influences, including the impact of managers on employees. When workers leave work, they carry these influences with them. Hence, workers can transmit risks factors as much as they can strengthen protective factors.

An Integrative Multi-Level Perspective

Based on this brief review of both health promotion and health protection approaches, it appears that these approaches tend to focus on one set of factors to the exclusion of the other and that both can benefit from an integrated perspective (e.g., Goetzel, Ozminkowski, Bowen, & Tabrizi, 2008). Indeed, there is nomenclature within both fields that suggest a call for such integration. Within the field of health promotion, strategic approaches that include all three elements of health promotion (i.e., programs, environment, and policies) is termed *comprehensive* health promotion. Although programs emphasize individual health, there is an increasing weight given to strategies that incorporate environmental supports (e.g., stair signage to promote exercise, healthy vending machine options, use of farmer's markets), as well as policies to promote healthy lifestyle (e.g., work-life policies, smoking prohibitions).

Similarly, strategic approaches to health promotion that integrate efforts across the organizational, group, and individual levels are referred to as *systemic* approaches. This multi-level approach to health promotion is critical for aligning policies, procedures, and practices to express organizational values relative to the health and safety of employees. Further, using a multi-level and comprehensive approach allows the integration of health promotion and health as recommended by Pelletier (1984). Pelletier suggested that health promotion should incorporate organizational and environmental factors by attending to working conditions that might put employees at risk as well as considering risky lifestyle behaviors (see also Bennett, Cook, & Pelletier, 2011). Within the field of occupational health protection, one finds reference to *systemic* efforts that include strategies at the individual and organizational levels.

We propose a model that integrates both comprehensive (health promotion) and systemic (health protection) approaches into a single framework. However, in developing this integrated model, there is a gap in both fields that we believe can be filled by knowledge on the psychosocial *work group* factors alluded to above: social, network, climate, and interpersonal processes. These processes speak to the theme of the current volume. Much social good occurs through community—the energy and collaboration that occurs through groups (e.g., teams, crews, clubs, and committees)—and yet we believe that both the *comprehensive* and *systemic* models need to treat the social group (systemic psychosocial processes) in a more explicit or direct way. To advance theory and research in this area, we feel: (1) that an integrated model that includes the work group or work community is necessary; and (2) that I-O psychologists can benefit from understanding extant findings within the study of groups and community.

As Figure 7.1 suggests, health promotion interventions traditionally focus on (micro) programmatic efforts for the individual worker, whereas health protection tends to address organizational (macro) strategies for the environment (particularly safety). For example, until recently, the National Institute of Occupational Health and Safety has provided mostly environmental strategies, guidelines, policies, and educational programs to help employers create an organizational setting to reduce accidents and injuries. The traditional level of focus has been on creating safe environments (reducing hazards and exposures, identifying risks from

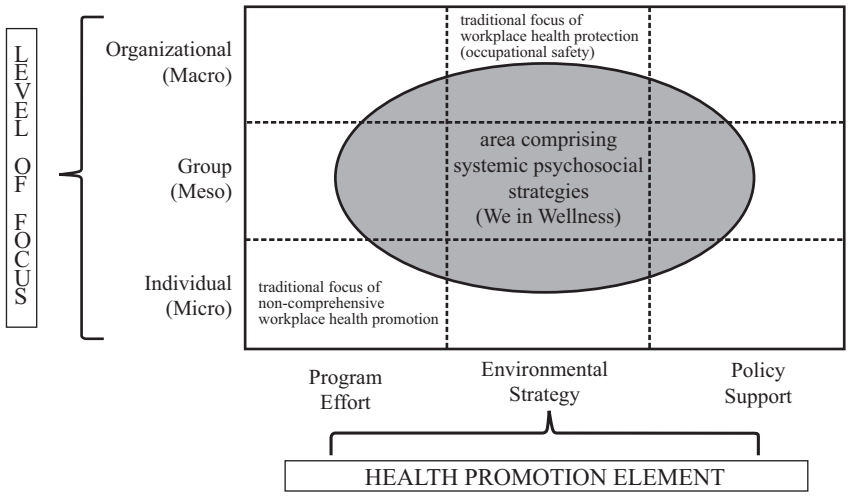

FIGURE 7.1
An integrated comprehensive systemic approach to health promotion

chemicals, and emergency preparedness and response). In parallel, the traditional focus of workplace health promotion has been on guiding individuals toward improved healthy lifestyles, through health risk appraisals, biometrics, educational programs on diet and exercise, and—where available—coaching and incentives for individual behavior change.

We contend that a simple or mechanical combination (a summing) of these two approaches is insufficient for catalyzing those core psychosocial processes for health that can have a maximal effect on public health and optimize the effect of either approach. Something else is needed, which we call "The We in Wellness" to refer to those processes that activate a group that seeks the common good of health for individuals, the organization, and the community. More research is required for the missing meso level that intersects with the micro and macro levels (i.e., the group, the team, the crew, and the social connections between people at work). Groups, not only individuals, receive the health promotion programs and are exposed to environmental strategies. Moreover, through social norms, groups are central to how employees interpret, implement, and socially enact policies on a day-to-day basis. Again, as Figure 7.1 suggests, we situate the group at the center of individual and organizational strategies and as playing a key role in shaping the social environment. Before moving into the theoretical literature in support of this model, we provide a brief description of some integrated approaches to health protection and health promotion.

EXAMPLES OF INTEGRATED APPROACHES

A diverse literature supports the claim that integrated approaches are most effective, including literature reviews (Goldgruber & Ahrens, 2010) and case studies, as well as exemplary companies that have been awarded for health promotion efforts that included a social/community approach. LaMontagne, Keegel, Louise, Ostry, and Landsbergis (2007), in their systematic review of 70 studies from the job-stress intervention literature, found that approaches that combined both organizational- and individual-level interventions were the most successful. A detailed review of "high systems" intervention reveals that most incorporated positive communication over time and across levels of the organization. Most high systems include such processes as setting up an ongoing steering, advisory, or wellness committee whose suggestions are seriously reviewed and acted upon by management; use of focus groups to ascertain employee

perceptions of stress; use of anonymous comments (suggestion boxes) that specifically request pointers on stress reduction; opportunities for management-employee interaction; and opportunities for managers to clarify their roles and responsibilities. These results—showing the importance of building strong communication and support mechanisms—are not surprising in light of a recent meta-analysis of 79 studies showing that interpersonal conflict at work has a strong relationship with physical health symptoms (Nixon, Mazzola, Bauer, Krueger, & Spector, 2011).

In this section of the chapter, we present a few examples of organizations who have made the effort to enhance the health and well-being of their employees and their families and who also have had a systemic view of how to enhance the well-being of their communities. Where possible, we present empirical evidence of the effectiveness of the programs, although such reports in the empirical literature are admittedly rare. It is our hope that by presenting these innovative programs, we will prompt other organizations to join this effort and encourage them to evaluate the effectiveness of their programs and publish the results.

Other examples come from healthy workplace award programs, such as those provided since 2007 by the APA's "Psychologically Healthy Workplace Awards." From one of their first newsletters (www.phwa.org/resources/goodcompany) until now, many examples are provided that show an integrated approach. This includes the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority (awarded in 2007) for implementing learning academies, financial fitness, employee recognition, and wellness strategies; W R Systems, Ltd (awarded in 2009), an information technology and engineering firm that provides employee mentoring, ergonomic protections, trained medical staff, and management of health care costs; and Cross, Gunter, Witherspoon & Galchus (CGWG) attorneys (awarded in 2011) that use an Employee Activities Committee, customized preventive health care services, and employee recognition programs. Importantly, many of these companies also do things for their neighborhoods and communities, including community affairs councils that seek opportunities to serve the community, fundraisers, donation of employee time to work for community nonprofits, and global citizenship programs.

WellWorks

An early case example is the WellWorks project (see Sorensen et al., 1996). This program took an integrative approach by focusing on smoking and

other tobacco use, high dietary fat intake, and low dietary fiber intake and also incorporated a program to reduce exposure to occupational carcinogens. Importantly, by also including employee advisory boards for the intervention, employees gained voice in program design and implementation. By incorporating the health protection factors, greater participation in the health promotion activities were obtained. Sorensen et al. (1996) suggested that including the environmental change component effectively communicated management's commitment to providing a safe and healthy work environment, which is a major component of safety and health climate (Zohar, 2003) and management's acceptance of the responsibility for occupational safety and health. This is one of the earliest integrative approaches and focused on within the organization without addressing potential effects on families and the larger community per se.

Lincoln Industries

Lincoln Industries is a manufacturing firm in Lincoln, Nebraska. At Lincoln Industries, wellness is defined by healthy lifestyles such as proper nutrition, physical fitness, and health education; safety participation; work-life balance; and achievement of personal goals. Consistent with the literature on organizational change and organizational development, Lincoln Industries has built a culture of wellness (Vyhildal, 2010). All of the initiatives and programs are integrated into "Life at Lincoln Industries" and involves employees at all levels of the organization. Employees have been engaged in the design, implementation, maintenance, and modification of the wellness program. Wellness is part of the performance management system including individual wellness goals for each employee. It is also part of the leadership development program. Employees receive quarterly physicals and have a variety of wellness programs to choose from, including positive benefits for positive behaviors (e.g., tobacco-free discounts). By all accounts, there is top management commitment to the wellness program and this drives their strategic planning model.

Lincoln Industries has been named as one of the top 25 Best Places to Work among medium-size firms and was chosen as a national Innovation in Prevention Award winner by the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) for its efforts in promoting healthy lifestyles in its community (http://lincolnindustries.com.ia18.4w.com/home/who-we-are/wellness/). Vyhildal (2010) reported that since the implementation

of their wellness program, Lincoln Industries has seen a drop in the number of employees who smoke, a reduction in workers' compensation costs, and a lowering of the average health care cost per person, with it being substantially below the industry average. This emphasis on health can only be expected to spill over into the families of Lincoln Industries' employees and, based on the experienced reductions in health care costs of the employees and their families, there is at least some evidence for this. Whether this same spillover extends to the larger community is still an open question and we are not aware of any empirical evidence supporting the effect on the community.

Community Partnerships

Dan Buettner (2008) identified four "blue zones" where there were a disproportionate number of centenarians. Having interviewed many of these individuals in each of the blue zones, there appeared to be some common elements: family and close friendships, exercise, healthy eating, and having a sense of purpose. Interestingly, work was not an explicit element but meaning in life did appear to be. Several recent models of well-being have identified similar elements. For example, Rath and Harter (2010) define well-being as having five domains: financial well-being, career well-being, physical well-being, social well-being, and community well-being. These domains of well-being were based on data from over 120 countries. Seligman (2011) recently introduced his model of well-being, which contains some of the same elements. According to Seligman, the key to well-being is positive emotions, engagement, relationships, meaning, and accomplishment. These models have resulted in attempts to improve the well-being of entire communities, including organizations within those communities.

AARP-Blue Zones Vitality Project

The AARP-Blue Zones Vitality project, sponsored by the United Health Foundation, joined with the citizens of Albert Lea, Minnesota to create a "blue zone" based on Buettner's findings (www.aarp.org/health/longevity/info-09-2009/albert_lea_healthiest_hometown.html). They worked with local organizations and citizens to promote healthy diets, create active lifestyles, develop strong social networks, and promote a sense of purpose for the citizens. This prototype Blue Zones project was completed in 2009. This community-wide effort actively engaged 60% of the city's local

restaurants, 51% of its largest employers, 100% of its schools, and 27% of its citizens. Results showed an increase in life expectancy by 3.2 years; participants lost an average of three pounds each; there was an average drop in absenteeism by key employers of 21% on average; and city employees showed a 49% decrease in health care costs. The Vitality project continued into 2010. Unfortunately, we were unable to find any evaluations of the Vitality project published in the scholarly literature.

Princeton Living Well

Another community-based project that reflects a partnership with local organizations is Princeton Living Well (www.princetonlivingwell.com). Princeton Living Well is an interactive community bringing together individuals and organizations to promote general wellness and prevent diabetes. The website enables individuals to identify resources in the community, whether they are businesses, events, or workshops, and potential social networks such as finding someone to be a walking buddy. Local businesses partner with Princeton Living Well to provide rewards for individuals who meet their wellness goals through discounts on merchandise or services. This appears to be a community-level effort with organizations and individuals working together to promote wellness. As was the case with the AARP-Blue Zones Vitality project, no published findings with respect to the effectiveness of this project were found.

Summary

The positive results seen from these integrated approaches are consistent with several theories from the field of I-O psychology and management. For example, social exchange theory posits that if employees perceive management as concerned about their well-being and are willing to invest in a safe work environment, then employees will reciprocate with positive organizational behaviors (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Hofmann, Morgeson, & Gerras, 2003; Lee & Bruvold, 2003) such as participating in the health promotion components of the intervention. From a different angle, models of organizational citizenship behavior suggest that workers may act from a sense of altruism or civic virtue (taking a positive concern in the life and health of the organization as a whole). Since research suggests that a sense of group cohesion and organizational support may lead workers to develop civic virtue (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Bommer, 1996), work-place activities that involve team health programs (e.g., walking

campaigns, weight loss competitions) may also foster a willingness to help the organization and the community. Future research needs to take on the challenge of demonstrating the effects of these organizational initiatives beyond the effects on employees and their families to the community and society in general.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES IN SUPPORT OF INTEGRATIVE APPROACHES TO HEALTH

Occupational health psychology has identified several major theoretical perspectives through which the conditions at work can have a positive effect on employees and their families' health. In this section, we focus on the literature on climate for safety and health, as well as the literature on the work-family interface as they relate to employee health and the potential spillover into family systems and communities. For example, moral attention to corporate safety prevents and mitigates accidents, explosions, chemical leakages, and other incidents that can have a devastating impact on public health (e.g., Bandura, Caprara, & Zsolnai, 2000; Whittingham, 2008).

Climate for Safety and Health

Safety climate is based on the shared perceptions of a group of employees relative to safety policies, procedures, and practices (Zohar, 2011). Several meta-analyses have supported the relation between climate and safety outcomes across a number of industries and countries. These studies are not without pitfalls; one of the major issues is the focus on individual perceptions of climate rather than the shared perceptions of individuals at the group or organizational level (cf. "psychological" versus "organizational" climate; James & Jones, 1974). Across the various safety climate scales, however, Flin, Mearns, O'Connor, and Bryden (2000) concluded that management commitment to safety is the most prevalent and important dimension of safety climate.

Ribisl and Reischl (1993) proposed a parallel concept of a climate for health and Bennett and Lehman (1998) have developed the organizational wellness scale. The health climate literature differs somewhat from that on safety climate in that it incorporates the influence of workplace factors on well-being and takes a more positive perspective of health promotion

rather than an emphasis on prevention of accidents and injuries, or health protection, as is the case for safety climate (Basen-Engquist, Hudmon, Tripp, & Chamberlain, 1998). Still, climate for health continues to reflect the importance of policies, procedures, and practices relative to the promotion of health and well-being and there is a common element between safety and health climate, which is management commitment to health. In fact depending on how one views the relation between health and safety, one might argue that safety climate and health climate are not distinct concepts; however, Basen-Engquist et al. (1998) and Mearns, Hope, Ford, and Tetrick (2010) have provided empirical support that they are distinct although correlated.

Safety climate promotes safe behaviors on the part of employees and health climate promotes healthy behaviors on the part of employees. Two meta-analyses supported the link between safety climate and workplace safety. Clarke (2006) found that safety climate was positively related to employee safety compliance and participation, with safety climate being more strongly related to safety participation than safety compliance. Safety climate was only weakly related to actual accidents and injuries. A subsequent meta-analysis by Christian, Bradley, Wallace, and Burke (2009) replicated the relation of safety climate with compliance and participation, although the effect of safety climate was mediated by safety knowledge and motivation. Therefore, theory and empirical evidence support that creating and maintaining a positive safety climate with shared perceptions of the priority of safety in the work environment is important and the key factor is management commitment to safety.

There is considerably less literature examining health climate. However, the studies to date (e.g., Basen-Engquist et al., 1998; Bennett & Lehman, 1998; Bruns, Walrath, Glass-Siegel, & Weist, 2004; Mearns et al., 2010) have supported a positive effect of health climate on the promotion of healthy behaviors in the workplace. Again, one of the major elements in health climate is management commitment to health promotion. Bennett and colleagues argue that effective assessment of health climate must include multiple dimensions because: (1) risks and strengths surrounding wellness may be an outcome or symptom that is driven by other factors or deeper causes; and thereby (2) a focus only on wellness may be short-sighted. Their Health & Productivity Climate Index™ includes seven dimensions: (1) health and wellness; (2) work-life balance; (3) presence and engagement; (4) team communication; (5) policy and accountability; (6) coping with stress; and (7) help and support.

Applied research with the Health & Productivity Climate Index™ suggests that health promotion efforts can improve the health and wellness climate only up to a certain threshold if other areas are not also addressed. Specifically, the overall health of workers may only be able to rise to certain levels if the organization is not also making efforts to manage stress, improve positive team communication, hold workers accountable, promote help-seeking, and engage and inspire workers. In this regard, it should be noted that by themselves those social relations that constitute the work climate may not always have a positive effect. In their study of toxic work environments, which included over 200 ethnographies, Chamberlain and Hodson (2010) argue that "immersion in social relations often operates to exacerbate stress through heightening group awareness of grievances and powerlessness rather than to reduce stress through providing support." As researchers attend to the overall (comprehensive or systemic) health of an organization, they should take a view of the work climate as having multiple dimensions (see also Grawitch, Gottschalk, & Munz, 2006) and be sensitive to both the positive and negative effects of co-worker socialization.

Work-Family

The literature on occupational stress provides theoretical and empirical support for the effect of psychosocial factors on the health of the individual employee, which obviously affects the individual employee both at work and outside of work (Ganster & Perrewé, 2011; Gatchel & Kishino, 2011; Landsbergis, Schnall, Belkic, Baker, Schwartz, & Pickering, 2011; Shirom, 2011). Until relatively recently, there has been less theorizing or empirical work on how effects of the work environment on employees might affect people outside of the organization. One exception to this lack of research is in studying the work-non-work interface and more specifically the work-family interface (Bakker, Westman, & van Emmerik, 2009; Greenhaus & Allen, 2011; Peiró & Tetrick, 2011).

Early research on the work-family interface focused on organizational policies and practices that supported employees in meeting their family responsibilities (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). Additionally, early work focused on work-family conflict in which demands at home were incompatible with demands at work, resulting in work demands interfering with family demands as well as family demands interfering with work demands (Frone, 2003). From this view, work-family conflict is considered a stressor and spills over from one domain to another. A recent meta-analysis (Ford,

Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007) examined the empirical support for the domain specificity hypothesis suggested by Frone (2003), where factors in the work environment result in work interfering with family and factors in the family environment result in family interfering with work. Ford et al. (2007) found family interfering with work completely mediated the effects of family factors on job satisfaction, but work interfering with family did not completely mediate the effects of work factors on family satisfaction.

Perhaps more important for this chapter is the literature that demonstrates that work factors can not only affect the well-being of the employee outside of work, but also the health and well-being of members of the employee's family and other individuals with whom the employee interacts. This phenomenon is known as crossover (Bakker et al., 2009; Westman & Etzion, 1995). Based on crossover theory, job stress and strain (the psychological reactions to workplace stressors) experienced by an employee can result in the employee's spouse experiencing strain (for a review, see Bakker et al., 2009). This crossover between spouses also has been demonstrated for positive experiences at work such as engagement and for bi-directional crossover (e.g., from one spouse to the other and vice versa). Therefore, evidence supports the effect of positive and negative work environment phenomena on not only employees, but their families and other people with whom they interact (Westman, 2011; Westman et al., 2008).

This crossover mechanism also has been observed within teams in organizations (Bakker, van Emmerik, & Euwema, 2006). This emotional contagion explains how individual employees can affect the health and well-being of co-workers. However, as Bakker et al. (2009) indicate, the process is complex and may depend on the climate of the team and the organization and other factors such as the frequency and quality of the interactions among co-workers, the individual's empathy for others, the individual's susceptibility to the emotions of others, and similarity to co-workers. The within-organization crossover effect can then be extended theoretically to multiple employees' families and other close friends in the community.

In sum, the literature on the work-family interface supports the model we proposed earlier where health promotion and health protection approaches need to be comprehensive and systemic, including not just organizational systems, but extending beyond the organization to family and community systems. Practically, this occurs when employers provide health benefits, tools, and resources that workers use for the good of their families and communities.

Positive Organizational Dynamics and Workplace Health Promotion

Several ideas from the broad field of positive organizational scholarship as well as principles from humanistic, transpersonal, or positive psychology can be used to enhance our understanding of the connection between well-being and the role of the workplace in public health. We review a sampling of ideas that are ripe for more systematic research and application. First, the concept of *psychological capital* suggests that employees' positive states and traits of hope, resilience, self-efficacy, and optimism can influence their health and well-being (e.g., Luthans, Avolio, Avey, & Norman, 2007). Second, a major concern in the field of health promotion is the lack of employee personal responsibility for his or her own lifestyle change. Here, knowledge about *self-leadership* that includes visualizing success, setting goals, and self-rewards (Houghton & Neck, 2002; Neck & Houghton, 2006; Neck & Milliman, 1994) could be applied to engage worker health (Lovelace, Manz, & Alves, 2007) at both individual and team levels (cf. Stewart, Courtright, & Manz, 2011). Third, to our knowledge, there is little research on the role of positive collective stories and narratives as a potential driver of employee engagement in workplace health. Carlsen (2008) suggests that workers are partly motivated by *positive dramas*; that is, enacted self-adventures marked by a sense of something important being at stake, unpredictability, emotional engagement, and involvement of self. Carlsen suggests that workers create *collective life-stories* as part of the creation of their identity, where what is at stake is the future of the organization, and where a sense of oneself in the story can mobilize employee engagement. Fourth, research on *thriving* offers the possibility that there are levels of response to stress that go beyond coping and resilience to improving vitality and well-being *because* of workplace challenges (cf. *eustress*, Nelson & Simmons, 2011). Spreitzer and colleagues argue that thriving (a strong sense of vitality and learning) is greater when individuals are situated in the context of work partly because they can energize a community of practice that fulfills their own agency (Spreitzer, Sutcliffe, Dutton, Sonenshein, & Grant, 2007).

The cross-fertilization of these ideas from positive organizational dynamics and health promotion can potentially lead to a whole new field of study in its own right; one that promotes organizations and the workplace as vehicles for self-actualization. Specifically, we feel there is a great need for research that studies the effectiveness of training on psychological capital, self-leadership, and thriving, as these may: (1) have

direct outcomes on employee and organizational health; (2) mediate or moderate the effect of any health promotion program; and (3) actually facilitate systemic or comprehensive approaches. Further, both qualitative and quantitative studies that discern or promote the important positive stories in work settings can help us better understand how the workplace can facilitate well-being through identity growth.

UNPACKING THE "WE" IN WELLNESS

The distinction between the "I" in illness and the "We" in wellness is often credited to Dr. Dean Ornish who is noted for his work on reversing cardiovascular disease through lifestyle modification (Ornish, 1998; see Braude, 2011). The story goes that Dr. Ornish and a well-known swami were talking to a room full of medical students when someone asked the swami to talk about the difference between illness and wellness. The swami went to the board at the front of the room and wrote "Illness" and "Wellness." Then he circled the *I* in "Illness" and the *We* in "Wellness." This simple illustration captures the main theme of this chapter: workplace organizations, because they are a *collective*, an *organization of people*, have a critical role to play in promoting this positive focus on health through wellness strategies. This stands in contrast to many current wellness and health insurance strategies that focus on mitigating individual risk and illness. In essence, the move from the "I" to the "We" is a paradigm shift.

In previous work, Bennett (2010, 2011) proposed eight different paths or dimensions within the "We," each path having literature to support its viability. Below, we provide a capsule description of these paths so interested readers can follow cited references, but first wish to explain that the "We" discussed here refers to the psychosocial *shared experience* or internal sense that individuals have of the collective rather than the external (e.g., psychometric, climate, aggregate) assessment of that collective per se. A fair amount of literature explains how workers come to identify with or view themselves as part of (belonging to) a team, group, crew, department, or organization; and that this experience is an important dimension of work. A primary proposition of the current chapter is:

> *any health promotion effort will achieve optimal impact when it includes a focus on this "We" experience in any of its manifestations, including group cohesion, esprit de corps, sense of belonging, collective mission, intimacy, solidarity, interdependence, social support, socialization, etc.*

A corollary to this proposition is:

group participation is itself a method for creating health because the experience of social connection is an important driver of health.

Further, an entire company (or perhaps even a department or subgroup) that engages in social entrepreneurship for the purpose of health improvement is very different than a single entrepreneur CEO who donates to a cause. When many employees work together to help a disadvantaged group raise money, build a home, or make a donation, they are serving at least three ends: building internal camaraderie, enhancing the image of the organization, and serving society.

A second corollary, then, is:

civic efforts that meaningfully extend the contribution of an organization into a society will achieve optimal impact when that organization is itself socially cohesive.

This may be seen as a *walk-the-talk* position: employees take care of each other *and* they take care of the community.

The eight different paths of "The We in Wellness" represent those perspectives, strategies, and insights of how individuals may come to have a shared experience or belong to a positive collective or community. Each of these paths is defined in Table 7.1. We propose that organizations can leverage or promote the social capital and social networks in their workplaces to facilitate social cohesion in the interest of promoting public health. They can use specific group-based and culture strategies to activate social capital. And, to further build "The We in Wellness," they can benefit from applying knowledge about social support, leadership, and public health itself (e.g., reflecting upon health data from national surveys).

Perspectives

Studies of social capital and social networks are broad enough to be considered perspectives, paradigms, or fields of study. A central and supportable claim from research on social capital, however it is defined (e.g., community, social connection, well-networked), is that it improves health and mitigates morbidity and mortality (see Hawe & Shiell, 2000; Kawachi, Subramanian, & Kim, 2008). The Sagurao Seminar at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government (www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro), an

TABLE 7.1
Eight paths of "The We in Wellness" (definition and sample insight)

Perspectives	Definition
Social Capital	Social capital refers to the collective value of all "social networks" (who people know) and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other ("norms of reciprocity"). Social capital has intrinsic value for health.
Social Networks	Social networks refers to the degree to which individuals are connected to others through various degrees of separation. Healthy role modeling and exchange of health information takes place across and within these networks.
Strategies	
Group Wellness	When employees participate in any number of group-related health activities and campaigns (e.g., exercise, walking, weight-loss competitions) they experience benefits at the individual and group levels.
Healthy Culture Initiatives	Workplace culture effects how health promotion is engaged by workers; thus, it is critical to focus on the system as a whole with: (1) strategy; (2) empowerment; and (3) monitoring. Healthy culture efforts typically include leader involvement, support of champions, relationship development, positive and ongoing communication, and rewards and recognition.
Team-Based Prevention	Employees can be given motivational and communication skills for helping, encouraging, and supporting each other in their health changes. The use of these skills improves health and reduces risks.
Data-Driven Insights	
Social Support	Social support is a strong predictor of positive health outcomes.
Leadership Ripple Effect	Workplace managers at all levels (supervisory to C-suite) can have a positive effect through four paths of influence: role modeling health, actively supporting the wellness effort, interpersonal support, and enhancing the work environment.
Population-Based Metrics	Through the growth of public health statistics databases and other large-scale health metrics, employers now have the opportunity to be aware of the health risks and strength in their local communities. Such data provide an opportunity to raise employee awareness and corporate responsibility for improving health in the community, county, or region (where employees live).

initiative on social capital, claims that "joining and participating in one group cuts your odds of dying over the next year in half. Joining two groups cuts it by three quarters." The Director of the Sagurao seminar, Dr. Robert Putnam (Putnam, 2000; Putnam & Feldstein, 2003), as well as Coleman (1990) and Bellah (1990) are seminal writers about the importance of social capital for society in general. The Social Capital Gateway (www.socialcapitalgateway.org) provides resources and research in the area, including many research references on social capital and well-being, employment, and entrepreneurship.

The study and analysis of social networks could be viewed as a subcategory of social capital but we believe it deserves its own category because: (1) it is fairly extensive (Pesosolido & Levy 2002; Smith & Christakis, 2008; Valente, 2010); and (2) there is a growing focus on the Internet as a medium (cf. Web 2.0; social media)—including games or "networked play"—for promoting social support for health. Social network analysis refers to particular methods for studying the linkages between individuals (e.g., peer-to-peer) and quantifying different aspects of those linkages, such as one's number of links, degrees of separation, one's "centrality" or "dependency" on others in a network, and diffusion across a network. Christakis and Fowler (2010) found that in various areas—including health—each person influences others (and is influenced by others) up to three degrees of separation. They claim that various health behaviors depend, in part, on the similar behaviors of your friends, your friends' friends, and even your friends' friends' friends. This line of research has major public health implications for the interface between social networks within and outside the workplace. Specifically, the sequence of influence may be: your co-workers to your co-workers' friends (family) and to their friends (family). A core claim of this chapter is that the inception of this ripple effect can effectively lie within relationships at work.

Strategies

In recent years, three overlapping strategies have evolved for leveraging social capital and social networks within the work setting: group wellness campaigns, team-based prevention, and healthy culture initiatives. Group wellness campaigns essentially promote employees to join together in health promotion activities, such as weight-loss competitions, softball teams, and walking/pedometer competitions (e.g., www.weightlosswars.com; www.dumpyourplump.com). Evidence suggests that such programs

are effective in weight reduction (e.g., Archer et al., 2011; Risgby, Gropper, & Gropper, 2009). Effective competition may not even require face-to-face participation as was evident in a recent study of a weight-loss competition among truck drivers, which used weekly text messaging for entering, tracking, and charting weight loss (Olson, Anger, Elliot, Wipfli, & Gray, 2009). Witherspoon's recent white paper (2012) reviews tips and guidelines on team-wellness campaigns, how they work, a case study, and supportive references.

Team-based prevention, as defined here, refers to behavioral health and substance abuse efforts involving peer-to-peer support, peer assistance, and communication training designed to promote a group environment of support and referral to professional coaching, counseling, and/or treatment. For example, PeerCare, which trains workers to recognize, intervene with, and refer co-workers who have a behavioral health problem, has been shown to reduce worker injury rates (Miller, Zaloshnja, & Spicer, 2007; Spicer & Miller, 2006). Another evidence-based program, Team Awareness, uses games, exercises, and discussion to train workers on how to encourage (nudge) each other in their health goals and has been shown to reduce stigma, stress, problem drinking, substance use risk while promoting help-seeking, supervisor responsiveness to problems, and a healthy work climate (e.g., Bennett, Lehman, & Reynolds, 2000; Bennett & Lehman, 2001; Patterson, Bennett, & Wiitala, 2005; Petree, Broome, & Bennett, in press).

Echoing the previous discussion of systemic and comprehensive approaches, healthy culture initiatives are similar but long-term efforts with management involvement. These initiatives can and should include group wellness campaigns and team-based prevention but a healthy work culture is more than the sum of these and other parts. Because culture can have long-term effects on worker health, it becomes critical to focus on the system as a whole, with an engagement strategy, local empowerment of employee health, and ongoing assessment. Two models to promote healthy culture are presented here. Judd Allen's consultation model helps organizations to assess and promote several different dimensions of a healthy culture (see Allen, 2008; Allen & Allen, 1987; www.healthyculture.com). These include a shared vision, a sense of community, and a positive culture and understanding social norms and various "touchpoints" (e.g., communications, events) whereby workers can build the culture. The Health Enhancement Research Organization has developed a balanced scorecard for a health management system (www.the-hero.org). This includes strategic planning, leadership engagement, program-level management, actual programs, engagement methods, and measurement and evaluation.

Data-Driven Insights

The following paths refer to additional data-driven or researched concepts and tools that can help to show a relationship between psychosocial processes and health. Of these, social support is a widely studied phenomenon in the social sciences that has been defined and measured in many ways (e.g., love, family cohesiveness, military unit cohesion, community connectedness, work group cohesion, perceived co-worker support). However it is defined, across dozens of studies, it is often a reliable predictor of: (1) *not* exhibiting high-risk, illegal, and unhealthy behavior; and (2) positive health outcomes (Hobfoll, 1986; Morgan, 2002; Shumaker & Czajkowski, 1994; Uchino, 2004). According to the glossary of terms of the APA, social support is defined as "the resources, including material aid, socioemotional support, and informational aid, provided by others to help a person cope with stress" (www.apa.org/research/action/glossary.aspx#s, 2011). In the context of this chapter, we expand that definition in two ways: first, by referring to salient "others" in the work setting (colleagues, supervisors, human resources), the organization itself, and any of its agents (health insurance providers, employee assistance); and second, by referring to "help" to include not only stress, but any aspect of health of relevance to the individual (e.g., physical, social, emotional, and spiritual).

To give one example of its importance, a recent study found that co-worker support was the single best predictor of long-term mortality in a 20-year follow-up study (Shirom, Toker, Alkaly, Jacobson, & Balicer, 2011). Social support may be seen as both the ultimate outcome of the other seven paths (if applied effectively) and also the primary psychosocial mediator of the impact of those paths on individual health and well-being. That is, when organizations activate any of the paths already discussed—social capital, networks, strategies, or initiatives—the impact of those paths on health may very well depend on employees experiencing a strong sense of support (from co-workers, managers, or the organization as a whole). In turn, and in a parallel fashion, the surrounding community may receive more benefit from the efforts of a corporation and business when that community has a collective experience of support from that business.

The next path, the leadership ripple effect, pertains to many studies that point to the importance of an employee's manager and his or her relationship to that manager on employee health. For example, a recent meta-analysis of 27 high-quality studies on leadership found evidence that it was associated with job well-being, sick leave, and disability pension

(Kuoppala, Lamminpää, Liira, & Vainio, 2008). A number of other studies indicate that employee health risks are greater when their bosses are unfavorable or unsupportive than otherwise (e.g., Kivimaki et al., 2005; Nyberg. et al., 2008; Wagner, Feldman, & Hussy, 2003). As one way to promote a more positive ripple effect, there have been recent corporate efforts to educate leadership on the importance of the workplace to employee and public health. This includes the "Leadership By Example" initiative by the Partnership for Prevention (www.prevent.org) and the CEO Cancer Gold Standard (www.cancergoldstandard.org). These forums showcase business executives who seek to make a difference by supporting health efforts.

The last path is the least studied because it is relatively new and, while not formalized as a field of research, has significant potential to shape the perceptions of employers and their role in public health. We refer to the use (via social marketing and health communications) of increasingly available public health data about health risks and well-being in a business's surrounding community, city, county, state, and congressional district. With such aggregate data in hand, employers (by themselves or in coordination with local public health agencies) can help raise awareness about growing concerns and potentially use that awareness for local health promotion and health protection efforts both inside and outside the work setting. Three current examples of such data that can be accessed and easily viewed on the Internet are the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, available from the Centers for Disease Control (www.cdc.gov/brfss/); the County Health Ranking System, a collaboration between the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute, and part of the Mobilizing Action Toward Community Health (MATCH) project (www.countyhealthrankings.org/), and the Gallup Well-Being Index, especially their display of states and congressional district health (www.well-beingindex.com/stateCongresDistrictRank.asp). For some business leaders, the use of easy-to-read charts and graphs from reliable resources such as those just mentioned may be one way to gain their interest and buy-in to support efforts as social entrepreneurs in the interest of health for their community. Such data can be used to help executives understand that the health of their community can be influenced by the health of their employees, as well as the civic involvement and financial contributions of themselves and their workers. Such data can also be used to benchmark improvements and promote public-private health partnerships to receive further grants and support.

Assessment

An assessment of any of the paths of "The We in Wellness" should include considerations of multi-level effects, especially using multi-level predictors of public health outcomes. That is, to help distinguish the value of the paths, researchers will need to understand: (1) how these paths vary across and within organizations; (2) how they impact social groups that are embedded in organization; and (3) how these positive changes, in turn, ripple out into the community. Returning to Figure 7.1, an effective study of these processes would simultaneously examine organizational (macro), group (meso), and individual (micro) effects. In this regard, Klein and Kozlowski's (2000) distinction between three different types of team characteristics—global, shared, and configural—may be helpful when applied to the study of wellness processes within work groups.

Global team characteristics are relatively objective, descriptive, observable team characteristics that stand apart from member characteristics or psychosocial processes. Usually, a single expert individual is likely to be the appropriate source of data for measuring a global construct. Examples of global characteristics may be the location of the group, its general size, and its relative structure. As applied to "The We in Wellness," social network analysis may assess global characteristics in terms of the degree to which one work group has more cohesive and interconnected links than another. Other studies could assess the leadership ripple effect by observing or assigning groups with leaders who do or do not take positive health actions and later assessing objective performance or health outcomes of the group as a whole.

Shared team characteristics originate in experiences, attitudes, perceptions, values, cognitions, or behaviors that are held in common by the members of a team. Examples of shared team properties include team cohesion, team norms, team climate, and team mental models. As applied to "The We in Wellness," researchers can use measures of social capital, wellness cultures, and social support that can be studied as both outcomes (resulting from health promotion, health protection, and integrated approaches), as well as predictors of an organization's contribution to public health.

Configural team properties capture the array, pattern, or variability of individual characteristics within a team and include experiences, attitudes, perceptions, values, cognitions, or behaviors. Klein and Koslowski (2000) use the example of team performance to convey configural properties. Depending on the nature of the team task, team performance may reflect

either the sum of individual contributions (the better each individual performs, the better team performance); the poorest team member's contribution (the team can perform no better than its weakest performer); the best team member's contribution (one team member can carry the team to a high level); the variability of team members' contributions (the more varied team members' contributions, the greater the number of non-redundant resources available to the team); or some more complex combination of team member contributions.

As applied to "The We in Wellness," configural properties may be especially important for studying group-wellness activities and team-based prevention. For example, among employees in any work group, there is likely a range of health, with some workers being healthier (e.g., less overweight, less prone to problem drinking) than others. How individuals perceive and react to a wellness intervention may be a function of this configuration. To our knowledge, there are few studies that assess configural team properties in this way. Such studies may be very important in helping to identify the properties work groups are most likely to get involved in and benefit from an intervention. They can also help to understand "role contributions" in promoting public health (e.g., is the impact of the team on the surrounding community best predicted by the sum, the poorest, the best, or some other configural property?).

The distinctions proposed by Klein and Koslowski (2000) can further help us to develop research questions and operationalize variables for better study of the relationship between workplace health promotion/protection and public health. For example:

- What are the basic demographic (i.e., global) characteristics of those organizations and groups that are more likely to: (a) implement systemic or comprehensive approaches; (b) contribute to the health of the surrounding community; and/or (c) have an impact on public health because of the internal efforts?
- What are the cultural or climate aspects (shared characteristics) and configural aspects of these same organizations and groups?
- What impact does being a particular member of a highly contributing group have on individual health, regardless of whether the specific individual actively participates in health promotion efforts? Conversely, if one member in a group is an outlier with a significantly stronger health status than others, can his or her efforts make a difference to others?

- Do group characteristics impact the predictive relationship between health promotion/protection efforts in the organization and the outcome of health and disease? For example, what can quantitative assessments—internal to the work setting—of social capital, social support, and social networking tell us about how those organizational-level factors are important for promoting public health?

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have provided theoretical and empirical evidence that health promotion and health protection programs can not only have a positive effect on employees, but can also impact their families and people they interact with outside of work. We propose that this effect may be usefully aggregated to a team effect within the organization and a community effect outside of the organization. This supports the efforts of organizations to provide integrated health protection and health promotion approaches that are systemic and comprehensive in enhancing the health and well-being of communities. It is recognized that the effects of any organization's efforts are complex, especially when trying to trace the impact on communities and society in general. There is a need for multidisciplinary research that spans various levels of analysis and different approaches and encourages researchers to form teams where it is possible to draw on common and unique expertise to begin unraveling these effects.

In this way, researchers may form their own "We" for the purpose of promoting and protecting health.

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Section II

I-O Psychology in the Nonprofit Domain

8

Recruitment, Retention, and Motivation of Volunteers in the Nonprofit Sector: A Volunteer Socialization Perspective

Erika Carello Lopina and Steven G. Rogelberg

A large segment of the United States population, 26.8% in 2009, performed *unpaid* work (i.e., volunteer) for organizations (United States Department of Labor, 2010). To provide perspective about the impact of volunteers in the United States, if a paycheck were to be issued to the volunteer collective for their approximately 8.1 billion hours of volunteer service in 2009, the amount would be just over $169 billion (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2010; Independent Sector, 2010). Thus, volunteering is a relatively common activity, which results in substantial financial savings to organizations. As such, nonprofit organizations—and the communities they serve—may greatly benefit from an improved understanding of their volunteers. Along with the other chapters in this book, we seek to explore the application of I-O psychology for prosocial purposes. Specifically, our focus is on how I-O theory and research can inform the understanding and management of the volunteer experience.

Broadly speaking, volunteering is considered a prosocial, helping behavior. For the purposes of this chapter, we draw upon Penner's (2002) more narrow definition of volunteering: "Volunteerism can be defined as *long-term*, *planned*, *prosocial behaviors* that benefit strangers and *occur within an organizational setting*" (p. 448, emphasis added). This definition distinguishes volunteering from one-time volunteer engagements (e.g., planting trees once a year on Earth Day); spontaneous helping behavior (e.g., helping an elderly person cross the street); and private, informal helping behavior (e.g., checking your housebound neighbor's mailbox and

delivering it to him or her each day). Although such volunteerism may occur in response to natural (and man-made) disasters (see Chapter 14, this volume), our focus here is on non-disaster volunteer experiences.

For many nonprofits, recruiting and maintaining a volunteer workforce is essential to the organization's ability to carry out its mission (Pearce, 1993). As with all new entrants to an organization, volunteers face a great deal of uncertainty, and are challenged to make sense of their organizational environment and its existing members. Organizational practices play a crucial role in newcomers' experience of organizational entry and their subsequent adjustment. This socialization process, "by which individuals become part of an organization's pattern of activities" (Anderson, Riddle, & Martin, 1999), is a critical area of study and practice for both nonprofit and for-profit organizations alike.

In general, successful socialization has been shown to relate to a number of desirable individual and organizational outcomes, such as role clarity, self-efficacy, social acceptance, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, performance, intentions to remain, and actual turnover (e.g., Bauer, Bodner, Erdogan, Truxillo, & Tucker, 2007). Recent estimates indicate that one third of volunteers do not return after their first year (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2007); therefore, the insight gained from understanding the volunteer socialization process is critical for improving volunteering recruitment and retention. In this chapter, we offer a socialization perspective of the volunteer experience; however, other research frameworks have been used to study volunteers, for example: Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory (e.g., Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007; Tidwell, 2005); the functional approach to motivation (e.g., Clary & Snyder, 1991); a person-environment fit approach (e.g., Van Vianen, Nijstad, & Voskuijl, 2008); and, from the field of sociology, the social resources perspective (e.g., Wilson & Musick, 1997). Although socialization is an ongoing process, researchers (e.g., Feldman 1976; Wanous, 1992) have identified stages of the process that provide a useful organizing heuristic. Specifically, this chapter will be divided into sections on research and practice related to *anticipation* (pre-entry; recruitment), *encounter* (post-entry), *adjustment* (integration into the new environment), and *stabilization* (becoming an organizational insider). By examining the relevant research and challenges faced by newcomers and organizations during each stage of the socialization process, we hope to provide insight that will help in the development of effective strategies and practices for volunteer organizations. We will then conclude this chapter with what we view as important areas for future exploration.

SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

Many of us can remember our first day at a new job; it was likely a mix of excitement and anxiety. We may have asked ourselves a number of questions: Will I fit in at this new company? Will I like my supervisor and co-workers? Do I know how to do this job? Such anecdotal examples are indicative of the fact that organizational life is full of uncertainty, especially for newcomers. As defined above, socialization is the scholarly term for individuals' journey through this uncertainty. Much of what we know about this journey is built upon the theories of sensemaking (Weick, 1995, 2001) and uncertainty reduction (Berger & Calabrese, 1975), which have been the most common frameworks used to explain the socialization process (Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2006). Both theories suggest that individuals are driven to reduce ambiguity and uncertainty, either through retrospective sensemaking (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005) or proactive information seeking (uncertainty reduction; Berger & Calabrese, 1975). Such processes take place throughout an individual's interaction with the organization—from the time they submit an employment application to their eventual exit from the organization. Thus, in the stage model approach to understanding socialization, researchers have attempted to describe the various causes of uncertainty at different points in time during the transition from organizational outsider to organizational insider. That is, each stage of socialization can be characterized by different challenges to the individual and to the organization. In the following sections, we will describe each stage, the associated challenges, and any relevant research within a volunteer population. From this and research on employee socialization, we will distill and conclude each section with research-based implications.

ANTICIPATION

Kris recently finished her doctoral program and started her first job as a clinical psychologist. Now that the challenge of her dissertation is behind her, she feels as though she has more spare time in her life to pursue other interests. Specifically, she wants to volunteer somewhere, though she is not yet sure where. While in high school, Kris enjoyed volunteering at a number of different nonprofit organizations. The majority of her friends volunteer, and,

in fact, many of them have made additional friendship connections through their volunteer experiences. In addition, her local television station has a "Volunteer of the Week" segment, and she admires the work that volunteers in her community are doing. Kris can easily envision herself volunteering, and thinks that doing so will add a meaningful dimension to her life.

Prior to entering an organization, newcomers begin to develop expectations of their potential new role in a new organization (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007). Specifically, the anticipation stage is characterized by two main forms of anticipation: role anticipation and organizational anticipation (Jablin, 2001; Kramer, 2010). In Jablin's (2001) original division of anticipatory socialization, he used the terms "vocational anticipatory socialization" and "organizational anticipatory socialization." According to Kramer (2010), "the term vocational anticipatory socialization has an implicit bias toward paid employment and suggests that the process ends when individuals enter their first career jobs." Thus, as Kramer (2010) suggests, we use the term "role anticipatory socialization" in order to be inclusive of volunteer memberships. Role anticipation and organizational anticipation can be differentiated based on the question that they each answer. In the context of volunteers, role anticipation helps us to answer the question: *In general*, why do you volunteer? Organizational anticipation helps us to answer the question: Why do you volunteer *at that specific organization*? The former question—regarding role anticipation—has been the primary question in much volunteer research. In Chapter 4 of this volume, Henning and Jones provided a review of the research examining the antecedents of volunteering. For our discussion of role anticipation, we will focus on volunteer motivations. The most common theoretical framework for understanding volunteer motivations draws upon functional analysis. Functional analysis, with its roots in the attitudes and persuasion literature (Clary & Snyder, 1991), seeks to identify the underlying reasons of behavior. According to Clary and Snyder (1991):

> A functional analysis of volunteerism is concerned with the needs being met, the motives being fulfilled, and social and psychological functions being served by the activities of those people who engage in volunteer work.
>
> (p. 123)

In their functional analysis of volunteerism, Clary, Snyder, and Stukas (1996) describe six functions—value, understanding, social, career, protective, and enhancement—as the core motives for volunteering (Table 8.1).

TABLE 8.1
Functional analysis of motives to volunteer

Function	Description
Value	Need to externalize internal values; sense of altruism
Understanding	Need to learn and to improve one's knowledge
Social	Need for belonging to one's social group or formation of a new social group
Career	Desire to acquire career-related skills and/or resources
Protective	Need to protect oneself from personal feelings of inadequacy
Enhancement	Desire to develop oneself and increase self-esteem

In their review of the literature, Clary and Snyder (1991) concluded that the value function is the most prevalent and consistently identified motive across studies, with the social function as the second most consistently relevant motive. The remaining motives do not present as consistent a picture across studies; however, the protective function (sometimes called ego-defensive function) is by far the *least* prevalent among volunteer populations (Clary & Snyder, 1991). Why do these functions matter? In their study of AIDS volunteers, Omoto and Snyder (1993) found that the roughly 60% of volunteers sought out the volunteer opportunity, and the remaining 40% responded to either a recruitment ad or solicitation from someone they knew. Omoto and Snyder (1993) offer the following perspective of these findings:

> The fact that the majority of volunteers approached AIDS service organizations on their initiative suggests that personal sources of motivation are critical in prompting people to seek out particular forms of volunteer work. The ability to identify the primary motivations for AIDS volunteer work and the people most likely to possess each motivation could have profound implications for recruitment efforts.
>
> (p. 167)

In addition, understanding volunteer motivations is useful for matching newcomers to volunteer roles within the organization (Omoto & Snyder, 1993). For example, individuals highly motivated by a desire to fulfill a social function are better suited to an interactive volunteer role, such as directly interfacing with clients or working with a team of volunteers and

staff, rather than a non-interactive role such as more basic administrative work. Finally, the reason a volunteer chooses to volunteer in the first place may be related to sustained volunteerism. Omoto and Snyder (1993) followed up with participants in their study one year after the initial survey and examined how initial motivations were related to length of service. Interestingly, they found that volunteers initially motivated by personal development, understanding, and enhancement had longer, more active service in the volunteer organization.

Whereas role anticipation is concerned with the early motivational aspect of volunteering, organizational anticipation occurs after an individual makes the decision to volunteer and is looking for the "right" organization in which to carry out this role. Potential volunteers may be drawn to an organization because of its target population (e.g., animals, youth), and/or its public image (Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008). These characteristics, along with the high level of ambiguity, suggest that the recruitment practices of organizations are highly influential during individuals' organizational anticipation. In general, studies of volunteer recruitment are prescriptive in nature, with two recent exceptions. The first is a study comparing the recruiting practices of agencies that utilize *direct service volunteers* versus *indirect support volunteers* (Hartenian, 2007). Volunteers performing a direct service role work side-by-side with paid staff. For example, a volunteer that works at the main desk of a Humane Society and interacts with individuals interested in adopting pets may be considered to occupy a direct service role. In contrast, volunteers performing indirect support do not interface as closely with clients. An example of a volunteer in an indirect support role would be a Red Cross volunteer who stuffs envelopes with information for prospective donors (Hartenian, 2007). Hartenian's (2007) study of 30 volunteer agencies (types of agencies included health-related, child and youth services, senior services, domestic abuse, homeless shelters, and others) found that agencies used a greater number of recruitment methods (i.e., word of mouth, flyers, job fairs, speakers) when seeking indirect support volunteers than direct service volunteers. In addition, there was no relationship between the number of steps in the application process and the type of volunteer role (direct service versus indirect support). These finding were in the opposite direction of the hypothesized relationship, and seem rather counter-intuitive. After all, if direct service volunteers are performing job tasks similar to paid staff, it would make more sense to use a variety of recruitment methods, and a more involved application process, similar to what would be used for paid staff.

The second exception explored how the framing of recruitment messages influenced potential volunteers' attraction to a volunteer organization, as well as their willingness to volunteer. Specifically, in their Study 1, Boezeman and Ellemers (2008) manipulated recruitment leaflet content along two dimensions: organizational success and organizational support. Consistent with their hypothesis, recruitment messages that communicated organizational support were related to participants' feelings of anticipated respect as a volunteer, which, in turn, related to greater attraction to the volunteer organization. Thus, Boezeman and Ellemers (2008) further explored the impact of organizational support to determine whether the source of emotional support (organization versus co-volunteers) would have a differential impact (Study 2). Both organizational emotional support and co-volunteer emotional support led to feelings of respect; however, only the path from organizational emotional support to feelings of respect predicted greater attraction to the volunteer organization.

In Study 3, Boezeman and Ellemers (2008) were interested in how type of support—task-focused versus emotion-focused—influenced anticipated respect, anticipated pride, attraction to the volunteer organization, and willingness to participate in the volunteer organization. Both task- and emotion-focused support were positively related to anticipated respect, which predicted attraction to the volunteer organization. In turn, attraction to the volunteer organization was positively related to a willingness to participate in the volunteer organization. In a practical sense, volunteer organizations can enhance the effectiveness of their recruitment efforts by including messages that communicate the organizational support that volunteers will experience—both the task-focused and emotion-focused support (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2008).

Research-Based Implications

Understanding volunteers' role anticipation—their motivations for volunteering—may be valuable for organizational recruitment efforts. By developing an understanding of these various motives, Wymer and Starnes (2001) suggest that volunteer managers can assess their existing volunteers to answer these five critical questions: (1) Who is attracted to this nonprofit? (2) What personal values does volunteering for this organization appeal to? (3) How enriched (i.e., meaningful and socially interactive) is the volunteer experience? (4) What skills are needed? (5) What is the profile of current volunteers? At this point, the volunteer manager can turn his or her attention to crafting an effective volunteer recruiting message.

Effective recruiting messages focus on the importance of the nonprofit's cause, the importance of volunteers for achieving that cause, and the nonprofit's real and demonstrated impact with regards to the cause (Wymer & Starnes, 2001). In addition, volunteer recruiting messages can be enhanced by including information about secondary benefits of volunteering at the nonprofit (e.g., socializing opportunities or professional development opportunities). As described earlier, Boezeman and Ellemers (2008) demonstrated how messages conveying organizational support were related to attraction to a volunteer organization, as well as willingness to participate in that organization.

In terms of organizational anticipation, research on recruitment of *paid* employees offers a number of helpful insights to practitioners. We suggest four main areas as particularly relevant to organizations relying on volunteer labor: employee referrals, targeting recruiting, online recruiting, and time issues with recruiting. With regards to recruitment methods, one of the consistent findings in the recruitment literature is the benefit of employee referrals (Zottoli & Wanous, 2000). For example, employee referrals have been shown to result in a greater number of applicants, a higher proportion of hires, and thus a better yield ratio than recruitment through local or national newspaper advertisements (Rafaeli, Hadomi, & Simons, 2005). In addition, applicants generated from employee referrals scored higher on an index of future success on the job compared to non-referral applicants (Kirnan, Farley, & Geisinger, 1989). Finally, new hires that resulted from employee referrals outperformed non-referral hires within their first two months on the job, after which time performance differences became negligible (Castilla, 2005). For an organization relying upon volunteer labor, encouraging and incentivizing volunteer referrals may be especially helpful for attracting and retaining volunteers. Because individuals are motivated to seek volunteer opportunities out of a desire for social interaction, the personal, familiar voice of a known recruiter may resonate more strongly than an impersonal, unfamiliar formalized recruitment process.

In his recent review, Breaugh (2008) identified several promising areas of recruitment research among paid workers, three of which we highlight as particularly relevant to organizations utilizing volunteers: targeting individuals for recruitment, internet recruiting, and timing issues in recruitment. Although not as widely studied as employee referrals, these areas may be particularly beneficial to volunteer organizations. The topic of targeting individuals may be highly relevant for volunteer organizations

seeking to attract volunteers with certain skill sets. For example, an organization may be in need of a volunteer with web design skills to help them improve their website. Attracting someone with these unique, professional skills may require more targeted recruiting, such as placing advertisements in local college and university information technology program newsletters. Existing I-O research on targeting individuals for recruitment has been supportive of the benefits of such a practice (e.g., Rafaeli et al., 2005; Zottoli & Wanous, 2000).

The ubiquity of the Internet has spurred research on the use of websites for recruiting. One such study found that applicant reactions were more positive when the site was more aesthetically pleasing, contained job-relevant content, and was user-friendly (Cober, Brown, & Levy, 2004). Researchers have also begun to examine the impact of providing information regarding potential employee fit, and have found that applicant response to such information was greater attraction to the organization (Dineen, Ash, & Noe, 2002), more time spent viewing the information (Dineen, Ling, Ash, & DelVecchio, 2007), and actually remembering more of the information presented (Dineen et al., 2007). The challenge for organizations relying upon volunteer labor is allocating as much time and resources to developing their volunteer recruiting website as they do for their employee recruiting website.

The topic of timing and recruitment among paid workers has been examined from two perspectives. The first perspective has evaluated how the timing of recruitment impacts the quantity and quality of applicants. Studies examining timing of recruitment of college students—early in the academic year versus late in the academic year—have found that earlier recruitment resulted in a greater number of applicants, with better qualifications (e.g., Turban & Cable, 2003). Once again, this may be a critical element for volunteer organizations recruiting for volunteers with professional skills versus more general skills. The second perspective has evaluated how timeliness during recruitment (i.e., response time to applications and applicant queries) influences applicant reactions. Not surprisingly, timeliness matters—slow response times have been shown to result in applicants withdrawing from the pool (e.g., Rynes, Bretz, & Gerhart, 1991), as well as negative views of the hiring organization (e.g., Chapman, Uggerslev, Carroll, Piasentin, & Jones, 2005). Because selection is more volunteer-driven than organization-driven (i.e., volunteers have more control over the selection decision), timeliness of volunteer recruiting may be essential for attracting and retaining the best volunteer candidates.

To the best of our knowledge, there has yet to be research utilizing volunteer samples to examine the recruitment areas discussed here (i.e., employee referrals, targeting recruiting, online recruiting, and time issues with recruiting). The findings and implications from the studies presented with paid workers may be important for understanding volunteer labor and provide interesting avenues for future research specifically focused on this population.

ENCOUNTER

After great deliberation and conversations with friends, Kris decides to volunteer at her local animal shelter. Eight years ago, Kris adopted her first cat, Atticus. At that time, she was beginning her graduate studies and she appreciated the love and companionship that Atticus provided. Ever since, she has become a staunch advocate of animal rights, and especially of animal rescue and adoption. For these reasons, the animal shelter was the perfect place for her to volunteer. Kris is excited about her choice, and is eager for her first day at the shelter. She hopes that this experience will be as transformative as she expects it to be . . .

After the mutual selection process has taken place, the new volunteer enters what is referred to as the encounter stage of socialization. This stage is characterized by the challenge of resolving pre-entry expectations with post-entry reality. Specifically, newcomers often experience what is known as entry shock, or "reality shock" (Hughes, 1958). Louis (1980) provides the following poetic description of entry shock:

> Time and space become problematic at the moment of entry. At that particular time, all surroundings, that is, the organizationally-based physical and social world, are changed. There is no gradual exposure and no real way to confront the situation a little at a time. Rather, the newcomer's senses are simultaneously inundated with many unfamiliar cues. It may not be clear to the newcomer just what constitutes a cue, let alone what the cues refer to, which cues require response, or how to interpret and select responses to them.
>
> (p. 230)

One source of this shock is the concept of unmet expectations.

Unmet expectations

In their early conceptualization, Porter and Steers (1973) defined the concept of unmet expectations as "the discrepancy between what a person encounters on this job in the way of positive and negative experiences and what he expected to encounter" (p. 152). Research has demonstrated a proximal relationship between unmet expectations and decreased job satisfaction and organizational commitment, as well as a distal—and hence weaker—relationship with intentions to quit and turnover (Wanous, Poland, Premack, & Davis, 1992).

In an ethnographic study of a volunteer organization in Israel aimed at helping underprivileged youth that are at risk or are distressed, Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008) describe this early encounter period for volunteers as emotionally frustrating. Specifically, volunteers who joined the organization in order to make a difference for a cause that matters to them find themselves not yet equipped to have an immediate impact. Lack of training and resources may leave volunteers feeling help*less* rather than help*ful*.

In addition, unmet expectations can lead to the perception of a violation of the psychological contract. According to Rousseau's (1989) conceptualization, psychological contract refers to an implied understanding of what the individual is obligated to provide to the organization (e.g., organizational citizenship behaviors), and, in turn, what the organization is obligated to provide to the individual (e.g., career development). In a study of volunteers, Stirling, Kilpatrick, and Orpin (2011) examined how nonprofit organizations' human resources practices influenced perceptions of the psychological contract. Specifically, they were interested in volunteers' differential perceptions of transactional human resource management practices (e.g., formal recruitment ads, written records of volunteers) and relational human resource practices (e.g., volunteer recognition programs, volunteer newsletter). Interview data supported a preference for relational human resource practices, and resulted in the identification of three primary issues:

1. Volunteers expected to be involved in "doing" rather than in formalized, bureaucratic procedures.
2. Volunteers expected to be publicly recognized for their contributions.
3. Volunteers expected the organization to provide enjoyable volunteering experiences in a supportive environment.

Stirling et al. (2011) suggest that these expectations form the foundation of the psychological contact from the volunteer's perspective.

Research-Based Implications

As mentioned above, unmet expectations provide one explanation for the entry shock experienced by newcomers. A second and complementary explanation is unrealistic expectations, which, while understudied utilizing volunteer samples, has a long and rich history in paid worker populations with the advent of realistic job previews.

Research on realistic job previews (RJPs) may be a particularly fruitful area for volunteer organizations. The logic behind RJPs is that individuals often hold inaccurate or inflated expectations of a potential job, which may result in dissatisfaction and turnover after job entry (e.g., Breaugh & Starke, 2000). Therefore, providing applicants with accurate and candid (both positive and negative) information about the job prior to and during recruitment should allow for applicants to self-select out of an undesirable job. The utility of RJPs is dependent upon: (1) an applicant having unrealistic expectations prior to entry; and (2) an applicant having the ability (i.e., financial security, job alternatives) to opt out of the potential employment (Breaugh, 1983, 2008).

In the case of volunteers, both conditions are relevant. As we mentioned previously, volunteer activities are many and varied—some may be more visible to potential volunteers than others. For example, the activities that take place while volunteering at a local soup kitchen are similar to the activities we each engage in preparing and serving a meal to our own families. In contrast, the activities that occur on a building site for Habitat for Humanity are less familiar—few people have built their own house (and kudos to those that have)! The second condition is perhaps even more important in a volunteer population because—unless required by a court order—volunteer work is, well, voluntary! Thus, all potential volunteers have the ability to opt out, which, from the organization's perspective, would be preferable to turnover after the investment of time and resources into their recruitment and training. Given the challenges that RJP researchers have faced in meeting the two conditions (for a review of the methodological shortcomings of existing RJP research, see Breaugh, 2008), examining RJPs in a volunteer population provides a unique valuable research avenue.

ADJUSTMENT

Sarah, the Volunteer Manager who oversees Kris, is impressed with Kris's work at the animal shelter, and considers her one of the top performers in the volunteer program. Kris is a hard-worker, and her experience with her own cats significantly reduced the time needed in training for the different volunteer tasks. However, Sarah has observed that Kris always works independently and does not interact with other volunteers or staff. This concerns Sarah because of recent complaints by volunteers that have indicated that new volunteers are ostracized from the older, more established volunteers. The established volunteers appear to have an informal probation period for the new volunteers. Sarah plans to meet with Kris to ensure that she feels connected to others at the shelter.

According to Ashforth et al. (2007), "adjustment involves individuals resolving the demands of their new reality, such as becoming integrated into interpersonal networks and changing one's self image, as well as insider and organizational activities designed to foster newcomer adaptation" (p. 9). According to Fisher (1986), newcomers are motivated to learn information regarding both task and social information. More specifically, Feldman (1981) categorized newcomer adjustment as consisting of gaining knowledge of how to perform work tasks (resolution of role demands), building confidence in the ability to perform tasks well (task mastery), and the integration into the new social environment (adjustment to one's group).

Studies of volunteers experiencing adjustment have examined satisfaction and integration into the organization. As described below, these studies have tended to focus on whether satisfaction and integration are related to volunteer activity over time, as well as duration of service and intention to remain. There has been a lack of focus of *what* actions by volunteers and volunteer organizations influence feelings of satisfaction and integration.

In their study of 116 AIDS volunteers, Omoto and Snyder (1995) administered a survey measure examining satisfaction and organizational integration as predictors of volunteer duration of service. In their study, organizational integration was operationalized as: the perception of the importance to attend organization meetings; the number of friendship relationships within the organization; acceptance of the philosophy, goals, and mission of their volunteer organization; the willingness to recruit other volunteers; and desire for additional volunteer responsibilities within

the organization. Their results indicated that greater volunteer satisfaction was related to longer duration of service; however, greater organizational integration was not significantly related to duration of service. Interestingly, Omoto and Snyder (1995) depict a possible pathway from organizational integration to satisfaction in their larger model of the volunteer process, which seems to suggest that satisfaction mediates the relationship between organizational integration and duration of volunteer service. Unfortunately, they do not explicitly describe or analyze this particular pathway.

Penner and Finkelstein (1998) also examined the relationship between volunteer satisfaction and organizational integration—measured as the volunteers' perception of acceptance by the organization, desire for additional involvement within the organization, and importance of attending organizational activities—and duration of volunteer service. Once again, volunteer satisfaction, but not integration, was related to duration of volunteer service. In addition to using duration of service as the outcome of interest, Penner and Finkelstein (1998) were interested in volunteers' involvement in volunteering activities (i.e., time spent volunteering, meetings attended, and contact with organizational clients) at three points in time (Wave 1 = initial survey (n = 146); Wave 2 = 4–5 months after Wave 1 (n = 108); Wave 3 = 4–5 months after Wave 2 (n = 65)). When volunteer involvement was the outcome variable (rather than length of service), organizational integration—specifically, perception of the importance of attending organizational activities and organizational acceptance—was a significant predictor at both Wave 2 and Wave 3 time frames. Satisfaction, in comparison, was a significant predictor of volunteer involvement at Wave 1, but not at Waves 2 or 3.

Utilizing yet another operationalization, Hidalgo and Moreno (2009) examined the relationship between organizational integration and volunteers' intention to remain in their organization. Specifically, organizational integration consisted of measures of volunteer social networks within the organization, training received, understanding of their volunteer role, social support within the organization, and characteristics of the volunteer job. Their results indicated that organizational integration has a significant and positive relationship with volunteers' intention to remain.

As mentioned above, the volunteer research described here focused on the predictive utility of volunteer satisfaction and organizational integration for outcomes of interest. Although such research is helpful for understanding what may lead to volunteer (in)activity, duration of service, and intentions to remain, it does not shed much light on the actual experiences of adjustment that shape both satisfaction and organizational integration.

Research-Based Implications

The majority of research examining adjustment in paid workers has explored the stage of adjustment from the perspective of the actions of the organization (i.e., organizational socialization tactics) and those of the newcomer (i.e., newcomer proactivity). Both approaches are likely to be relevant within a volunteer population as well, and we will cover each in turn below.

Socialization Tactics

The most influential typology of socialization tactics was introduced by Van Maanen and Schein over three decades ago. Specifically, Van Maanen and Schein (1979) identified six bipolar dimensions that describe different organizational approaches to socialization. These six dimensions and their definitions are presented in Table 8.2. More recently, Jones (1986) simplified the six dimensions into two aggregated dimensions: institutionalized tactics and individualized tactics. Institutionalized tactics are characterized by newcomers learning: (a) in groups (collective); (b) through formal training (formal); (c) with stages and timetables for role acquisition made explicit (sequential and fixed); (d) from experienced organizational members (serial); and (e) with the organization affirming their unique skills and abilities (investiture). Individualized tactics consist of the other end of each of Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) dimensions (i.e., individual, informal, random, variable, disjunctive, and divestiture).

In essence, organizational socialization tactics "shape the type of information newcomers receive, the source of this information, and the ease of getting information" (Bauer et al., 2007, p. 709). In their meta-analysis of 70 socialization research studies, Bauer et al. (2007) found that institutionalized socialization tactics were significantly positively correlated with proximal outcomes of socialization (i.e., role clarity, self-efficacy, and social acceptance). Specific investigation of the dimensions comprising institutionalized tactics revealed that all six dimensions were significantly related to role clarity, all but the formal dimension were related to self-efficacy, and only the fixed, serial, and investiture facets were significantly related to social acceptance (Bauer et al., 2007).

Although this typology of organizational socialization tactics has been explored primarily among paid employees (Bauer, Morrison, & Callister, 1998), it stands to reason that volunteers that experience institutionalized socialization would demonstrate better adjustment outcomes than those

TABLE 8.2
Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) typology of organizational socialization tactics

Tactic Dimension	Definition (adapted from Saks, Uggersev, & Fassina, 2007)
Collective versus individual	Progressing through socialization as a group with common experiences versus learning on one's own through unique experiences.
Formal versus informal	Separating newcomers from existing organizational members during socialization versus not separating newcomers from existing organizational members.
Sequential versus random	Clear, well-defined, and established steps for obtaining initial and future roles in the organization versus unclear, undefined, and fluctuating steps for obtaining roles in the organization.
Fixed versus variable	The timetable (i.e., duration) for the steps required for obtaining an organizational role are set and communicated to newcomers versus the timetable is either unknown or not communicated to newcomers.
Serial versus disjunctive	Newcomers receive guidance and instruction from an experienced member of the organization (e.g., mentor) versus a newcomer does not have an experienced member to learn from.
Investiture versus divestiture	The newcomers are accepted, valued, and supported for their unique, individual characteristics versus newcomers are stripped of their unique, individual characteristics.

experiencing individualized socialization. Unfortunately, organizations that utilize volunteer labor may not have the resources (e.g., financial or staffing) to implement such tactics. According to Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008), volunteers often enter organizations without any training or mentor and must learn the ropes through trial and error.

Newcomer Proactivity

In general, newcomer proactivity refers to individuals' attempts to learn about their work environment, and their role within it (Crant, 2000). In a sense, newcomer proactivity represents the role of the individual in the socialization process. Newcomer proactivity has been operationalized as typical social interaction forms (e.g., covert versus overt; Miller &

Jablin, 1991), behavioral and cognitive tactics (e.g., information-seeking; Ashford & Black, 1996), and self-regulation techniques (e.g., self-goal setting; Saks & Ashforth, 1996). Previous research has demonstrated a relationship between newcomer proactivity and socialization outcomes, including task mastery (Morrison, 1993a), social integration (Morrison, 1993a), role clarity (Holder, 1996; Morrison, 1993a), organizational commitment (Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1992), and intentions to quit (Morrison, 1993b; Ostroff & Kozlowski, 1992).

In many organizations, volunteers may not have regular access to their volunteer supervisor—a person who may also be a volunteer. Therefore, an important question for organizations with volunteers is: From whom are volunteers seeking information? Volunteers often work irregular schedules, which may or may not overlap with their volunteer supervisor (who may be a volunteer themself)! Thus, volunteers are potentially interacting with a variety of paid employees and other volunteers. As a result, they may receive contradictory or even inaccurate information regarding their tasks and their role within the organization. This is problematic for the organization because it can impede the productivity of their volunteers. It is also problematic for the individual volunteers. That is, rather than their information-seeking behavior leading to greater clarity, it may result in more confusion and frustration. A more nuanced understanding of volunteer information-seeking may help to illuminate the complexity of proactive behavior in volunteer organizations.

STABILIZATION

After volunteering for a while, Kris feels as though she understands her role as a volunteer, has learned the tasks she is responsible for, and knows the social climate that she is a part of. Kris experienced a sense of accomplishment the other day when a new volunteer came to her to ask questions and she was able to provide the answers. She takes pride in being one of the "seasoned" volunteers at the shelter.

After new organizational members have adjusted and no longer think of themselves as "outsiders," new challenges emerge for organizations looking to retain volunteers. Interestingly, the early motivations we discussed in anticipatory socialization may re-emerge during the stabilization stage of volunteering. Specifically, volunteer motivations are subject to change—the initial reason a volunteer joined an organization

may be replaced or supplemented by other motivations. Omoto and Snyder (1993) found that volunteers originally motivated by enhancement (i.e., feeling better about oneself) reported positive changes in their self-esteem and self-confidence. Likewise, volunteers originally motivated by understanding reported increased knowledge about the AIDS community that they served. The question then becomes whether or not these volunteers began identifying different motivational reasons for sustaining their volunteer activity. Thus, by monitoring volunteer motivations over time, organizations may be more aware of the changing needs of their volunteers, and, therefore, able to adjust volunteer involvement to better meet those needs and continue to engage their volunteer workforce.

Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008) described the volunteer experience during stabilization, or "the established volunteering phase" (p. 89) in their ethnographic study of Israeli volunteers. Specifically, they depict the established volunteer as one who is both knowledgeable and skilled at their volunteer tasks. They have overcome the uncertainty of encounter and adjustment, and know what to expect from their volunteer organization (i.e., norms, rules, procedures, culture) and experience (e.g., realistic limitations of their ability to help and have an impact). The downside, depending of course on the nature of the volunteer activity, is volunteer fatigue and burnout at this stage. Such fatigue and burnout can be mitigated through a process of self-renewal, which can take the form of self-reflection, a new role within the volunteer organization, and/or time away from volunteering (Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008).

Research-Based Implications

The existing research on volunteers during the stabilization stage of socialization suggests that volunteer managers must be sensitive to the original motivations for volunteering as well as indications of fatigue and burnout. The ability to design and implement a dynamic, motivation-matching volunteer experience seems to be the key to sustaining volunteers as they become more experienced. As Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008) observed, self-renewal through role change is important for continued volunteer service:

> Most of the new roles are delegated by the supervisors: mentoring others, supervising, training, administration, representing the organization to outsiders, and so on. Other roles are created to suit the interest and abilities

> of the volunteer . . . the renewal transition can return volunteers to the emotional involvement stage, or at least help them remain longer in the organization as established volunteers.
>
> (pp. 92–93)

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Thus far, we have highlighted the challenges that volunteers face throughout the socialization process, and the practical implications of such research for informing organizational practices (specific to volunteer organizations). Although additional research utilizing volunteer samples is surely needed to ensure the generalizability of the socialization concepts that have been established in paid working samples, the greater opportunity, we feel, lies in exploring aspects that differentiate volunteers from paid workers and specifically those aspects that relate to volunteer socialization. It is to those aspects that we now turn in our discussion of future research directions.

Control

Organizations often have less control over who they select as volunteers than they do over selecting paid employees, and their decision is often complicated by need (e.g., understaffed animal shelter) and/or urgency (e.g., disaster relief effort; Kramer, 2010). The shift of control to the volunteer does not end at selection; instead, this shift in power is present throughout a volunteer's tenure with an organization. For example, volunteers can also be donors. As a result, a volunteer manager may be limited in his or her ability to actively manage and potentially sanction inappropriate volunteer behavior, which may result in the retention of "toxic" volunteers. Wilson and Pimm (1996) have gone so far as to describe this shift in control as "the tyranny of the volunteer." How does the shift in control impact the selection and management practices of an organization relying on volunteer labor? How does the greater control of volunteers impact volunteer-paid staff relationships (e.g., status)? What is the impact of "toxic" volunteers on the socialization process of new volunteers, relationships with existing volunteers and staff, and the overall health of the nonprofit organization?

Form of Supervision

Volunteers' supervisors may be volunteers themselves, which limits their influence within the organization and also their ability to provide rewards. One area of future research would be to examine the role of leadership in volunteer organizations where supervisors are also volunteers (Kramer, 2010). Supervisors are a primary source of information for newcomers. How does supervision by a volunteer shape the type and availability of information for newcomers? How does the variable presence of a volunteer supervisor impact new volunteer adjustment? Volunteers may also be supervised by paid, part-time, or full-time employees. Here, the supervisor themself encounters the challenge of belonging to both the *paid* and *unpaid* worlds of work within one organization. How does this dual identity affect *paid* volunteer supervisors?

Formalization of Volunteer Management

Volunteering has a long history in America, with Benjamin Franklin organizing the first volunteer firefighting company in 1736 (Points of Light Foundation, 2005). In the post-World War II era, there was a proliferation in the formalization of volunteer activities. In 2003, the first national survey of volunteer management practices was conducted by the Urban Institute (Hager & Brudney, 2004). Hager and Brudney (2004) posit that the rapid growth of volunteer management practice adoption indicates that "the professionalization of volunteer management is clearly underway" (p. 3). The recent formalization and professionalization of volunteering suggests two potential directions for future research: first, how does ceremonial (i.e., adoption in name only) versus substantive adoption (i.e., adoption and active utilization) of volunteer management best practices impact volunteer socialization and its outcomes; and second, how does the formalization of the volunteer process change the volunteer *experience*?

Volunteer-Paid Staff Dynamics

In addition to the four critical issues presented in Chapter 9 of this volume, nonprofit organizations must manage a unique work environment composed of paid and unpaid workers. Recent research by Rogelberg et al. (2010) has highlighted the need for a greater understanding of volunteer-paid staff dynamics. Specifically, in a survey study of 270 paid

workers at animal shelters also utilizing volunteer labor, Rogelberg et al. (2010) found that perceptions of volunteers were quite variable. Although paid employees provided positive descriptions of volunteers (e.g., hard-working, helpful, friendly, kind), a substantial percentage of paid workers (40–50%) also reported that volunteers lacked task knowledge and training, were not open-minded, and were not independent. Such negative experiences were related to paid workers' report of higher stress, feelings of being overworked, reduced commitment, and intentions to quit. The interactions and reciprocal influences of volunteers and paid workers clearly demonstrate organizationally relevant outcomes and provide a rich area for future research. Below, we describe three research directions related to volunteer-paid staff dynamics and socialization:

1. According to Ashforth et al. (2007), organizational climate is an understudied, yet important contextual element for understanding socialization. In organizations relying upon volunteer labor, do volunteers and paid workers perceive climate differently? How do these differences —or synergies—impact volunteer socialization?
2. As described earlier, integration into the task requirements and social environment is an important aspect of newcomer adjustment. Are paid workers resistant to efforts to integrate volunteers? Do paid workers view volunteers as threatening (i.e., job security concerns), especially when volunteers occupy direct service roles? Are there negative feelings and perceptions by paid workers regarding the attention given to volunteers and the efforts to socialize them into the organizational fold?
3. How can volunteer and paid worker socialization processes and practices be married together successfully? Or, do the different needs of the two groups require separate socialization programs? How should *employee* socialization processes be altered and adapted to the reality that employees will be working with a volunteer workforce, especially a diverse and transient workforce?

Volunteer Diversity

As described above, individuals choose to volunteer for different reasons. In addition to these motivational differences, the characteristics of the individuals that volunteer are also diverse. For example, some individuals do not *choose* to volunteer at all; rather, they volunteer at organizations to satisfy their court-ordered community service requirement. Members of the same volunteer program are likely to be diverse in terms of age

(e.g., from teens to 70+); education (e.g., high school to doctoral degree); employment status (e.g., unemployed, employed, retired); current or previous job level (e.g., entry level to C-level executive); etc. Along with such diversity of individual characteristics, volunteers within and between organizations differ in terms of their volunteer roles. For example, a performing arts organization has both volunteers that serve on their board of directors, as well as volunteers that sell tickets at the box office. This degree of diversity suggests at least two potentially rich avenues for future research:

1. How does the diverse composition of volunteer groups affect the socialization of the new volunteer? Are certain socialization practices more effective for certain sectors of volunteers? How does the new volunteer navigate the inherent diversity of his or her nonprofit organization?
2. Related to the above, the diversity of the volunteer groups raises a host of intriguing challenges for the volunteer managers in terms of managing expectations and implementing practices to promote volunteer success. Take, for instance, volunteers who are retired private-sector executives. These individuals may expect that leading talent management practices be in place to facilitate volunteer success. In other words, these individuals may have in their minds how a volunteer program *should* be run, which may differ from both how the program is actually run and how their fellow volunteers expect the program should be run. How do pre-entry expectations of volunteers differ based on individual characteristics (e.g., employment status)? How does the volunteer manager successfully meet such diverse expectations, especially given the organizational constraints of a nonprofit?

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Volunteers contribute substantially to a wide variety of organizations—organizations that simply could not function without the work of volunteers. As such, volunteers are an essential part of organizational life, and researchers and practitioners stand to benefit from an increased understanding of this population of interest. A fundamental part of understanding volunteers is the exploration of their socialization

experience. The literature related to volunteer socialization provides insight to the challenges faced by volunteers and volunteer organizations at different points in the volunteer experience. The employee socialization literature is informative and provides a useful framework and foundation for understanding volunteers; however, additional research is needed to determine the generalizability, as well as the limits, of current socialization theory for our understanding of volunteers. In our final section, we provide future research ideas to spur exploration of ways in which volunteers are different from paid workers, and how such differences shape their socialization experience in meaningful ways. Ultimately, such research will not only advance our science of socialization, but also provide more nuanced advice for practitioners.

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9

Salient Challenges of Staffing and Managing Employees in the Nonprofit Sector

James M. Schmidtke and Anne Cummings

The nonprofit sector continues to grow at a pace greater than the national economy even during challenging economic times. At the same time, nonprofit organizations have seen a decrease in individual giving as well as foundation giving, while demand for services has steadily increased. Consequently, nonprofit organizations are required to do more with fewer resources. This resource shortfall suggests that nonprofit organizations must more effectively manage their resources. One critical resource for all organizations (both for-profit and nonprofit) is their workforce. Thus, one way for nonprofit organizations to improve their performance, especially in challenging economic times, is to more effectively manage employees. Three challenges in staffing, development and management of employees that we believe are particularly salient in the nonprofit sector are discussed in the current chapter. They are: negotiating the dual bottom line, managing multiple identities, and managing change in a turbulent environment.

Rather than focus on comparing for-profit and nonprofit organizations, we focus instead on how we think these three critical challenges affect the nonprofit sector (both private and public). We will then discuss the implications of each of these three issues on traditional organizational behavior issues such as employee performance, organizational commitment, turnover, and organizational citizenship behavior. Our purpose is to identify key issues for managers as well as factors that need to be investigated in future nonprofit research. We begin first with the dual bottom line focus because this is probably the single biggest difference between for-profit and nonprofit organizations. We will then discuss the issues related to multiple identities and, finally, organizational change amid turbulence.

NEGOTIATING THE DUAL BOTTOM LINE

Unlike for-profit organizations that must maintain profitability in order to sustain themselves, and thus, primarily focus on bottom line considerations when evaluating decisions, nonprofit organizations focus on their mission while at the same time making decisions that are financially efficient. Certainly, this dual focus has been recognized in the nonprofit literature (Emerson & Twersky, 1996). This requires managers and employees to simultaneously balance different (and sometimes conflicting) objectives. There are at least three theoretical reasons why this dual focus exists: resource dependency theory, transactional cost theory, and network theory. Although these theoretical foundations were developed with for-profit organizations in mind, they can be applied to nonprofit organizations as well. In this section, we review each of these theories as they apply to nonprofit organizations and then discuss the managerial implications of these perspectives.

Resource dependency theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) posits that organizations are dependent on resources that exist in their external environment. Further, organizations manage these dependencies by creating policies, practices, and procedures that affect their ability to procure resources from individuals and organizations outside of their own boundaries. In for-profit organizations, these dependencies are managed by creating some type of mutual exchange with those organizations that provide critical resources to the organization. Thus, for-profit organizations create products/services desired by customers/clients in exchange for revenue or pay interest/dividends to those organizations or individuals that provide financial capital to the organization. Those organizations that provide resources receive some direct benefit. Some types of nonprofit organizations, specifically mutual benefit nonprofits (trade, industry, or professional organizations), operate under similar conditions because they provide services to their members based upon some fee they receive. Other types of nonprofits, philanthropic and advocacy organizations, operate under a different model. These organizations provide some product, service, or benefit to individuals who do not necessarily provide any resources to the organization in return. Resources are typically obtained from individuals or organizations (e.g., donors, foundations, government agencies) that are not recipients of direct benefits from the organization. For example, individuals may provide monetary donations to a nonprofit organization that provides meals to low-income families but are not the

same people who receive the meals. Thus, nonprofit organizations must maintain the dual focus of providing products or services that are relevant to the client base while attending to the factors that affect their ability to attract donors and receive grants or government support. In order to be effective and sustainable, nonprofit organizations need to manage this dual focus successfully.

Transaction cost theory (Williamson, 1975, 1985, 1991) suggests that exchanges between individuals have costs above and beyond the goods or services being traded. For example, if I am purchasing a new car, I spend time researching cars, identifying and visiting car dealers, driving to and from dealerships, etc. These costs of time, effort, and money are part of the process of purchasing a car and, therefore, are part of the cost of buying the car, although these expenditures are not directly reflected in the "price" of the car. In general, all types of organizations try to minimize these costs. For-profit organizations are focused on minimizing these costs by aligning the incentives between parties in the exchange. For example, by engaging in a long-term supply contract, the customer can reduce the costs of searching for other suppliers and the supplier can reduce the costs of obtaining new customers. In nonprofit organizations, the focus is on utility instead (Valentinov, 2008).

Nonprofit organizations must be able to provide maximum utility to donors who want to see their contributions used for client needs (maximizing service utility), while at the same time the organizations must minimize their transaction costs for obtaining donors and providing client services. For example, donors to a disaster relief fund want to ensure that their donations (or at least a high percentage of their donations) are going to people in need. Further, victims of the disaster want to receive the maximum amount of aid possible. Nonprofit organizations must concurrently use financial resources to obtain donors (through fundraising activities or solicitation) and coordinate the distribution of money and provisions to those in need.

Thus, in order to function effectively and secure necessary resources, nonprofit organizations must have a dual focus. They need to maximize donors' psychological response, such as feelings of altruism, and clients' needs. Unlike for-profit organizations, for which both parties in an exchange look to minimize transaction costs, in the nonprofit environment, only the organization looks to minimize their transaction costs. In philanthropic or advocacy organizations, neither donors nor clients are particularly concerned with the costs of entering into the relationship with the nonprofit organization.

Ouchi (1980) suggests that organizations form networks or clans to increase control over their environments by reducing uncertainty and transaction costs. In the nonprofit environment, organizations may form relationships with other nonprofit organizations that provide either similar or complementary services. First, small nonprofit organizations may lack the financial resources to secure needed resources (e.g., office space, equipment, etc.). Forming relationships with other nonprofit organizations with similar goals enables nonprofits to create economies of scale that increase their chances for survival or allow them to operate more efficiently. Second, for some types of nonprofit organizations, their clients may need many types of assistance that are beyond the capabilities of the focal organization. Therefore, nonprofit organizations may need to form relations with other organizations who can provide services to their clients. For example, patrons of a food pantry may also have needs for shelter or medical care. The food pantry may need to form relationships with homeless shelters or medical clinics to provide adequate services to their clients. In this case, the dual focus is centered less on organizational efficiency; instead, providing service or obtaining donors are the primary objectives. The dual focus objective for nonprofit organizations is not aimed at cost efficiency and profitability, but instead on meeting the needs of their clients. Nonprofits create and maintain relationships within a network of other nonprofits that are capable of providing goods and services to complement their own. Nonprofits' viability and effectiveness will be contingent, in part, on organizations' ability to manage this dual focus.

This dual focus provides both benefits to nonprofit organizations as well as challenges that must be managed. Nonprofit employees may have different perspectives and attitudes toward work, both positive and negative, than private-sector employees. For example, nonprofit employees are more likely to have a desire to make a difference in society (Baines, 2010; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Schepers et al., 2005; Wright, 2007) and report more satisfaction with their work (Lyons, Duxbury, & Higgins, 2006) than do private-sector employees. However, they are also less likely than private-sector employees to be satisfied with the extrinsic rewards they receive (Lyons et al., 2006) and less likely to be committed to the organization (Liou & Nyhan, 1994; Lyons et al., 2006; Zelfane, 1994). The issue of organizational commitment may be a bit more complicated. Research suggests that strong fit between employees' values and organizations' missions leads to stronger commitment, as evidenced by lower intentions to quit both in the short term and long term (Brown & Yoshioka, 2003;

Moynihan & Pandey, 2008). This suggests that the issue of fit between organizations' values/missions and those of their employees is paramount in the management of nonprofit employees.

An exclusive focus on mission by managers, however, would limit organizational success. As discussed earlier, resource dependency, transaction costs, and inter-organizational networks suggest that nonprofit organizations need to find ways to become more proficient in utilizing their resources so they can maximize donor and client utility. Indeed, Dart suggests that more nonprofit organizations are trying to adopt a for-profit model in an attempt to increase organizational effectiveness and efficiency (Dart, 2004). This presents a surprising benefit for managing nonprofit employees. Research on nonprofit orientation (Andreasen & Kotler, 2003; Gainer & Padanyi, 2002, 2005) has found that organizations that adopt a more market-based model have better reputations among peers (employees and other nonprofit organizations) and better organization performance, as evidenced by high client satisfaction. This suggests that nonprofit organizations cannot simply focus on fulfilling their mission; they also have to keep an eye on the "bottom line."

Besides the dual focus itself, two other issues intertwined with this concept need to be highlighted. Scarce financial resources limit nonprofit organizations' ability to provide financial rewards for exemplary performance. This creates challenges for nonprofit organizations in recruiting, selecting, motivating, and retaining human capital. Indeed, research in the public sector indicates that nonprofit employees are generally more dissatisfied with their pay than for-profit employees (Brown & Yoshioka, 2003; Schneider & Vaught, 1993; Townsend, 2000). In addition, nonprofit employees indicate dissatisfaction with pay as the primary reason for their intentions to leave an organization, as well as the primary reason they have left an organization (Brown & Yoshioka, 2003). Thus, nonprofit organizations need to manage this dual focus with the constraint of limited financial resources.

A second issue that constrains organizations' abilities to manage a dual focus is the emotional labor that is common in many nonprofit organizations. Philanthropic nonprofit organizations often serve in-need populations, which increases the emotional intensity of the interactions between employees and clients. Research in the nonprofit sector (Baines, 2010; Cano, Sams, & Schwarz, 2009; Gibbs, 2001; Jenaro, Flores, & Arias, 2007) suggests that the emotional nature of social service providers is a contributing factor in the job stress and burnout experienced by nonprofit employees. Nonprofit organizations must manage this dual focus with an

awareness that, in addition to balancing the demands of utility and efficiency, their employees are already engaged in what many consider emotionally exhausting work. This suggests that nonprofit management needs to consider their staff's psychological well-being as they manage this dual focus challenge.

Before discussing how the dual focus may affect nonprofit organizations, we need to briefly conceptually explore how this construct might be operationalized in nonprofit research. At least three dimensions of this dual focus need to be considered. First is the degree of awareness of the organizations' dual focus. Although organizational leaders may be decidedly aware of the dual focus, staff at lower organizational levels may not share this awareness. Although it is common for organizational members at different levels in an organization to have different perspectives, the balancing of various stakeholder interests may be more critical to nonprofit organizational success. For example, lower-level staff members may focus on providing services to clients with little regard to the cost or the perceptions of stakeholders who provide resources to the organization.

A second dimension is the actual nature of the focus. Many small nonprofit organizations operate on limited budgets; as a result, in challenging economic times, their focus may shift more to sustaining the organization than to providing services to clients (Mesch, 2010). Thus, these smaller nonprofit organizations may lose sight of detailed issues that affect their client base as they focus on big-picture issues that affect their survival. Although nonprofits ultimately will take actions to fulfill their broader missions (e.g., ending hunger, promoting literacy, etc.), some of the details (e.g., meeting the needs of a *particular* client) may be overlooked or neglected.

A third dimension of the dual focus awareness to consider is the issue of timing. Funding and donation cycles may affect staff members' priorities. For example, staff members may be more focused on securing additional resources when grant funding is about to expire or when new grant opportunities present themselves. Similarly, staff members may be more concerned with securing resources at times in the year when donors are more likely to give. For example, philanthropic nonprofit organizations often receive a significant portion of their donations during the holiday season (Anonymous, 2001), therefore staff members may be more focused on getting resources at this time because it may be the narrow window they have to keep the organization going throughout the year. Thus, nonprofit research that examines the effect of this dual focus needs to consider both degree and timing.

Given that this dual focus is somewhat unique to the nonprofit sector, it is likely this factor may affect staff members' commitment to the organization. Because many individuals seek employment with nonprofit organizations because they believe in the mission and values of the organization (Baines, 2010; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Schepers et al., 2005; Wright, 2007), variation in the strength and timing of this dual focus may have an impact on individuals' commitment to the organization. This alignment between personal values and nonprofit organizations' mission and values leads many scholars to predict higher organizational commitment for nonprofit staff; however, Goulet and Frank (2002) found in general there was no statistical difference in the level of organizational commitment between individuals who worked in for-profit organizations and those who worked in private nonprofits. One potential reason why no differences were found between these two organizational types is the possibility that nonprofit organizations' staffs they studied may have been surveyed at a point in time during which there was more focus on securing resources than on fulfilling the organization's mission. Their study included multiple employees from only 16 different organizations. Future research should examine the effect of the dual focus (degree and timing) on organizational commitment in the nonprofit sector.

Alternatively, a dual focus may not directly affect the level of organizational commitment for nonprofits; rather, it may moderate the traditional relations between organizational commitment and outcomes examined in the for-profit sector such as absenteeism, turnover, and performance. We will examine each of these relations and suggest areas that future research might investigate the moderating effect of the dual focus in nonprofit organizations.

Absenteeism

Previous research has demonstrated a significant negative relation between organizational commitment and absenteeism (Burton, Lee, & Holtom, 2002; Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007; Shore, Newton, & Thornton, 1990). That is, employees with higher organizational commitment are less likely to be absent. This relation may be more complicated in a nonprofit context. One reason why individuals choose to work for nonprofit organizations is their shared belief in the organizations' values and missions (Moynihan & Pandey, 2008). During times when organizations' isolated focus is on mission fulfillment, there should be a strong fit between employees' values and organizational values and activities. Thus, we would

expect a stronger relationship between organizational commitment and reduced absenteeism. We would also expect to observe a stronger relation between commitment and absenteeism when nonprofit staff lack awareness of the nonprofit organizations' dual focus. Staff who focus on mission fulfillment without an awareness of financial efficiency or reputation will experience a stronger alignment with organizational values and thus be less likely to withdraw. Although there may be other negative consequences to this lack of awareness (e.g., inefficient use of resources), it may reduce staff's desire to withdraw from the organization.

Conversely, when a nonprofit organization's focus shifts from mission to survival, efficiency, or resource acquisition, the link between organization commitment and absenteeism may be weakened. When nonprofit organizations direct staff to focus on efficiency or securing resources, (e.g., soliciting donations), they may become less satisfied with their jobs because their ability to interact with and provide service to their in-need clients is limited. In such times, the strength of the link between staff values and organizational values is weakened. Consequently, staff may look to withdraw from the organization. This may be particularly pronounced when the organization's focus is cyclical and there are certain "bad" times of the year (e.g., donation campaigns, grant-funding cycles). Staff may withdraw during these times, recognizing that things will go back to "normal" after the shifted-focus phase ends.

Turnover

Traditional organizational research has also found a significant negative relation between organizational commitment and turnover (for meta-analyses, see Cohen, 1993; Podsakoff et al., 2007). Individuals who are more committed to the organization are less likely to express intentions to leave and actually leave the organization. Again, when nonprofit organizations' focus is predominantly on mission fulfillment, staff and organizations' values are aligned. In such cases, we would expect to see strengthened relations between organizational commitment and turnover. Indeed, this may be one reason why previous nonprofit research has found lower intentions to quit among nonprofit staff compared to their for-profit counterparts (Brown & Yoshioka, 2003; Moynihan & Pandey, 2008).

When nonprofit organizations' focus shifts to issues of compliance, securing resources, or financial efficiency, the relation between organizational commitment and turnover is likely to change. One factor that is likely to influence this relation is whether the shift in focus is considered

temporary or permanent. If a shift in focus is temporary, there may be little effect on the relation between organizational commitment and turnover. Employees may be willing to maintain their affiliation with the organization if they understand the focus shift affecting their ability to provide client services is only temporary. Permanent shifts in focus, however, such as those created by a change in regulations or funding sources, may eliminate or reverse the relation between organizational commitment and turnover. This may happen despite little or no change in the organization's mission. Thus, due to nonprofit staff's perception, they may become frustrated that they are no longer able to provide client services in the manner they have in the past (because of a permanent shift); subsequently, they may leave the organization.

Performance

A critical issue in both nonprofit organizations and the research that examines them is measuring performance or success (Bryson, 1995; Drucker, 1990; O'Neill & Young, 1988; Sheehan, 1996). Sawhill and Williamson (2001) propose a model that evaluates nonprofit organizations across three general criteria: impact, activity, and capacity. Impact is the degree to which the organization is making progress toward its mission. Activity is the degree to which what the organization does reflects its objectives and mission. Capacity is the degree to which the organization has the resources (financial or other) to achieve its objectives. This model is consistent with other models proposing the multidimensional nature of nonprofit performance as distinct from the for-profit sector (Kushner & Poole, 1996; Sowa, Selden, & Sandfort, 2004). Further, this literature recognizes the dual focus of nonprofit organizations requires the balancing of financial efficiency with serving the public good as a source of distinct problems for performance measurement.

Traditional organizational research has found a significant moderate relation between organizational commitment and job performance (for a meta-analysis, see Riketta, 2002). Given the multidimensional nature of nonprofit performance, the relation between organizational commitment and job performance may differ depending on the performance measure used. Further, staffs' dual focus awareness and the timing of the research may have different moderating effects depending on the aspect of performance being assessed.

For example, the relation between organizational commitment and impact may be negatively affected by staffs' awareness and/or timing of

nonprofits' dual focus. Individuals who are strongly committed to the values of an organization are more likely to achieve the goals of the organization (impact) when they are able to focus solely on mission achievement. When the focus shifts to financial efficiency or compliance, however, nonprofit staff are likely to shift their energies toward those objectives, thereby reducing the focus on mission. Thus, the increase in dual focus awareness may reduce the strength of the relation between organizational commitment and performance.

Similarly, the relation between organizational commitment and activities may be negatively affected by staff awareness of the dual focus and timing issues. Individuals who are more aware of issues of financial efficiency or compliance, or who are forced to focus on those issues because of contextual conditions (e.g., funding cycles, regulation changes) must shift their activities to meet these non-service-providing goals. Consequently, their ability to achieve goals related to the organization's mission will be limited. Thus, due to the dual focus nature of nonprofits, we would expect to see moderating effects for staff awareness and/or timing issues reducing the relation between organizational commitment and performance as defined by activities.

Finally, the relation between organizational commitment and capacity should be strengthened when it is used as the metric of nonprofit performance. Recall that capacity is whether the organization has the resources to complete its objectives (Sawhill & Williamson, 2001). When nonprofit staff are more aware of the dual focus, they may be more likely to give consideration to financial efficiency while performing client services. Consequently, they will be more likely to assess the potential cost/benefit implications of their decisions or activities. By making more financially conscious decisions, nonprofit staff may be able to preserve resources that, in turn, can be used to expand their services or client base. Thus, the awareness of nonprofit organizations' dual focus should enhance capacity of the enterprise.

The dual focus of nonprofit organizations has been clearly recognized in the nonprofit literature (Emerson & Twersky, 1996). In this section, we have attempted to discuss how this dual focus might affect the relations between organizational commitment and traditional outcome measures from the for-profit sector: absenteeism, turnover, and performance. We believe this is an important area of research for those interested in nonprofit organizations to advance our understanding of nonprofit organizations and factors that may influence their success. We turn now to a discussion of the second major challenge faced by organizations: multiple identities.

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

A second particularly salient challenge in the nonprofit sector is the management—both individually and organizationally—of employees' multiple roles and identities. Employees within nonprofit organizations often have to assume multiple roles, such as administrator, service provider, fundraiser, advocate, spokesperson, etc. At times, these roles may conflict.

One of the primary reasons for multiple roles, as suggested earlier, is that many nonprofits face the challenge of limited resources. Further, many nonprofits provide goods and services that are perishable. That is, they either have a limited shelf life, in the case of perishable goods (e.g., food, medical supplies), or they need to be utilized at a specific point in time (e.g., medical care, housing, tutoring). Combining limited resources with time-sensitive demands for goods or services means that paid nonprofit staff may have to perform several functions or multiple roles to meet organizational goals of fulfilling client needs. Often, nonprofits engage the assistance of volunteers or unpaid staff. The 2010 Bureau of Labor Statistics suggests that 62.8 million individuals volunteered through or for an organization in the year ending September 2010 (Volunteering in the US, 2010). Note, from this point forward, we will use the term unpaid staff rather than volunteers to reflect the trend in the literature and to reflect that the contributions made by volunteers often represent roles or tasks that are necessary for nonprofit organizations to function (Rogelberg et al., 2010). Although unpaid staff may ease the burden for paid employees, these employees then must take on the role of supervising and motivating unpaid staff in addition to their regular duties.

In addition to multiple roles, nonprofit employees may have multiple identities. For example, it is not unusual to find a former client of a nonprofit social service agency to later become unpaid, paid staff, or advocate (Bernstein & Raphealson, 1998; Frumkin, 2002, Lipsky & Smith, 1990). It is also not unusual for an individual who begins his or her relationship with the organization as unpaid staff to later become a paid employee (Netting, Nelson, Borders, & Huber, 2004). Finally, boards of directors or advisory boards are comprised of individuals who are also donors to the organization. Indeed, Renz (2010) suggests that one way to increase board members' commitment to the organization is to ask them to make a charitable contribution to the organization. Preston and Brown (2004) found a positive relationship between board members' financial donations and their commitment to the organization. Many managers

and board members in both private and governmental nonprofit organizations find that their personal and social identities in the community overlap. It is difficult for many employees of nonprofit organizations to attend social or community functions without carrying some responsibility for communicating and promoting the organization's reputation and mission.

The main reason for multiple identities in nonprofit organizations is the complexity of the relationship between stakeholders and their organization. Stakeholder relationships in the nonprofit sector differ from those in the for-profit sector. First, certain stakeholder relationships are unique to the nonprofit sector. For example, as stated earlier, many nonprofit organizations must utilize unpaid staff to perform various required organizational functions, and these vary dramatically by organization. They may provide manual labor, professional services such as legal work, accounting/bookkeeping work, or other consulting services. For-profit organizations have no comparable type of stakeholders. It is imperative for nonprofit organizations to consider the identities of paid versus unpaid staff when they create policies, practices, and procedures.

In addition to the unique stakeholder relationships that exist in nonprofit organizations, there are likely to be more varied stakeholder interests than in traditional for-profit organizations. Often, these stakeholder interests conflict with each other (Dartington, 1998). For example, individuals who provide resources to nonprofit organizations for a varied number of reasons: some individuals may contribute because of self-interest as in the case of members of a trade association paying dues or fees; some individuals may contribute from a sense of altruism, such as donors who contribute to a philanthropic nonprofit organization to help those in need; and, further still, other individuals may contribute to an advocacy organization to try to change laws and regulations, or raise awareness in an effort to improve society. Because of the different nature of stakeholder relationships, nonprofit organizations may need multiple identities to appeal to the various stakeholder groups. For example, donors may want to see an organization that is professional and efficient while clients may want to see an organization that is willing to help them regardless of cost or resources. Consequently, nonprofit staff must be able to adapt to the different demands of the different stakeholders and present the relevant organizational identity for the particular group with which they are interacting.

The result of these multiple roles and multiple identities is that nonprofit staff members are more likely to experience role ambiguity and role conflict

than their for-profit counterparts. Role ambiguity occurs when there is insufficient information provided to individuals to guide their behavior (Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970). With multiple roles and multiple identities, staff may not be able to recognize the relevant role or identity for a specific situation. For example, a paid staff member who is interacting with a nonpaid staff member who is also a donor may be unsure of whether to exhibit a supervisory or public relations role. Role/identity conflict occurs when the requirements of two roles or identities are incompatible (Rizzo et al., 1970). Conflict can occur when staff perform multiple functions and perform multiple roles. For example, staff members may desire to help clients by providing needed services, but may feel conflicted when clients' level of need exceeds what is allowed by the organization's policies and procedures. In this case, the service-provider role conflicts with the administrator's role.

High levels of role ambiguity and role conflict lead to increased work stress (Keller, 1975), poor job performance (for a meta analysis, see Gilboa, Shirom, Fried, & Cooper, 2008; Van Dyne, Jehn, & Cummings, 2002), lower job satisfaction, and higher intentions to quit (Takeuchi, Wang, & Marinova, 2005; Vandenberghe, Panaccio, Bentein, Mignonac, & Roussel, 2011). Given the realities and nature of the nonprofit sector, it not possible to completely eliminate the role conflict and role ambiguity; thus, in order for nonprofit organizations to manage this challenge more effectively, research needs to examine the relationship between identity, role ambiguity, role conflict, and turnover in the nonprofit context. Although we predict that the interactions among these constructs are likely to be similar to those in for-profit organizations, there may be factors unique to the nonprofit sector; for example, value congruence or civic engagement may moderate the relation between conflict and withdrawal. Thus, nonprofit organizations must find other ways to manage this challenge and address the resulting negative outcomes. We will highlight the actions that nonprofit organizations can take.

One area of research that may be particularly interesting in the nonprofit context is the relation between multiple roles/identities and organizational citizenship behavior (OCB). Bateman and Organ (1983) originally defined OCB as extra-role behavior that benefitted the organization in some manner. Other literature has re-conceptualized the construct of OCB to include any positive behaviors that benefit the organization (Graham, 1991; Van Dyne, Graham, & Dienesch, 1994). Given the limited research on OCBs in nonprofit organizations, we believe using the original conceptualization of extra-role behavior is warranted because it is much

more clearly defined (Coyle-Shapiro, Kessler, & Purcell, 2004). Within the OCB literature, a body of work recognizes the relation between role definition and OCB (Chiaburu & Byrne, 2009; Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2004; Hofmann, Morgeson, & Gerras, 2003; Morrison, 1994; Parker, Wall, & Jackson, 1997). Specifically, when individuals perceive that extra-role behaviors are part of their job, they are more likely to engage in organizational citizenship behaviors.

Nonprofit researchers should explore at least four issues specifically related to organization citizenship behavior. The first issue concerns the potential relations between the recognition of multiple roles and identities and OCBs. Staff members in the nonprofit sector are more likely to possess multiple identities and roles. The degree to which they recognize these multiple roles and identities may affect how broadly they define their jobs; staff members who define their jobs more broadly may also be more likely to include extra-role behaviors as part of their job (Chiaburu & Byrne, 2009; Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2004; Hofmann, Morgeson, & Gerras, 2003; Morrison, 1994; Parker et al., 1997). Consequently, they may be more likely to engage in OCBs because they see them as part of their job.

The second issue is whether multiple identities and roles affect the types of behaviors in which nonprofit staff engage. Besides OCB, researchers have further delineated behaviors that benefit not only the organization, but also customers and society as a whole. For example, Podsakoff and MacKenzie (1997) identify customer-oriented behaviors (COBs), extra-role behaviors that benefit customers or clients but are not necessarily in the best short-term interests of the organization. Vigoda and Golembiewski (2001) define meta-citizenship behavior (MCB) as those behaviors that benefit social welfare or society at large. Nonprofit organizations may be an ideal arena to examine the antecedents and consequences of these behaviors because their missions often encompass providing services to those in need and promoting the awareness of social issues or change. Given the issues of multiple identities and roles discussed here, we suggest some specific relations that research ought to examine.

Research may be able to identify the conditions for which OCBs, COBs, and MCBs may be increased for staff who maintain multiple identities and roles. An employee who works for a philanthropic organization such as a food pantry may have the opportunities to serve multiple roles and engage in all three types of behavior. For example, the employee might be a direct service provider who goes out of his or her way to ensure that families with particular dietary restrictions can find food (COB). At the same time, he or she may help the organization develop a list of resources

for individuals with dietary restrictions (OCBs). Finally, he or she may try to advocate on behalf of individuals with dietary restrictions so that regulations and subsidies will be modified to take into consideration these special needs. Research should examine the relations between the awareness of these multiple roles (staff member, service provider, and advocate), staff members' beliefs that these behaviors are part of their job, and the frequency of OCBs, COBs, and MCBs that individuals perform.

A third issue is the relative strength of these roles/identities and their relations to the frequency of each of these forms of extra-role behavior. If a staff member is more focused on the role of service provider, we would predict that more COBs would occur. If individuals were more focused on their roles as advocates, we would expect that more MCBs would occur. Finally, if they are focused on their role as staff, we would likely see more OCBs. What is not entirely clear is whether the focal role (service provider, advocate, or staff member) would suppress the other types of extra-role behavior. For example, would an individual who focuses on the role as an advocate be more likely to increase MCBs but less likely to engage in OCBs and COBs?

A fourth issue concerns the relations between extra-role behavior and multiple roles and identities when high levels of role conflict exist. When role conflict is high, at least two possible outcomes can be predicted. First, the stress of this conflict may lead to burnout and withdrawal (Keller, 1975; Takeuchi et al., 2005; Vandenberghe et al., 2011). If this occurs, we would expect a decrease in all types of extra-role behavior (OCBs, COBs, and MCBs). Individuals' withdrawal, especially temporarily (absenteeism) or cognitively (disengagement), is not likely to result in behaviors beyond what is required for their job.

Alternatively, when roles conflict, the role that is more closely aligned with individuals' identity may lead an individual to increase certain types of extra-role behaviors and decrease or stop others. For example, staff members who are both service providers and advocates may find themselves in a position where providing particular services may damage their ability to advocate for the bigger societal cause. In this case, staff members who identify themselves more as service providers would be more likely to focus on COBs decreasing or discontinuing any MCBs. Conversely, those who identify more with the advocate role may shift their energies to focus solely on MCBs.

Researchers may also be interested in the relation between individuals' general civic mindedness and their extra-role behaviors. Nonprofit organizations often attract staff (both paid and unpaid) who are civic

minded (Kaufman, 1999). We would predict that civic-minded individuals would also be more likely to engage in extra-role behaviors. This, however, may not be the case. Cohen and Vigoda (2000) found the relation between general citizenship (civic mindedness) and OCB was mediated by the work experiences of individuals. General citizenship only led to increases in OCBs when there was high job satisfaction, high organizational commitment, and high participation in decision-making (Cohen & Vigoda, 2000). More research is needed to determine whether this same mediated relation exists for other types of extra-role behaviors such as COBs and MCBs.

We believe that there are many opportunities in the nonprofit arena to examine issues related to multiple roles and identities. We have limited our focus on those relations we have identified as most critical for organizational success. We now turn to a discussion of the final challenge: the rapidly changing nonprofit environment.

ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

The final challenge faced by nonprofit organizations is a changing environment. Certainly, changing economic conditions affect all organizations, private, public, and nonprofit. Nonprofit organizations face particular perils because of shifting funding patterns (Brecher & Wise, 2008; Smith, 2008; Young, 2001). Government spending cuts as well as decreases in charitable contributions during difficult economic times are particularly difficult for smaller nonprofit organizations. Most secular nonprofit organizations are quite small, with budgets under $500,000 (Salamon, 2003). Thus, small nonprofit organizations need to change in order to survive. Between 1992 and 1994, 26% of human service nonprofit organizations closed (Chambre & Fatt, 2002) while the economy was relatively good. With the current economic conditions, this situation is likely much worse.

In addition to economic changes, shifting demographics will affect nonprofit organizations. Wolf and Amirkhanyan (2010) suggest that the ratio of older Americans to youth will increase dramatically. This will have two effects on nonprofit organizations. First, the demand for services required by the elderly will increase (Wolf & Amirkhanyan, 2010). In addition, generational attitudinal differences will affect nonprofit leadership. Kunreuther (2003) suggests older individuals were typically motivated

to join nonprofit organizations by political ideologies whereas younger individuals typically have been motivated to become involved with nonprofit organizations because of their experience (either direct or indirect) with organizations that provided services. These two factors suggest that the way nonprofit organizations manage their staff will have to shift to accommodate these changes. Kunreuther (2003) suggests that nonprofit organizations will need to change the way they develop younger staff to reflect the differences in values and orientation. Further, they may need to develop new methods to recognize the contributions of younger staff.

In addition to external changes, many small nonprofit organizations face turbulent internal circumstances as well. A study by Parry and Kelliher (2009) found turnover in some sectors of the nonprofit realm as high as 24%. Also, a 2003 Annie E. Casey Foundation report estimated that annual turnover in child welfare services was 20% in public agencies and 40% in private agencies (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2003). This is in part due to the high levels of stress (Coffey, Dugdill, & Tattersall, 2009) and burnout (Kim & Stoner, 2008; Shier & Graham, 2011). Thus, constantly changing staff may affect how organizations operate to achieve their missions and goals. In addition to and as a result of the turnover in nonprofit organizations, leadership succession becomes a major concern. Indeed, Myers (2004) suggests that many individuals in nonprofit organizations move into senior management positions in their 20s and 30s. One of the consequences of this rapid career advancement is that individuals may not remain in positions long enough to acquire all the skills necessary to move to the next level in the organization.

Nonprofit organizations can respond to these changes in three ways: they can change (either substantively or administratively); they can close their doors; or they can merge with other organizations. Alternatively, new nonprofit organizations can emerge to meet new challenges in the environment (Chambre & Fatt, 2002). Thus, if nonprofit organizations are to survive in this rapidly changing environment, they will have to transform themselves.

Jaskyte (2011) examined the ways in which nonprofit organizations innovate their operations and factors that affected whether nonprofit organizations would innovate. She classified innovations into two main categories: administrative and technological innovations. Administrative innovations were those related to the ways in which the organization operates and changes in structure, communication, or procedures. These

types of innovations come from the top down. Technological innovations relate to changes in the production of goods or services. They could relate to the types of goods or services the organization provides to its clients, the delivery of those goods or services, or the support of the organization (e.g., acquiring donors). Jaskyte (2011) found that nonprofit organizations made more technological innovations than administrative innovations —typically, the introduction of new goods or services or new activities or events for stakeholders (e.g., clients, volunteers, etc.). The main predictor of technological innovations was the existence of transformational leadership. This suggests that nonprofit leaders who can successfully communicate a vision for change are more likely to create successful innovations in organization.

Traditional organizational research on change has focused on two major areas: the antecedents and consequences for change, and the managerial process of organizational change (Rajagopalan & Spreitzer, 1997). We focus on the second of these two areas because nonprofit managers are likely to have more control over the change process than the changes they face (e.g., changing funding patterns, regulatory changes, changes in general social/economic conditions). Indeed, the nonprofit literature reflects organizations in the nonprofit sector experience change differently than their for-profit counterparts because changes in the nonprofit sector tend to be: (a) externally driven (e.g., changes in funding sources or regulations); and (b) fast-paced (Andrews, Cameron, & Harris, 2008; Packard, Patti, Daly, & Tucker-Tatlow, 2012). Given the differences between for-profit and nonprofit change, it is somewhat surprising that there has been limited research in the nonprofit literature on the management of organizational change. The relatively few studies have been mostly case-based.

The research on change in nonprofit organizations has identified at least three factors that may improve the management of the change process. First, changes that fundamentally change the mission of the organization, even when necessary for organizational survival, are less likely to be successful (Parsons & Broadbridge, 2004). Second, managers who have been trained in leading change are more likely to be successful than those who have not (Andrews et al., 2008). Finally, those managers that focus on a systematic change process, which builds internal support for the change and overcomes resistance, are more likely to be successful (Packard et al., 2012). From a staff member standpoint, Packard et al. (2012) suggest one of the most important factors for organizations to consider is participation in the change process.

We believe the literature on organizational change in the for-profit arena may help to inform nonprofit researchers. Fugate, Kinicki, and Prussia (2008) conducted a longitudinal study examining how employees cope with organizational change. Fugate et al. (2008) found that coping strategies helped minimize the negative aspects of change and enhanced the positive reactions to change. They too suggest that employee participation in the change process may provide them with the ability to better cope with organizational changes as they occur. In the nonprofit sector, there may be additional benefits to participation. We suggest three ways that participation may positively help the change process. Future research would benefit from examining each of these pathways, as they may help to promote a better understanding of the change process within nonprofit organizations.

First, participation in the change process may help staff better understand how proposed changes affect an organization's mission and the degree to which the mission may shift as a result of the change. As stated earlier, one reason why change efforts fail in organizations is that employees believe that the changes fundamentally shift or alter the original mission of the organization (Parsons & Broadbridge, 2004). By including staff in the change process, they may better see its necessity even if the original organizational mission must be modified. A modified mission is preferable to closing down the organization. Also, staff may be able to identify ways of modifying the mission in ways that help preserve the values and belief systems of the organization. Research should assess the relation between participation and mission acceptance. We would predict a strong positive relation; as the level of staff participation increases, the level of mission acceptance should increase.

Second, by increasing staff participation in the change process, individuals may become better change agents. As suggested by Andrews et al. (2008), individuals who have received training in the change process have been more successful in leading organizational transformations. Involving staff in the process may provide on-the-job training such that staff may be better able to successfully implement the organization's new strategy or practices. Further, these individuals may learn key issues and successful strategies that may help them lead future organizational change. Research should examine whether involvement in the change process leads to improved leadership skills among staff. We would predict a positive relation between participation and leadership skills. As staff participation increases, leadership skills should also improve.

Finally, by increasing participation, nonprofit organizations may be able to build internal support for change and better manage resistance to change (Packard et al., 2012). Although Packard et al. (2012) did find support for this relation, they used a case study approach, which may limit the generalizability of their findings. Future nonprofit research should consider integrating the results of Fugate et al. (2008). Increasing staff participation during the change process may help them better cope with change and manage their emotional reactions. In turn, this may improve internal support for the change and manage resistance. In addition, Fugate et al. (2008) suggest that managing employees' emotions during the change process may be a critical factor in limiting withdrawal behaviors such as absenteeism and turnover. This may be particularly important for nonprofit organizations given the emotional nature of the services provided (Baines, 2010; Cano et al., 2009; Gibbs, 2001; Jenaro et al., 2007). Nonprofit staff who are not involved in the process may experience more negative emotions than their for-profit counterparts; consequently, nonprofit organizations may see increases in absenteeism and turnover when participation is limited. Future research would benefit from examining the relation between participation in the change process, emotional responses to change, absenteeism, turnover, and change outcomes.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted to identify and elaborate upon the challenges faced by nonprofit organizations, as well as identify future areas of research related to these issues. We by no means believe these are the only challenges faced by nonprofit organizations but we believe that these are the most critical. Indeed, Myers (2004) concurs, identifying managing multiple stakeholders and the changing nonprofit environment as two of the critical factors that affect the development of managers in the nonprofit sector. Further, while we have attempted to identify the research related to these practices in the nonprofit sector, our efforts have been limited by the lack of empirical research related to nonprofit sector management issues. Much of the research on nonprofit management is case studies or qualitative. This domain of management would benefit from rigorous data-driven analysis of the issues identified in this chapter. Finally, we hope that our work will provide guidance to nonprofit managers as they identify key issues and design policy and programs to enhance organizational effectiveness and efficiency.

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10

Nonprofit Leadership and Governance

Rick Jacobs and Johanna Johnson

In the early 1980s, the Penn State Industrial Psychology Program wanted to promote its work through a brochure describing our capabilities and talents. Unlike many other small nonprofit organizations, we had the substantial resources of a very large nonprofit/major university behind us and we took full advantage of that fact. We contacted the university's official photographer to take some photos to dress up our pamphlet. When the photographer arrived, we were all surprised to see how much equipment he brought and the fact that one arm was missing, replaced by a prosthesis. We watched in amazement as he worked his craft, setting up lights and tripods, readying cameras and light sensors, and basically moving from one task to another with speed and finesse. The results were equally impressive when he shared the photos with us a week later. Clearly, he did his job well and did not see any hurdles inhibiting his success.

In many ways, leading a nonprofit is like leading any other organization, as you must be concerned about all the usual issues: staffing, financial stability, long-term viability, and meeting your goals and objectives on a daily, weekly, and monthly basis (Hamlin, Sawyer, & Sage, 2011). What makes leading a nonprofit unique is the fact that, in most settings, you have additional hurdles that must be overcome; hurdles that are either not as prevalent or might not even exist in for-profit organizations (for a discussion of these hurdles, see Schmidtke & Cummings, this volume). If you are a successful leader, your nonprofit will have impressive results just like our photographer, but it will take an extraordinary effort.

In the nonprofit world, the leader goes by many titles. In some cases, the leader is a CEO, sometimes a director, and sometimes, depending on the industry, the leader can have an altogether different title such as priest. Regardless of title, however, individuals occupying the position all have in common a passion for a mission and the need to accomplish that mission

in the face of considerable challenges. This chapter aims to outline the tasks faced by these leaders while bringing to bear relevant research from scholars studying nonprofits and experiences from those leaders in the trenches.

In discussing nonprofits, we should be aware of three related terms: leader, leadership, and governance. With respect to the first, when we discuss the leader, we are referring to a single individual who provides the day-to-day guidance for the organization while also being responsible for policy implementation, goal-setting, and attainment, as well as other tasks typical of the top position in any organization. Leadership certainly applies to that individual but within nonprofits, as is the case in any organization, leadership is required from a host of individuals who are part of the organization, from managers and supervisors to members of the board of directors. The term "governance" has specific meaning in nonprofits because in virtually every nonprofit there is a board that works with the leader to ensure that the work being done conforms not only to the goals and mission of the nonprofit, but also that all relevant guidelines, policies, and laws are being met. Oftentimes in this context, the structure of governance results in multiple leadership roles and even shared roles for two or more leaders. It can be confusing, and clear and complete communication among all parties is a critical component of success for the nonprofit organization. A case in point is our own professional association, the SIOP. We have an executive director who attends to the health and welfare of the organization, its members, and its staff on a daily basis. This position is relatively stable over time compared to the president of SIOP who serves a one-year term and also has overall responsibility for the organization. Many other SIOP members have leadership positions and those individuals help the President and the Executive Director conduct the business of the organization and facilitate goal achievement.

Other chapters in this volume describe, in detail, the nonprofit organization and give clear examples of their operations both generally and specifically. This chapter is specifically directed at leadership and governance, and it begins with a general lay of the land relative to nonprofits. From there, we incorporate literature related to several important features of nonprofits that directly impact day-to-day functioning and ultimate organizational success. Discussed widely by researchers in the field (Ahmed, 2005; McMurray, Pirola-Merlo, Sarros, & Islam, 2009; Never, 2010; Ruvio, Rosenblatt, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2010) and highlighted frequently in interviews with nonprofit leaders, these features include focusing on the mission of the organization, advocacy, fundraising, searching for and

retaining talent, building strategic alliances, creating a positive relationship with the board, and evaluating the organization's performance. Some of these features are unique to nonprofits while others have parallels in their for-profit counterparts but with very clear exceptions. Following discussion of each of the features, trends and lessons learned from six interviews with nonprofit leaders are presented, as well as their implications for future research.

THE LANDSCAPE AND NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

The most recent report from the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS) estimates that there are approximately 1,575,000 nonprofit organizations (NCCS, 2011). The number of nonprofits is up from 10 years earlier by 31.5%. These nonprofits are broken down into just over 1,000,000 charities, 121,000 private foundations, and 454,000 other nonprofit organizations. These nonprofits make up about 5.4% of the gross domestic product and 9% of all wages and salaries paid in the United States. The eight largest of these nonprofits have assets in excess of $10 billion (NCCS, 2011). The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that 8.7 million workers are in the nonprofit sector, representing 5.9% of the workforce, and that these figures are on the rise (Butler, 2008). Based on the compilation of these simple statistics, it is clear that nonprofit leadership is critical to our economy in terms of the number of organizations, number of workers, and financial impact.

As the overall economy has recently experienced a shrinking number of jobs, the interest in and actual number of jobs available in nonprofits has shown steady improvement. More and more soon-to-be and recent college graduates have expressed an interest in working in the nonprofit sector. A *New York Times* article (Rampell, 2011) citing data from the United States Census Bureau estimates that compared to the previous year, young college graduates found work with the federal government and with nonprofits at higher rates. Government employment for college-educated individuals increased 16% and nonprofit employment grew by 11%. In addition, recruiters for nonprofit jobs reported large increases in the number of applicants for their jobs. Compared to 2008, the number of applicants for Teach for America nearly tripled in 2010, up from 91,399 to 258,829. These facts point to an increased opportunity for nonprofits

in terms of whom they employ and signal a challenge for leadership during a time of growth. Critical to this new wave of employment opportunity will be better understanding the motivations of these new workers and how to leverage the various reasons for individuals joining nonprofit organizations. A clear opportunity for future research is detailing the motivation of new nonprofit workers and comparing it to models documented previously.

The unmistakable message here is that nonprofit organizations are growing in number and they are potentially growing in interest to qualified job applicants. The growth makes the need for effective leadership critical since these expanding nonprofit organizations need to effectively utilize the talents of highly capable new workers and encourage their continued employment. Success as an organization is predicated on current performance as well as the ability to grow talent internally.

THE UNIQUE CHALLENGES FACING NONPROFIT LEADERS

Many people believe there are vast differences between for-profit and nonprofit organizations. But perhaps it is best to start with the similarities rather than the differences between these two types of organizations. Leadership is leadership, direction must be given on a day-to-day basis, and long-range plans must exist (Coltoff, 2010; Worth, 2009). Financial stability is required in both settings. People need to be attracted, hired, nurtured, and treated properly so the organization's mission and goals can be met. Leaders in both types of organizations have responsibilities in all directions—to the employees, to those who buy the products or use the services, and to the greater community at large. Succession planning is critical for continuity and long-term stability (Adams, 2010). Leadership needs to be encouraged at all levels of the organization so solving problems can occur without needlessly going up and down the chain of command.

We have all noted how several for-profit organizations have seen their share of negative leadership and unethical behavior among top leaders in such places as Adelphia Communications, Enron, Qwest Communications, and Tyco (the list could go on and on, especially if we include the subprime mortgage debacle and the role played by the banking and investment sector). Nonprofits have also seen their share of scandals: the American

Red Cross, the New Era Foundation, the United Way, and the Pennsylvania Higher Education Assistance Agency (PHEAA) have all seen top leaders fall from grace. Nonprofit and for-profit organizations share quite a bit, and success and failure factors are very consistent from one to the other (Hamlin et al., 2011; Thach & Thompson, 2007). To be sure, there is tremendous overlap between these two different types of organizations.

Blending Mission with Organizational Realities

Coltoff (2010) further supports the idea that the nonprofit leader is similar in many ways to the for-profit leader, but then begins to offer some differentiation. Two primary differences noted by Coltoff (2010) include an overarching focus on ethics and recognition of the importance of the bottom line without it being the primary reason for the organization's existence. Although important for all leaders, a strong sense of ethics is particularly important in the nonprofit sector. While "falls from grace" as observed at Adelphia and Enron are tragic, when it happens in the nonprofit world, there is a sense of betrayal that permeates those working within the organization, those who contribute in terms of funding and volunteerism, and those who are served by the organization. In the for-profit world, there are shareholder lawsuits and other legal mechanisms that move to restore the financial wrongdoing. In the nonprofit world, those remedies are not relevant. In the nonprofit world, there is an interrelationship between the mission of the organization and the ethical behavior of its leaders at all levels. In the nonprofit world, unethical behavior immediately calls into question the degree to which the entire organization is seen as adhering to its mission.

Most organizations have a mission statement and a set of goals and objectives they cite as their core values and that form the focus of why they are in business. While this is oftentimes the case, in for-profit organizations, the profit motive is as important. In the for-profit world, organizations are in business to generate a profit for their owners/shareholders. The profit motive is not as salient in the nonprofit world, and the most appropriate metrics, while similar, are not necessarily the same (Bradach, Tierney, & Stone, 2010). Nonprofits are focused on their mission, their reason for being in existence. Most critical for this discussion is the fact that while labeled "nonprofit," these organizations must survive from one year to the next and doing so requires, at a minimum, that revenues equal costs. Nonprofit organizations do not necessarily manage to a break-even outcome. In fact, most attempt to have revenues exceed costs but what makes them nonprofit

is the fact that: (a) they must, by law, follow their mission, which is directed toward an outcome that benefits the greater good; and (b) they must reinvest any excess income back into the organization's mission for that greater good (Cole & Swartz, 2011).

The two-fold focus, making the organization financially viable and making sure the organization fulfills its mission, is a unique challenge for leadership since it mandates both occurring rather than just mandating the first and promising the second. The situation is made more difficult still by the unfortunate consequence of achieving success; the perception on the part of donors that because success is or has been achieved, additional funds are no longer needed. Furthermore, donors generally want to see their money support projects and specific missions rather than more general, but necessary, overhead costs. This preference of donors means that those operating the organization often work longer for less and have less of the technological support most for-profit organizations can use to make up for staffing restrictions (Bradach et al., 2010).

There are many myths that surround nonprofit organizations (University of California Berkeley, 2009), including those that talk about nonprofits wasting time and money and only attracting business rejects. These paint a picture of nonprofits as either not being focused on or actually allowed to make a profit. Nothing could be further from the truth. Successful nonprofits do "make a profit" but the key difference is what happens to those profits. Here, profits allow the organization to grow because, as mentioned above, unlike their for-profit counterparts, all excess funds are required to be reinvested in the organization. Required reinvestment creates new opportunities for increases in the number of employees and range of services. Moreover, an increased focus on and evaluation of the costs associated with overhead allows directors to clearly outline the business case for such costs. Accurate reporting of how much money is being spent makes encouraging donor investment in infrastructure that much easier (Bradach et al., 2010). In this environment, the nonprofit leader is required to maintain a focus on both the bottom line and the organizational mission.

Advocacy

In addition to sustainability and growth, the bottom line for nonprofit leaders also includes political action and other forms of advocacy to support all aspects of their cause. A common belief is that nonprofits are barred from public advocacy or what is more commonly referred to as lobbying.

In 1976, Congress enacted provisions for nonprofit organizations to engage in lobbying and this was further affirmed by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in 1990. Nonprofits are permitted to lobby lawmakers at any level of government in ways that benefit their organization. In fact, the laws and rules relevant to advocacy behaviors on the part of nonprofits are extensive. Reid (2006) describes the complexities of what can and cannot be done through advocacy. The IRS has provided details on the types of advocacy permissible as a function of the type of nonprofit organization and MacIndoe (2011) provides a nice overview of the issues.

What nonprofits are prohibited from doing is contributing monetarily to a candidate. The lobbying effort without funds calls for higher levels of creativity, where it is critical to demonstrate the path from requested change to greater effectiveness in meeting the organization's mission (Green, 2004). Suarez (2009) points to the growing use of the Internet for a variety of advocacy activities engaged in by nonprofits. This work points to a new area for research with nonprofits, one that investigates the efficacy of different approaches to advocacy and potentially helps nonprofits determine the advocacy methodology best suited for their organizations.

A key to success in the advocacy arena is the leader's ability to deliver persuasive messages to a wide variety of audiences (Ahmed, 2005). These messages gain in persuasiveness as the results of the nonprofit can demonstrate change, movement toward accomplishing specified goals, and overall progress toward the stated mission. Wymer and Starnes (2001) discuss recruiting of volunteers from both a conceptual and practical framework. While much of recruiting is straightforward, the very same conceptual arguments that attract donors and alliance partners are used to attract volunteers and potential employees. In this sense, a successful nonprofit leader becomes part performance analyst, part salesperson, and part politician. Additional research around advocacy in nonprofits posits that other individual and organizational characteristics may also play an important role. Findings (Kissane, 2006) suggest that the degree to which an individual (and by proxy the organization they run) can successfully advocate for their clients depends on his or her motivation to stay current on the relevant information, knowing how to find and having access to accurate and timely information, and encouraging that information to trickle down for use by all organizational members. Furthermore, organization size, sector, and industry also impact how well information can be turned into successful advocacy (Kissane, 2006).

In many larger organizations, the advocacy process includes preparing individuals who work within the nonprofit or those who are highly

supportive to run for public positions where they can advocate for the organization once elected (Green, 2004). As the networks of influence grow, the demands on the leader to maintain contact with a diverse group of individuals expands. As an advocate of the nonprofit, the successful leader must be able to create a plan for connecting these individuals in meaningful ways to the work of the organization and to each other.

Fundraising

Looking at virtually any competency model of leadership, we see factors such as business acumen, decision-making, interpersonal skills, delegation, development of self and others, and integrity (Bartram, 2005). These clearly define what is required to lead any organization. What is unique to the competency model for leadership in nonprofits is the inclusion of fundraising (Worth, 2011). It is important here to distinguish between fundraising and selling, although they do share quite a bit. Fundraising is different from raising capital or seeking investors for a for-profit organization. In the for-profit world, the leader or spokesperson is presenting persuasive communications that provide a means by which the receiver sees a path from investment to return on investment. It is a much simpler business decision. In fundraising for a nonprofit, the leader is leveraging an idea and focusing attention on the mission, the board, external relationships, and key roles and priorities (Worth, 2011). The nonprofit request for funding is a different kind of investment and the persuasive skill set must incorporate a different kind of return on investment. Leaders of nonprofit organizations, including those in the CEO seat as well as board members and other members of the nonprofit leadership team, must present a complex series of arguments that balance the transfer of funds from the donor to the cause and how that cause will enhance the greater good. It can be a complex message to craft and deliver since it must balance vision with reality in a way that does not overstate capabilities but still inspires action.

In the business world, performance is defined by market forces. Companies that achieve their goals are rewarded by their customers and investors while organizations that underperform see little more than disappointing results and the possibility of extinction. As stated by Bradach et al. (2010), in the for-profit world, performance is easy to measure through various metrics such as customer loyalty, quarterly earnings, and return on investment calculations. These metrics are not easily translated to the nonprofit sector. In the nonprofit world, the work being done and

the overall mission of the organization must be used to win the affections of donors who provide funding, volunteers who provide direct work, and leaders who serve as board members. Raising funds and other resources must be done with a thoughtful blending of a message of effectiveness that often is free from the simpler and more straightforward common business metrics of profit/ROI but with an equally compelling conclusion.

What is perhaps most interesting here is the fact that the process of actually raising funds does not have an approach that is singular in nature, easily defined by a set of principles, or necessarily reliant on well-understood financial analyses, yet its success is easily evaluated against a dollar-based criterion. In any organization, the operation is guided by a budget. In nonprofit organizations, this budget is a combination of revenue and gifts/donations. Fundraising targets are determined and goals are set. At the end of the period, it is easy to evaluate the success of the fundraising effort. In working with nonprofits, it is easy to see the complexities of fundraising and the work required to meet funding goals. The real work here is in specifying donor groups, approaches to those groups, and who is in the best position to work with various donors. The focus on the actual relationship between donors and the nonprofit has been the topic of many papers, books, and dissertations (Hedrick, 2008; Sargeant & Jay, 2004; Waters, 2008). Much of what is written points to the importance of time-intensive processes of building loyalty in the donor as well as enhancing the sense of belonging between the donor and the nonprofit. Leaders of nonprofits must continually monitor the process, making sure that donors are identified, approached properly, regularly informed, and made aware of how their contributions are being used to achieve the mission. There appears to be an opportunity for future research that documents the link between steps taken to maintain relationships with donors and actual donor involvement, as well as financial contributions made by those in various stages of activity with the nonprofit.

Searching For and Retaining Talent

In all organizations, attracting, maintaining, and developing talent is critical to success. The war for talent has been raging for some time and, while the current economic downturn has resulted in more available individuals, those most talented remain in short supply. Attracting top talent is a number one priority for all organizations. Tierney (2010) points to the fact that there are challenging times ahead as the baby boomers begin to vacate executive positions in nonprofits. With an assumption of no growth, there

is an estimated need of 640,000 new nonprofit leaders by the year 2016 and, as we have seen, the number of nonprofits has been steadily increasing, making the no-growth assumption an unreasonable expectation (Tierney, 2010). These factors result in an even greater demand for talent, one that probably outpaces the supply. To begin to meet this need, it will become necessary to maximize the training and development of the enhanced numbers joining nonprofits. The overall outlook can be positive and optimistic given the confluence of events (Rampell, 2011). With more people applying for nonprofit jobs, the selection ratio becomes more favorable and likely to yield more talented individuals. More people joining these organizations means the selection ratio for those moving up in the organization will also be enhanced. These forces can, when managed properly through explicit career management and succession planning, increase our internal supply of leaders within nonprofits.

With optimism regarding the flow of new talent into nonprofits, the challenge actually shifts from attraction to retention and development. Following this way of thinking, Tierney (2010) suggests three ways to maximize talent retention: (1) invest in leadership capacity and HR functions that enhance leadership competencies; (2) evaluate management compensation to make it as competitive as possible, and when the in-house talent pool is not enough; (3) enhance career mobility and explore new talent pools—baby boomers who want to continue working, mid-careers in need of change, and new graduates who have studied nonprofit management.

Johnson (2009) shares this perspective regarding a potential gap in the supply of nonprofit leaders and a corresponding conclusion that it may be better than first forecast, citing the fact that the transition will happen over time rather than appearing as a single large talent crisis. Both Tierney (2010) and Johnson (2009) agree that there is the potential to delay the retirement of many baby boomers, which may be the result of a combination of factors; on the positive, people are living longer, while on a more negative note, we have the realities of the need for health insurance and the recent stock market downturns that have made retirement less feasible for many. Also contributing to the possibility of leaders staying in place longer are growing suspicions regarding the stability of social security payments.

On another front, an increase in colleges and universities offering nonprofit management courses should help bring more leadership talent to nonprofits (Johnson, 2009). More individuals will receive advanced training, making the learning curve shorter when it comes to working within

this sector. Johnson (2009) further suggests two interesting approaches to easing the talent crunch: (1) allocating more resources to positions that can help develop executives (deputy directors, overlapping directors, young professionals); and (2) recruiting younger board members who might become interested in full-time nonprofit leadership positions in the future.

Research has identified one particularly effective way of retaining talent and avoiding vacuums in leadership: to make sure an organization has a comprehensive and widely disseminated succession plan. Some of the most successful organizations, large and small, not only worry about who will be the next CEO, but filter clear succession thinking several layers down the organization (MacMillan & Selden, 2008; Mitchell, Harman, Lee, & Lee, 2009). When succession planning is done well, those identified as top talent or high-potential individuals become more likely to stay in the organization (Shen & Cannella, 2002). Nonprofit organizations can more effectively retain their best people by actively engaging in succession planning and showing those they consider most talented how they are currently viewed and how they fit into future plans. As pointed out by Adams (2010), changes in leadership occur with high regularity, especially in work situations characterized by long hours for less pay in a more uncertain environment. By counteracting that force with information about succession planning, the tendency to search for alternative employment may become less attractive.

Research from Carmen, Leland, and Wilson (2010) suggests that many nonprofits fail to provide clear succession planning for their talented younger workers and, further, these organizations do not do a good job of recognizing effort put forward. The best succession planning programs couple identification of individuals who are likely to move up along with developmental plans that help them enhance the competencies needed in their current position, as well as competencies that will become more salient in the next assignment. While much of the research done on nonprofits is organization-specific, questions regarding succession planning speak to the need for studies conducted at the organizational level. As an example, based on the issues surrounding succession planning, it would be interesting to look at turnover rates as a function of the degree to which organizations have clear succession plans. This type of study would, by design, be done with organization as the level of analysis. Additionally, other questions regarding type of succession planning and the comprehensiveness of the succession plan could be investigated.

A final strategy for meeting the leadership needs of the future for nonprofits is recruiting from other sectors, particularly from for-profit

organizations (Adams, 2010). It may be a hard and inaccurate sell to highlight factors such as increased opportunities for positive relationships with colleagues, greater work-life balance, and more time for leisure activities (Adams, 2010), since many working in nonprofit leadership positions report just the opposite. What is true is that many leaders are seeking opportunities to engage in more meaningful work, and to do work that will allow for the development of new skills and abilities as well as provide more situations that will lead to new learning. Adams (2010) argues that a clear and specific competency model that describes leadership capabilities required by a nonprofit will help guide the process of identifying leaders in other settings who might be targets for joining. Once again, planning will be the key to success in this process, and having a persuasive message that articulates the mission and positive outcomes of the organization will help attract the most capable candidates.

One final area to consider when it comes to retaining talent is the salary gap that exists between for-profit and nonprofit leadership positions. A salary gap is nothing new, and it is widely believed and accepted that working within the nonprofit sector most often means working for lower levels of compensation. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (Butler, 2008) reports that for positions in business and financial operations surveyed one year earlier, private sector workers make 14.6% more than their nonprofit counterparts ($30.35/hour versus $26.49/hour). For management occupations, the discrepancy was even larger at 22.3% ($41.86/hour versus $34.24/hour). While equity theory (Adams, 1963) may be used to make an argument that more meaningful and rewarding work is a reward in and of itself, it may not be enough to make up for these rather large gaps in compensation. When you couple these figures with the potential for bonuses, which are regular parts of the compensation picture in the private sector, the problem increases. As nonprofits work to attract and retain their most talented leaders, it will be critical to constantly monitor the role of compensation in the total picture of talent management.

Building Alliances

Doing more with less also means doing the most by gaining the assistance of others. Doing more with less often comes in the form of volunteerism at all levels or, perhaps more accurately, building both tactical and strategic alliances. Both types of alliance are critical because each furthers the mission of the nonprofit through short-term goal accomplishment and long-term planning, respectively. Effective leadership in a nonprofit means

building alliances with a wide variety of groups, ranging from government to the private sector, or, as is often the case, alliances that put two nonprofits together so that each can be assisted by the other. It is easy to see examples of nonprofit-private sector partnerships by visiting corporate websites or turning on the televeision. Starbucks has a community page on its website that currently explains their five arms of community service, their goals, and how to get involved (Starbucks, 2011). Each is part of an alliance with one or more agencies, and each is directed at promoting volunteerism among employees and customers. McDonald's sponsors Ronald McDonald House, which has been in operation for more than 35 years with facilities in 52 countries (McDonald's, 2011). The vision behind Ronald McDonald House has at its core a vision that states, "We believe that when you change a child's life, you change a family's, which can change a community, and ultimately the world." Target Stores contribute 5% of their income to community outreach, by supporting reading and other educational programs—what they describe as "the heart of a bright future for all of us . . . by partnership with smart, passionate organizations . . ." (Target, 2011). The program at Target has been in place since 1946 and is on track to hit $1 billion in donations by the end of 2015. Leaders at Starbucks, McDonalds, and Target have created a system where their private-sector businesses are reaching out to align themselves with individual volunteers as well as other organizations in the for-profit and nonprofit sectors. As is often the case with these types of efforts, the origins came from giving back and the process resulted in strong alliances. Target, McDonald's, and Starbucks are wonderful examples of how a simple alliance to help nonprofits, most likely growing from an initial donation of funds, has created an entire organization (Target Community Outreach, Ronald McDonald House Charities, and Starbucks Foundation) dedicated to helping and serving.

Successful nonprofit alliances can also be thought of as serving as a means to enhancing empowerment and change. Many times, the most effective alliances will transform the way the work within the nonprofit is done, the programs they implement, and/or the outcomes they produce. The transformation process is critical since remaining flexible is a key to the long-term success of the nonprofit as well as maintaining the interests of the alliance partner. In our own community, we have watched the growth of a nonprofit from the initial tragedy that was the founding event to 10 years later when we see activities far beyond what would have ever been imagined at its inception. The Kevin Dare Foundation was formed because Kevin lost his life in a pole vaulting accident while competing for

Penn State. His parents and those who knew Kevin were devastated, but somehow Ed and Terri, Kevin's parents, managed to channel their unthinkable grief into motivation and dedication for change. They did not want another child to die and they wanted to make a difference that would have a permanent impact. They decided to endow a scholarship in Kevin's name. The funds were raised and corporations and governmental agencies were contacted not only to raise awareness and scholarship money, but also to look into how future accidents could be prevented. Literally dozens of alliances formed, ranging from those primarily focused on corporate financial donations to individual researchers and research organizations looking into changes that could be made in pole vaulting equipment. Head gear manufacturers were contacted about creating something that did not exist—a pole vaulting helmet—and state athletic associations as well as the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) became involved because the nonprofit leader saw these alliances as means to his initial goal and all the goals that followed as a result of doing his job. Today, the annual Kevin Dare golf outing has a host of corporate sponsors, hundreds of individual donors, and is attended by concerned citizens representing the private sector, governmental agencies, and other nonprofit organizations. The leadership Ed Dare has exhibited is a wonderful example of how alliances can be formed to enhance, empower, and transform a foundation. Today, the Kevin Dare Foundation has endowed two scholarships for track and field athletes at Penn State, has developed a special pole vaulting helmet, distributes the pole vaulting helmets free of charge to any school that wants them but cannot afford to pay, has made it mandatory for high school athletes in six states to wear helmets while vaulting, and is on the verge of an agreement with the NCAA to replace all pole plant boxes in all competitions with a "soft box" the foundation developed. The work goes on and the organization is far more effective because it has incorporated so many partners. In psychology, we often talk about the gestalt effect or the gestalt principle. In its most abbreviated form, it simply states that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Leaders of nonprofits do well to remember that by assembling a diverse group of parts, the nonprofit whole will be far more effective. The key is strategically identifying and tactically and strategically managing those parts (Green, 2004; Thomas, 2010).

Issues of Dual Leadership—Leader Board Relationships

Nonprofit organizations are typically led by an executive director or CEO who works under the direction or oversight of a board of directors. These

board members work on a voluntary basis without the various forms of compensation awarded to members of for-profit boards (Houle, 1989). There are several challenges in this type of governing relationship and, as such, its functionality is paramount to the success of the nonprofit. While this arrangement is also found in the for-profit world in terms of the CEO-board relationship, there are many for-profit organizations that operate without an advisory or oversight board. Further, in the nonprofit world, the board members serve without salary or stipend and without the possibility of remuneration via stock awards or stock ownership. In the nonprofit world, the reason for participation is a commitment to the cause the nonprofit serves, which almost always brings a higher level of passion to the table when it comes to board oversight (Carver, 2010; Houle, 1989). Coltoff (2010) and Carver (1997, 2006) discuss the traditional separation of duties between the organizational leader and the board: the board drives ideas, goals, and mission, and the CEO implements the mechanics to achieve or be consistent with those ideas, goals, and mission.

In any organization, there exist potential situations where the CEO does not agree with the board, the CEO does not implement the board's programs accurately or effectively, or the CEO follows the plan very well but the plan is flawed and the organization becomes less effective. According to Golensky (2011), in order to minimize the consequences of these potential situations, the most successful nonprofit organizations form a very fluid partnership between the board and the CEO/leader. The partnership facilitates a clear and complete dialogue so that both sides build confidence and trust in each other. While harmony should be the overarching theme in this collaboration, it is important to recognize that some tension is good as it encourages creativity and discussion, while too much tension will be troublesome in the form of cutting off conversations that are important to surfacing issues and identifying potential solutions. This conclusion is mirrored in the work on conflict in teams. De Dreu and Weingart (2003) suggest that although interpersonal conflict rarely benefits team performance, task conflict (i.e., free exchange of differing opinions and approaches to solving a problem) has a curvilinear relationship with performance: too little or too much can be detrimental, while a moderate amount is ideal.

One major source of trouble in this problem of dual leadership comes from unclear guidelines or misunderstandings regarding board responsibilities and those that define the leader's position. Research by Howe (1995) indicates clear rules of engagement should be promulgated, outlining duties of the board that may be legal/fiduciary as well as functional

(e.g., showing up to and participating in meetings, determining mission and strategies, board membership requirements, financial management, oversight and support, fundraising, and being an advocate in the community), and the job description of the leader. At a mechanical level, the best-run nonprofits with the most effective leaders ensure that the documentation exists regarding these delineations.

All of the above sets the stage and can be seen as necessary but not sufficient conditions for success. Beyond the structural elements, work is done every day and boards meet on a regularly scheduled basis. Problems emerge and must be dealt with quickly and effectively. There will be periods when boards and leaders clash. In a study in a school setting, Du Bois et al. (2010) found that the headmaster and the board had widely differing views on what constituted the most pressing needs, and this caused conflict in terms of actions that needed to be taken. The need for convergence between leaders and board members is critical if organizational problems are to be solved quickly and efficiently. Developing processes that enhance this convergence is a key area for research that can lead to effective practice.

Discord can lead to dissatisfaction on both sides and, in its extreme, can lead to the resignation of the leader and significant decreases in the morale of the staff and volunteers if that leader was highly valued. The board-CEO relationship can be very complicated, as the CEO serves multiple constituents—the board and the employees of the nonprofit, as well as the associated volunteers. Recently, VanderKwaak (2009) advanced a governance partnership theory to help better understand the relationship between board and CEO and provided two case studies to support the approach. Houle (1989) describes five bad situations for the leader of a nonprofit:

- dominating CEO;
- dominating board;
- split board on important policy issues (particularly when CEO takes a side);
- antagonistic relationship between CEO and any board member(s); and
- multiple executives (CEOs) where roles/responsibilities are unclear.

In some settings, more than one of these may be applicable at the same time, and in the worst case scenario, all are happening simultaneously. The point to be made is that board membership changes, CEOs move in and out of positions, relationships are dynamic and subject to regular

"adjustments," and the actual structure of the board or positions within the organization must respond and change according to the situation. The successful board and its leader will be constantly monitoring the way they interact and the way they are *both* serving to drive the organization.

Chait, Ryan, and Taylor (2005) point out the need for boards to be proactive by participating in the leadership of the organization and the importance of not just being reactive, which often results from over-supervision of the leader and the way the day-to-day operations are carried out. These authors go on to point out that a highly functioning board-leader relationship addresses issues related to three "modes":

- fiduciary: nuts and bolts—stewardship, mission, accountability, follow the law;
- strategic: in partnership, address long-term direction and goals; and
- generative: creative thinking, sense-making, lays the foundation for direction and goals—this in particular must be done by both.

Coombes, Morris, Allen, and Webb (2011) demonstrated the relationship between the degree to which the board adopts an entrepreneurial orientation and the performance of nonprofits. They looked at such factors as board strategy, activism, and cohesion, as well as their impact on social performance and financial performance, concluding there is a relationship to the former but not the latter, indicating that while many actions may lead to positive organizational change, they may not result in greater financial security.

It is abundantly clear that the relationship that exists between board and leader, both positions tasked with guiding the nonprofit, requires not only strong structural support through highly specific statements regarding roles and responsibilities of each, but also a constant monitoring, evaluation, and adjustment to how these two entities are working in concert (Carver, 2010).

A final point for this section is to highlight the need for training of the board that includes how the board and the leader interact (Carver, 2006, 2010). There is nothing automatic when a board member is appointed. Similarly, bringing together a highly talented group of motivated individuals does not guarantee an effective board. As pointed out by Du Bois et al. (2010), oftentimes board members and leaders have different views of the saliency of various organizational problems. Because a board member has impressive credentials and has demonstrated leadership in other positions does not always translate into effective board member behavior.

Like any other position, boards need to be trained in how they conduct their business and how they interact with the leadership they govern (Carver, 2010).

According to Carver (2010), this training should start with the setting of expectations and provision of some type of new member orientation, complete with training and time to fully understand the history, background, and structure of the organization. The training process should be completed as a step toward making sure new members understand how the board operates. Wright and Millesen (2008) point to the significant issues that can develop when the board experiences ambiguity from overall functioning of the board to individual board member engagement. One area for further research is on board structures and operational rules that tend to reduce board member ambiguity as well as further explicating the relationship between level of board clarity and outcomes such as turnover (board, staff, and volunteers), fundraising, and levels of work satisfaction of all organizational participants.

Once new members are oriented, research indicates it is important to maintain a level of training for all board members, particularly as they are meant to operate as a team (Carver, 2010). In order to operate effectively as a team, a board must practice as any other team would. Carver (2010) suggests that short practice sessions occur regularly, where board members must work together to find solutions to potential issues or problems that might come up at a later time. Again, such trainings are likely to reduce any questions of proper board functioning.

Sometimes, this practice might be described as creative governance. Although it is important for board members to know and understand how the organization runs, and what the expectations are, it is also important that new and potentially useful ideas and behaviors be introduced from time to time. The difficult part is knowing how and when to bring up the new ideas and behaviors in such a way as to avoid alarming other board members, clients, donors, or others. One important step in the process is the inclusion of and input from others. Rationale for the changes, as well as what can be expected as a result of those changes, must be clearly communicated.

A number of institutions offer such training programs. The Anderson School of Management at UCLA offers a three-day program designed to enhance corporate governance. The University of Chicago, Stanford University, and Dartmouth College have formed the Directors' Consortium for the purpose of board training. The website states (Directors' Consortium, 2011):

> The Directors' Consortium offers corporate board members the benefit of a research-based, comprehensive approach to the complex decisions they must make. In light of regulatory changes and reduced public confidence, becoming an educated board director is a necessity, not an option. Now more than ever, directors need to understand their fiduciary, legal, and ethical oversight responsibilities—the bar has been raised for all directors. Boards must focus on performance, not conformance. The result of an unparalleled academic partnership, this program combines powerful ideas and strategic insights to deliver an incomparable executive learning experience for corporate board members.

These programs and many others have grown out of an expressed need to help board members function more effectively on every level. Successful nonprofits should avail themselves of training on a regular basis to help stay ahead of difficult organizational times. Universities are not the only entities that offer these services. Over the past decade, there has been a rise in these types of programs being offered by consulting organizations. Greater availability of training alternatives affords nonprofits the opportunity to have a more proactive and tailored approach to their unique challenges. Either way, whether going to a program or bringing in an expert, the increasing amount of services available in this arena points to the difficulties inherent in effectively managing a board and its relationship with the functional leader of the organization.

Defining and Measuring Performance in Nonprofits

The most effective nonprofit organizations are those that are able to keep their core values and beliefs at the forefront while also recognizing the importance of a mechanism that forces regular evaluations of the leaders and of the organization itself. Coltoff (2010) suggests three types of evaluation: process, outcome, and impact. Process evaluation examines the relationship between implementation of ideas and quality of services delivered. Process evaluation is concerned with how well the program is working, what parts need to be addressed further, and where the system or products require improvement. Outcome evaluation is what is most commonly thought of as an evaluation of results. Did the program achieve what it intended to achieve? Was the program as efficient in its actions? And, finally, impact evaluation is one step further, providing insight into whether broader and more long-term mandates were addressed. Was advocacy enhanced? Was there significant attention to change efforts and

did those change efforts actually lead to change? We can conceive of these types of evaluations as indicative of how well the organization is doing. These are critical but are not the only evaluations that need to take place.

Like any other organization, the component pieces of a nonprofit need to be evaluated. Funding sources need to be examined and measured against goals that have been set in this area. Participation rates of volunteers must be monitored and evaluated against expectations. Prospect lists generated at earlier evaluations should be checked to see if closure was achieved. From as many perspectives as possible, the nonprofit should be examined to see if it is meeting its goals and the expectations of those who work on its behalf and from the viewpoint of those it serves (Donaldson, 2004).

Key to understanding performance is the evaluation of those who work each day. Performance appraisal is oftentimes the single most effective way to improve individual and organizational performance, and yet the most ineffectively conducted process within an organization (Farr, Baytalskaya, & Johnson, 2012). Performance evaluations and performance management, when properly conducted, can transform an organization. These processes can be incredible change agents and vehicles for improved functioning. Performance systems must be promulgated at all levels of the organization, starting at the top and working through the entire group of individuals who make up the nonprofit.

Regardless of the presence or absence of a legal requirement, the fact of the matter is that reviewing the leader of the organization is simply the right thing to do (Donaldson, 2004). Often the board is tasked with conducting this evaluation and that is where the evaluation starts and stops. The most effective evaluation process is the one that gathers information from all the entities touched by the person being evaluated. By adopting the multiple-perspective approach to evaluation, it becomes possible to develop an evaluation plan that provides information from all constituencies: the board, the employees, volunteers, and those whose lives are touched by the work of the nonprofit. This approach is often referred to as a 360 evaluation, a view from all sides, and it provides important information on how the executive is doing as well as how to enhance future performance (Aguinis, 2007; Brett & Atwater, 2001). Many organizations, for-profits, and nonprofits fail to avail themselves of this important and potentially useful tool, in large part due to the process also having its fair share of disadvantages (Waldman, Atwater, & Antonioni, 1998). Use of 360-degree appraisal systems can be problematic if those providing feedback are not well trained in how to deliver potentially negative feedback,

if the purposes of the appraisal are not clear, if raters and feedback givers fear reprisal or emotional reactions to negative feedback, and if the process is not utilized frequently enough to accurately monitor changes in performance (Aguinis, 2007). Other issues surrounding the 360 evaluations include the need to involve many different raters and the potential for one or more of these raters to feel competitive with or jealous of the person being rated. If, however, these issues are recognized and addressed, the system can provide considerable insight and benefit to the organization and those involved.

The senior author of this chapter currently serves on three nonprofit boards. On one, because of his background, he serves as chair of the human resources committee. He has done so for some time, long enough to work with two different executive directors. Over the time he has served in this capacity, he has led the evaluation process of the executive director three times. Needless to say, he adopted the multiple-source model described above. In the first iteration, the process resulted in performance feedback to the executive director that helped facilitate his performance in the areas of fundraising and alliance building. In the second, it became apparent that improvements were temporary and the evaluation resulted in a mutual decision for the executive director's planned departure. Two years after the new executive director arrived, a formal evaluation was conducted. The evaluation process led to what can be described as a motivational feedback session replete with appropriate financial rewards and an active planning session on how new challenges could be added to an already full plate of leadership activities. In writing this chapter, we are reminded that another evaluation needs to be conducted for this executive director in the upcoming months. The message here is a simple one: we can actively assist in the performance review process and facilitate increased effectiveness of the leader or we can ignore this opportunity. Ignoring is the wrong choice but one that is often made.

As is the case in most organizations, no one looks forward to the time when performance appraisals are conducted (Cleveland, Lim, & Murphy 2007). Those tasked with doing the evaluations look for excuses to put it off and those being evaluated hope the former are successful in their procrastination. Here, research suggests structural features and active leadership need to be in place (Farr et al., 2012). Procedures need to be written and followed. Leaders from the top down need to make sure evaluations are conducted and that the results of those evaluations are communicated in a timely manner. Training should be part of the evaluation program so that those doing the evaluations are capable and

confident in the process. In many organizations, the process of self-evaluation has been effectively employed. Despite a tendency for inflation in self-ratings, the process helps to encourage acceptance of results (Aguinis, 2007) and, because of their focus on social action, nonprofits seem to be a good fit for incorporating this type of evaluation. The entire performance appraisal and management process needs to be placed in a context of resulting in positive outcomes for the person being appraised, for the nonprofit itself, and for the constituents that are served.

A final piece of the evaluation process for nonprofits must focus on how the board evaluates its own performance. Again, a multiple-source model works well. Starting with self-evaluations, tools now exist for boards to look at how they themselves are functioning. The Governance Institute provides a process called BoardCompass (Governance Institute, 2011) to do just this, and other tools exist as well, but what is important here is the fact that there are resources available to aid in the effective evaluation of the board. In addition to self-evaluation, once again it is important to devise a system that looks at all aspects of the nonprofit organization that are influenced directly or indirectly by the board. Part of this process will necessarily include the performance record of the leaders and other key employees, along with the degree to which the board sees the team working together toward the mission and goals of the nonprofit. Many organizations avoid evaluation, which is a major mistake and a lost opportunity when it comes to enhancing future performance (Green & Griesinger, 1996; Herman & Renz, 2000).

A VIEW FROM THE TRENCHES—INTERVIEWS WITH NONPROFIT LEADERS

As part of the research for writing this chapter, the authors interviewed the leaders of six nonprofit organizations. These leaders came from what can best be described as small- and medium-sized nonprofits with between four and 260 paid employees. They have boards ranging in size from nine to 55 and budgets that range from less than $1 million annually to more than $65 million. One has been in operation for more than 150 years while one will soon celebrate its 15th year as an organization dedicated to preserving the traditions of families in need. One of these nonprofits is a professional association and, while the number of employees is relatively small, the organization serves over 193,000 dues-paying members. Our

focus during these interviews was on emerging themes and keys to success as seen from the perspective of the nonprofit leader. Moreover, the lessons we were able to take away from these interviews provide myriad directions for future research as these leaders and their organizations face mounting challenges.

Macro-Issues in Leading Nonprofits

Every leader we spoke with pointed out the need to stay focused on the cause and, in most cases, they talked about needing to keep the mission and goals front and center with all audiences. Mission and goal focus extended to those working for the nonprofit, whether they were employees or volunteers. Further, they emphasized how the mission needed to be part of all communications with alliance partners, donors, and the board.

We heard quite a bit about how nonprofit leadership involves the entrepreneurial model of build and move on. In many ways, the nonprofit leader has to realize that they have a role to fill and they have a responsibility to move on and help identify and train their replacement.

Finally, all our leaders stressed that the term "nonprofit" is well understood but one that misrepresents reality. Clearly, every nonprofit organization needs to function much like any successful business. It is imperative that income outdistances expenses. In the nonprofit world, this means efficient organizational functioning, looking for ways to do more with less, and simultaneously soliciting new donors and sources of revenue along with the active caretaking of those who have been supportive in the past. All these priorities require organizing the leader's personal activities along with those of the staff and the board of directors, all of whom are critical in this arena.

Future research at the macro-level might be concerned with helping leaders and nonprofits to make best use of their resources in order to communicate a clear message. How best to frame a message so that it reaches the widest audience and the best medium by which to get that message out represent two promising areas for further investigation. Second, there seems an implicit need for leaders to be constantly performing a balancing act. Objectives and a performance assessment that emphasizes success in balancing competing needs might provide a good opportunity for leaders, and boards, to monitor progress and development in their roles.

We see a need for other approaches to research that might be conducted to help enhance the success of nonprofits. There seems to be great variability on both the number of members who are on a board as well as how boards

are structured. The literature on team size could be valuable in addressing board size. Is there an optimal number of board members or at the very least a range of numbers of members below and above that leads to less effective functioning? For larger boards, are there structures that lead to more effective functioning? With respect to those who work within nonprofits, are there common characteristics for those who sign on and stay versus those who leave in a time frame that is quicker than desirable? I-O psychology has a strong literature on turnover and it seems reasonable that a focus on research with nonprofits would expand our knowledge regarding the degree to which those who leave nonprofits represent greater levels of functional versus dysfunctional turnover, to follow up on work done by Hollenbeck and Williams (1986) and Williams (2000). Finally, with the current push to better understand leadership in a variety of organizations, would we expect to see differences in the way nonprofit leaders approach their work compared to their counterparts in the for-profit sector?

Management Challenges Unique to Nonprofits

An interesting thread ran through the interviews with our leaders when it came to management of the board of directors. It was described as a careful dance that needed to be respectful of the fact that the board was the CEO's supervisor while, at the same time, the CEO clearly leads the board in a number of ways. The board meets regularly but infrequently and much goes on between board meetings. It is the role of the leader to keep the board informed of what is working and what is not within the day-to-day functioning of the organization. More importantly, the board is often assigned activities each member is to engage in between meetings. Several of our leaders talked about the difficulty that arises because board members seem to be full of energy and good intentions during meetings but not a lot gets done between meetings. Our leaders spoke directly to the need for a strong working relationship between themselves and each member of their board. Enhancing relationships with each board member can be a lot of work, especially when boards are large and their membership diverse in terms of backgrounds, philosophies, and work styles. What can emerge is a delicate situation where the leader is actually directing the activities of those in the role of overseeing the leader's performance.

A subordinate telling a "boss" what they need to do can be seen as a unique situation—it is not the only one a nonprofit leader may find. We heard several stories regarding the need to terminate a worker. As noted

in Lopina and Rogelberg (this volume), relieving an individual of their job responsibilities is difficult in any circumstance, so imagine how hard it is when the person losing his or her position is an unpaid volunteer. People who are not performing or in other ways are detracting from the organization need to be removed. It becomes a more difficult matter when the argument that their funding needs to go to someone who can contribute more is not part of the discussion. Terminating volunteers happens. It probably happens less than it should but it represents a unique challenge for leaders in nonprofits. Once again, more research building on the work of Hollenbeck and Williams (1986) and Williams (2000) that helps us understand functional and dysfunctional turnover within nonprofits would be valuable.

Some leaders talked about the burden of paperwork and those that had come to their jobs from for-profit organizations saw these demands as far greater in their current positions. When government funding is part of the revenue stream for a nonprofit, the paperwork requirements grow further. Filling out required forms and filing necessary paperwork becomes a major time commitment for the leader and must be managed since much of that paperwork is performed by others. Other leaders talked about the changing nature of how funding is achieved. What used to be a grant or a rather simple application process has moved into a much more complicated process requiring clear metrics speaking to effectiveness. As the competition for a fixed set of funds increases, the hurdles that must be cleared increase, requiring more work from the leader.

Our leaders all discussed the need for keeping track of performance. They discussed metrics ranging from meeting financial targets to achieving service goals and attracting and retaining key workers, paid and unpaid. In the nonprofit world, motivation via financial incentives such as promotions, substantial raises, and bonuses is less likely. Among the leaders we spoke with, they recognized that the size of their organizations resulted in relatively few opportunities for promotion and, as is the case for many nonprofits, bonuses are not part of the landscape, and large raises simply cause budget issues and potentially bad publicity. Some research suggests that the trend of lower pay for nonprofits may be changing as the need to recruit new talent becomes increasingly urgent (Bares, 2008) but, for those included here, bonuses and financial incentives were infrequent at best. Additionally, according to Paul Gavejian of Total Compensation Solutions (Bares, 2008), in certain nonprofit sectors such as hospitals and more general health care organizations, there is an increasing tendency to offer bonuses or other financial incentives to top management. In lieu of financial

and status incentives, the leaders we interviewed talked about the need to reward via the passing on of good news. Success in meeting goals and objectives becomes the primary means of motivating future performance.

The question of incentives might provide an interesting direction for future research. There is much to be learned about how the use of incentives is changing, in which industries it is more or less common, the magnitude of monetary incentives relative to the for-profit sector, and the degree to which differentiation in practice between the two sectors might be lessening. However, perhaps even more interesting might be questions around the effectiveness of such incentives. Building on the work of Deci (1975), does such an extrinsic reward have the same motivational potential in an environment where the work itself inherently provides intrinsic rewards? Additional streams of research might also look at emotion in the nonprofit sector, such as the emotional strain consequences associated with firing volunteers or emotional contagion resulting from sharing of good news. Finally, greater attention is needed toward a better understanding of CEO-board relationships as well as strategies for keeping boards actively engaged between meetings. Many boards establish various committees to conduct work between meetings. Another strategy involves mentoring or simply providing timely advice between a board member and a nonprofit employee who has responsibilities that are consistent with the board member's expertise. Finally, in some nonprofits, board members are asked to provide consultative services to teams working on a specific project. Active engagement of board members is believed to enhance both commitment and increase seniority, although this is certainly in need of empirical support.

Looking Forward While Leading Nonprofits

Our nonprofit leaders talked about making sure that their organizations are dynamic and capable of meeting new demands as they arise. Creating and keeping a responsive team, one that embraces change rather than holding firm and inflexible, is critical. The leaders we interviewed have been serving in their positions for between two and 20 years. Each talked about the multitude of changes that have occurred during their tenure. They all spoke directly to the fact that some things they are doing now they were not doing when they assumed their positions. These changes include a broadening of services, an increase in the size of the paid staff, an enhanced pool of volunteers with more diverse perspectives and skills, and many new regulatory requirements. They also talked about an increased focus on the

board-leader relationship and the broader economy and how it has impacted their funding. All our leaders talked about the increasing fiduciary responsibility they are feeling both in terms of formal reporting requirements and facilitating donor questions. They all discussed the move toward enhanced long-range planning processes that have been put into place. With respect to more extended planning, those leaders representing slightly larger organizations spoke of the new focus on succession planning within their organization, while those from smaller organizations recognized the importance of this activity but said the small number of workers limited the degree to which succession planning would be successful.

Nonprofits are all guided by a mission. That mission usually incorporates the overarching goals of the organization and is the passion, the lifeblood of the organization. Leaders use the mission as a rallying point for everyone in the organization as well as those who help fund it and those who are the recipients of the services (Chen & Graddy, 2010; Ruvio et al., 2010). It would be hard to find a nonprofit organization without a goal associated with leaving the community it serves better off when compared to the time before the nonprofit was in existence. All our leaders took a positive change perspective and brought it to their specific position. Successful leaders recognize that ultimately their job is to leave the nonprofit they lead in better shape than when they took over. The leaders we interviewed all believed that improving the organization over time means working hard, effectively managing others, and stepping away when the time is appropriate. Like the athletes who want one more season but have lost their edge or the boxer who wants one more chance at the championship, knowing the right time to leave is not always easy to recognize. Successful leadership means knowing when it is time to step aside and let another lead and, by so doing, maintaining your ability to leave the organization on a successful and enhanced note.

The field as a whole would be well served by additional research into succession planning, and for the nonprofit sector in particular. There might be great value in qualitative research that aimed to capture the effectiveness of different approaches to succession planning (doing nothing versus doing something versus potentially over-doing the process). Additionally, future research might provide insight into the process of organizational exit for nonprofit leaders. Why do they leave? How do they handle leaving? What is the role of a legacy in the nonprofit sector as opposed to the for-profit sector?

NONPROFITS AND THE FUTURE

Predicting the future is never an easy task. Moving forward in time, it is possible to make educated guesses regarding economic indicators, demand for services, and availability of various financial and other resources, including the workforce. One thing that is clear right now is that the future will hold many challenges when it comes to the success of nonprofits. The following section focuses attention on three issues that are very likely to face nonprofit organizations in the coming decade.

The Economy

In times of financial struggles and economic downturns, several factors impacting nonprofits come into play. Obviously, funding becomes more difficult, and new and different efforts will be needed to secure the same level of funding. With increased competition for funding, we are likely to see a form of Darwinism with the fittest of nonprofits surviving and those that are weaker perhaps falling away. We have seen growth in the number of nonprofits over the past decade but much of that growth was seen during better economic times. It remains to be seen if the growth will continue. More than likely, there will be at least a slowdown in the number of new nonprofits as a result of funding issues. The economy may also serve to limit the degree to which nonprofits can close the gap when it comes to pay when compared to for-profit organizations. Finally, the economic problems will clearly require new and innovative ways to attract funding sources, both individual and organizational.

Future research might look at trends, historically in times of economic downturn, and aim to determine what some of those innovative new solutions might look like. Or research might look at how fewer jobs in the for-profit sector might increase the number of people seeking jobs in areas seen as less profitable, and what impact that might have on employee mindsets. As more people take work with less financial incentive, cognitive dissonance suggests they should adjust their desires for monetary/extrinsic rewards . . . is this a lasting change?

Governmental Cutbacks

Many nonprofits rely heavily on governmental funding. As we have seen over the past several years, these funding sources are clearly shrinking. One

only needs to look at entities such as libraries and emergency services to see that dollars available are in short supply. Nonprofits who have a substantial base of their budget from governmental sources will need to develop new targets and new strategies for funding. It will also be the case that the nonprofit organization will have to change in structure, moving to fewer paid staff and more volunteer worker support. The changing make-up of the staff will bring on new challenges to efficient operations. The trend we have seen is that governmental funding has increased the demand for efficacy information. Demonstrating effectiveness means nonprofits will need to place greater effort on understanding, tracking, and presenting their analogue to return on investment. While governmental funding may be declining, funding for programs that have demonstrated effectiveness is likely to be available. Moving forward, research might examine whether there is an ideal ratio of volunteers to paid employees, or a critical mass needed to maximize organizational impact.

Competing for Talent

Competing for top talent, from the CEO position to key paid organizational jobs, to attracting capable volunteers presents challenges as well as room for optimism. While working for a nonprofit organization has its financial consequences in the form of lower overall compensation, more and more individuals appear to be gaining training in nonprofit work. Additionally, there is a rise in the interest of recent college graduates in working for a nonprofit (Rampell, 2011). Finally, the for-profit business sector has been retracting, and many talented individuals have either been displaced and are thus available or interested in transitioning to the nonprofit sector. These factors make finding talent more likely, and the well-managed HR practices within a nonprofit may find new opportunities for employees at all levels. Capelli (2003) discusses labor shortages and Never (2010) addresses the impact of recession on organizational talent providing important springboards for how nonprofits attract and compete for human resources.

Drucker (1989) discusses the importance of nonprofit volunteers and the move toward "unpaid professionals." He describes the important pieces necessary for keeping unpaid professionals in nonprofit organizations, including such actions as having a clear organizational mission, careful placement and continuous learning and teaching, the use of management by objectives techniques, specific and challenging goals with corresponding responsibility, and accountability for performance and results. Of these

factors, it appears those that the for-profit sector struggle with most are providing a clear mission (a reason for working hard), and adequate challenge and responsibility, making these two keys areas nonprofits can work to exploit. The questions, then, might be: Who best to exploit these areas, and how? What kind of leader is best equipped to motivate nonprofit employees and volunteers? Perhaps the question is less relevant in the nonprofit world, as the environment itself provides considerably more motivation than many for-profit organizations. How important is the match between leadership style and organizational mission?

The world has become a better place because of the work of nonprofit organizations. Their success in the future will be enhanced by identifying and training leaders and board members responsible for the overall health and well-being of the organization. In spite of a struggling economy, many factors point to ways in which nonprofits will continue to grow and succeed.

CREATING A BODY OF RESEARCH TO SUPPORT PRACTICE

Throughout this chapter, we have cited book chapters and referred to empirical articles that support the ideas we advance regarding leadership in nonprofit organizations. Leading nonprofits is a fact of life; it goes on daily across the globe and it is done with varying degrees of success. Nonprofit leadership goes on in organizations that are aware of and have benefitted from the scholarly information and in those organizations that have not availed themselves of the information. While working through this wealth of information, and admittedly there is much that we did not read, it became clear that many authors have developed sound foundations for their recommendations regarding leadership in nonprofits. The authors and leaders we interviewed provided important leadership perspectives, ranging from attracting and managing talent to creating and delivering persuasive communications about the nonprofit. We also noted the importance of how to best develop congruence between the leader of the organization and its board, as well as how to best evaluate the overall performance of the organization and individual contributions. While much empirical work has been done, we see several issues that would benefit from more research.

Much of the data reported about nonprofits in terms of size (employees, budget) is done at the organizational level. More research at the organizational level would be a welcome addition to the field. Questions such as: How does effective succession planning influence organizational success? Such a study would evaluate organizations on the breadth and depth of their succession planning and look at outcomes, including, but not limited to, turnover in various roles, fundraising, and satisfaction of employees, volunteers, and board members. Additionally, the actual succession planning process could be detailed to provide a more fine-tuned view of what aspects of the process lead to positive outcomes.

Work at the organizational level could also be extended to a better understanding of the newer wave of employees in nonprofits. Much of what we know about the "profile" of nonprofit workers was created prior to: (1) the economic downturn; (2) more formal training in nonprofit work/organizations; and (3) a more "mature" nonprofit workforce. With the sizeable increases in applicants for nonprofit jobs and the new wave of younger workers, it is time to update our understanding of the nonprofit workforce.

Finally, it would be interesting to follow an approach similar to that found in the book *Good to Great* (Collins, 2001). While there have been criticisms of the book, and it is true that two of the companies discussed have failed, the basic research strategy can be enlightening. Many nonprofits are described as highly successful. Others have failed or are failing. Comparing and contrasting nonprofits with varying levels of success can help us better understand how to better lead nonprofits in the future.

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11

I-O Psychology Education and the Nonprofit Context

Kecia M. Thomas, Stephanie Downey, and Kerrin E. George

Service learning may provide an important and useful teaching innovation for industrial-organizational psychologists who train students, especially graduate students. I-O psychology can foster a culture of "helping those who help others" by socializing our students early and often in their graduate training to engage in work for the greater good. Service learning may be one important tactic for teaching I-O scientists-practitioners in training of the value and importance of their skills for both for-profit and nonprofit institutions. Furthermore, faculty who supervise service learning classes are important role models who live out these prosocial values in front of and with their graduate students (Toporek & Vaughn, 2010). The promotion of service learning is a reflection of societal values for socially responsive knowledge as well as foundational and professional knowledge (Altman, 1996). Thus, service learning is an important tool for I-O psychologists who want to enhance their teaching of psychological theories, concepts, and methodologies, and professional behaviors and skills. Unlike more classroom-based teaching techniques, it is argued that service learning also provides scholars with a much-needed opportunity to promote socially responsive learning by joining their students outside of the classroom as co-learners in collaborating with clients in meeting their self-identified needs. For example, Dr. Paul Nelson, former director of the APA's Education Directorate promotes service learning as a critical and challenging teaching tool in developing engaged scholars. He argues that the foundations of an academic career, namely teaching, research, and service, be linked with the relevance of one's discipline to community needs. He further argues for more intentional and collaborative reflection as a model of engaged scholar development. This collaborative reflection is an important learning opportunity, especially when it crosses disciplinary

boundaries and when it occurs with those in and outside of the academy (Nelson, 2004).

The overall purpose of this chapter is to focus on the innovations in research on service learning, identify service learning, and its benefits; outline its usefulness in developing a prosocial focus in I-O psychology research and practice; and offer evidence-based advice to educators on how to implement service learning programs. More specifically, we explore various definitions of service learning and differentiate service learning from other forms of experiential education. This is especially important given the role of internships in most I-O psychology graduate training programs. We then discuss the direct and indirect benefits of service learning as demonstrated in the research literature, especially as they foster an appreciation for the complexities of practitioner life, preparing for various career paths, and in recruiting a new generation of I-O scholars.

We then turn to the relevance of service learning in graduate education. Service learning is often thought of as a useful tool to engage undergraduate students. We argue that service learning can be an important strategy for developing engaged scholars (Nelson, 2004), as well as broadening students' thinking around research questions and helping them to become credible teachers themselves. A discussion around service learning in I-O psychology and the implementation of this teaching strategy will follow. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the potential sources of resistance that may derail efforts to implement service learning. Research questions related to service learning in I-O psychology are also offered. These questions focus on the role of service learning in developing socially responsible, ethical, sophisticated, and diverse I-O professionals, as well as how service learning may be a valuable tool in disseminating information about the discipline of I-O psychology and subsequently attracting more students to the profession.

OVERVIEW OF SERVICE LEARNING

Recently, the use of service learning has garnered significant credibility in education and this support continues to grow (Kenworthy-U'Ren, 2008). A frequently cited definition of service learning comes from Bringle and Hatcher (1995), who describe service learning as

> a course-based, credit-bearing educational experience in which students: a) participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community

> needs and b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility.
>
> (p. 112)

More recently, Godfrey, Illes, and Berry (2005) similarly suggested that the three elements for successful service learning are reality, reflection, and reciprocity.

To uphold these standards, service learning must occur as a fully integrated part of academic course curriculum and should be combined with course readings and lectures that reinforce specific educational objectives (Furco, 1996; McAleavey, 1996; Zlotkowski, 1999). However, service learning is necessarily distinguished from the traditionally embraced, teacher-centered approach to education. Taking place in the classroom, the latter form of education operates under the assumption that teachers are the mechanism through which knowledge should be transmitted to students, with the expectation that, as empty vessels, students will oblige and engage in behavior focused on absorbing this information (Dewey, 1938). This approach is passive in that students are expected to learn by listening and observing (e.g., lectures, textbooks) and are not actively engaged in the learning process (Thomas & Landau, 2002). As a result, some believe that students do not come to fully understand the complex context in which many phenomena operate, and it is believed that this approach may hamper career preparation and the ability of students to be successful in translating their knowledge to practice in both academic and applied professions (McAleavey, 1996; Nyquist & Woodford, 2000; Thomas & Lambert, 2005).

In contrast to traditional education, service learning is described as a method that intends to enable students to gather deeper comprehension of literature and theory through active participation in service that is carefully organized to meet the needs of the community and highlights realistic parameters to expect in field settings (Furco, 1996; Godfrey et al., 2005; Kenworthy, 2003; Kolenko, Porter, Wheatley, & Colby, 1996; McAleavey, 1996). As a result, advocates argue that it fills a critical learning gap in training by creating experiences for students that expose them to the careers they plan to enter and enhances preparation to apply knowledge successfully when faced with boundaries or new circumstances, such as engaging in demographically diverse environments or facing ethical considerations (Dunlap, 1998; Thomas, 2005). This form of education has been shown to enhance both intellectual and personal development for students (Deeley, 2010).

Service learning has also been used to describe a variety of approaches to experiential education (McAleavey, 1996). However, many have argued that there is a critical difference between service learning and most experiential education initiatives (Furco, 1996; McAleavey, 1996; Sigmon, 1994); specifically, service learning represents a deliberate integration of the provision of service with academic course content. Furco (1996) suggests that experiential service programs can be evaluated on two different continuums. The first examines who is the primary beneficiary of the program, the student or the organization. The second considers whether the program focuses on service to the community partner or if it leans more toward student learning. Volunteerism, for example, is characterized by student service aimed at benefitting the recipient of the service without anything in return for the student beyond intrinsic rewards, while community service represents a move toward more structured commitment from students related to specific causes, allowing the student to learn about the impact of their actions related to the initiative, specifically when it becomes integrated with coursework. In contrast, internship programs provide students experiences in their career field, with the intent of enhancing their learning without integration with specific academic content. The students' primary focus is their own development, with the organization benefitting primarily in the form of cheap labor only. While similar to internships, field education programs have a stronger integration with academics and focus on maximizing education.

Service learning is only achieved when there is a reciprocal benefit and mutual enhancement for student learning goals and service provided to the community, rather than emphasizing one over the other or separating them completely (Furco, 1996; McAleavey, 1996; Sigmon, 1994). It actively engages students and community partners in behaviors with clear goals, responsibilities, and support structures that are aimed at the benefit of the greater good (Kolenko et al., 1996; McAleavey, 1996; Zlotkowski, 1999). Through reciprocity, students learn about social issues and the reality of the social contexts they will encounter (Godfrey et al., 2005; Kolenko et al., 1996). McAleavey (1996) suggests that service learning is especially suited "for courses that have performance skills or social awareness components best developed through participation" (p. 3).

Zlotkowski (1999) developed the Service Learning Conceptual Matrix to convey the complexity of service learning. In the matrix, he places different concerns in four quadrants divided by two perpendicular axes representing the range from an expertise focus to a focus on the common good (horizontal axis) and the range from focusing on student needs to

focusing on sponsor needs (vertical axis). The result reflects a typology of four different issues: pedagogical strategies, academic culture, community partners, and reflection strategies. Pedagogical strategies focus on constructing a successful course incorporating service learning. Pedagogical strategies require instructors to put aside personal agendas while carefully identifying and articulating the purpose of the service activity and how it relates to learning goals, identifying the most enriching form of service to achieve course goals based on the needs of the community and students' abilities and skills, and identifying the format of the course that would best facilitate goal achievement (Kolenko et al., 1996; Zlotkowski, 1999).

The academic culture issues reflect a concern with demonstrating institutional support for service learning programs. It is important for the notions of service and service learning to be integrated in the expectations and evaluation of faculty roles and be backed by support for interdisciplinary collaboration and study (Zlotkowski, 1999). Resistance from institutions may evolve from perceptions that service learning will detract from research and obtaining external funding for research, such as grants or fellowships (Thomas, 2005). Without appropriate institutional support, service learning programs fall short due to faculty resistance and work overload (Kolenko et al., 1996).

Resistance or a failure to actively cooperate from community partners is also detrimental to successful service learning. These concerns reflect what Zlotkowski (1999) refers to as community partners issues (Kolenko et al., 1996; Zlotkowski, 1999). The benefit of service learning for students suffers a critical blow from resistance that prevents community partners from becoming actively engaged, such as a lack of willingness to invest time for planning and identifying needs or providing developmental feedback, hostility toward openly sharing information, or a lack of commitment toward creating an engaged learning environment for students (Thomas & Landau, 2002; Zlotkowski, 1999). For example, community partners that have solely been the recipients of service from volunteers and do not expect reciprocity (Furco, 1996) may not be willing or able to extend themselves in the form of teaching. That is, they are not accustomed or may not be prepared to support the instruction of students through the active sharing of information about the pressures they confront and the processes they use to make decisions. However, without the knowledge and expertise of the community partners, students' full learning is hampered, as they cannot fully develop comprehension of how problems may manifest or be solved in the field by simply applying the technical skills they work to acquire (Thomas & Landau, 2002). One of the assets of a service learning

engagement is that sponsor-clients, faculty, and students truly become partners rather than only client and service provider.

The last quadrant is concerned with reflection strategies. Structured opportunities to engage in reflection are often cited as key components of service learning that separate it from other forms of experiential learning (Kenworthy, 2003; Kolenko et al., 1996; Thomas & Landau, 2002; Zlotkowski, 1999). Kolenko et al. (1996) suggest that reflection is how students translate their application of technical skills from coursework into knowledge of how to solve problems or overcome challenges of different environments, resources, and needs. It allows for students to question their beliefs and opinions as they evaluate course content and form opinions (Eyler, Giles, & Schmiede, 1996). Reflection encourages students to examine and interpret their experiences to promote the development of a deeper understanding of the connection between theory and practice in the field, bolstering content mastery (Thomas & Landau, 2002; Zlotkowski, 1999). Furthermore, it is argued that reflection will foster students' civic responsibility by highlighting the social significance of one's work and enhancing the sense of responsibility to contribute to the well-being of the community (e.g. Kolenko et al., 1996; McAleavey, 1996; Thomas & Landau, 2002).

Service Learning in Graduate Education

Most often, service learning is thought of as a teaching tool to use in undergraduate classes (Nelson, 2004). However, we argue that there is a place for service learning in graduate education as well. Graduate education, especially doctoral education, is largely focused upon research. The success of a graduate program and its students largely rests upon the quality and quantity of the research produced (Nelson, 2004). Yet, for doctoral students who have chosen a scientist-practitioner path, service learning provides an ideal mechanism for reinforcing foundation and professional knowledge under the supervision of a faculty member *and* a client partner. Furthermore, the service learning experience uniquely reinforces group reflection of one's experience and the literature in order to provide superior service and student learning (Thomas & Landau, 2002). The opportunity to examine one's work with the community partner and consider that experience as contrasted against one's "book knowledge" provides an unparalleled learning opportunity for students. Service learning may also be an important avenue for socializing students across boundaries so that collaboration occurs not only among colleagues, but also between I-O professionals and those in their communities.

Traditional I-O Psychology Training

I-O psychology education and training develops a unique set of knowledge and skills as compared to other psychology programs, business and economics programs, and human resource development programs. I-O psychology is distinct from other areas of psychology because it works with entire organizations, focusing on the workplace and how to maximize organizational effectiveness and the performance of human capital beyond the role of work environments and employee attitudes or perceptions. Gasser, Butler, Waddilove, and Tan (2004) surveyed SIOP fellows to identify how I-O psychology degrees are distinguished from related degrees in human resource and business. The response categories reflected: (1) I-O psychologists are more familiar with science and research as a result of statistical training and knowledge of measurement; (2) I-O psychologists are better immersed in psychological theory and individual differences; and (3) I-O psychology takes a greater micro-level focus comparatively. I-O psychology is also unique from human resource development graduate programs because they move beyond training methods and have the expertise to engage in applied evaluation.

I-O psychologists typically cater to for-profit institutions, dealing with educated managers or similarly trained human resources practitioners. Lefkowitz (2005) explains that while there are no established values of I-O psychology, trends in practice (e.g., a disproportionate concern with the interests of management, a lack of concern for labor unions, and a failure to address the experiences of non-traditional workers or the unemployed) suggest that, ultimately, I-O psychologists are serving the organization with an overall goal to increase their effectiveness and generate profit. He contends that I-O can reject this view by acknowledging the societal contributions of their work, contributions of pro bono work, and the presence of ethical leadership in organizations, but this must be furthered. By introducing a service learning component in I-O psychology, education of the types of organizations served will likely broaden as well as expand the capacity to serve a variety of consulting needs. Service learning has the capacity to socialize graduate students into new non-profit environments, and develop awareness of community needs while challenging existing beliefs, potentially fostering additional professional goals to their work other than making money (e.g., Brower, 2011; Doerr, 2011). Ideally, practitioner skills developed through the use of service learning would help institutionalize an intrinsic desire to make people's work lives better.

Educators in I-O psychology are expected to adhere to the scientist-practitioner model. According to the *Guidelines for Education and Training in Industrial-Organizational Psychology* regarding the scientist-practitioner model, "the I-O psychologist is frequently both the generator of knowledge and the consumer/user of such knowledge" (SIOP, 1999). Put simply, I-O psychologists are encouraged to be both scientists and practitioners. As scientists, they use empirical skills and research to evaluate and develop theory, and, as practitioners, theory and research are applied and evaluated to address specific organizational or institutional issues. In adherence with these guidelines, educators should not only focus on research and theory, but also on the application of it. The dual importance of science and practice is necessary for developing students' knowledge, skills, and abilities, regardless of their career paths. According to the proponents of the model, students interested in academic careers should be equipped to apply both theory and practice to develop research meaningful to both scientists and practitioners. Students wishing to take the applied route are expected to deliver products through the use of sound theoretical knowledge and skills (SIOP, 1999).

In line with the scientist-practitioner model, the *Guidelines for Education and Training* list a number of core competencies that all students should master during their graduate careers (SIOP, 1999). Number one on the list is consulting and business skills. But despite the emphasis the guidelines place on the scientist-practitioner model, graduate education in I-O psychology is often criticized for being too focused on scientist competencies, lacking in the development of practitioner skills and the ability to apply training to non-academic jobs (Thomas & Lambert, 2005). Furthermore, according to the 2006 SIOP member survey, the majority of I-O psychologists do not go to work in academic settings, but instead work in consulting and private or public organizations.

Traditional teaching methods reflect "instructors' perceived positions as experts and students as empty vessels," and this may contribute to the lack of practitioner skill building through more traditional graduate school training (Thomas & Landau, 2002, p. 88). Under the expert-novice paradigm, students' breadth of knowledge and variety of skills never fully develop to address the complexities of organizational life. Even courses that are designed using case studies are lacking realism and hardly contribute to the acquisition of practitioner skills (Cummings, 2000; Golembiewski, 2000; Thomas & Landau, 2002). With the presentation of case studies, students' learning has zero consequences for the organization, the learning is never used, and problems solved have zero relevance outside the context

of the classroom. While the case study is more experiential in nature as compared to the expert-novice model, they both lack in applied skill building for I-O psychology students.

The Gap in I-O Psychology Training

Other than the formal internship, I-O psychology graduate students have hit-or-miss opportunities to apply in-class learning to real world organizations. The frequency of these opportunities typically depends upon faculty initiative and organizational availability (Munson, Phillips, Clark, & Mueller-Hanson, 2004). Often, the mindset around these opportunities is that they are an addition to, rather than a part of, the foundation of graduate student development, perhaps because applied projects are not necessarily required by graduate programs. Service learning places service at the center of student learning. Again, this is not to say that experiential opportunities are not available in our graduate programs. Many programs require some type of internship; however, at an internship, a student may or may not be supervised by a Ph.D. level "student-centered" I-O psychologist. It also would be unlikely that connections are regularly made between work the intern is conducting and the scientific literature of the field. Students sometime can also acquire contract work through local organizations. As is the case with internships, these experiences may lack faculty involvement and a deliberation of the student work and its fit with the literature. According to the 2003 SIOP internship survey of organizations providing opportunities to graduate students (e.g., formal internal/ external internships, contract work, practica, etc.), it is typically expected that graduate interns perform required tasks independently with minimal supervision, and only 78% of organizations indicated that they provide formal performance feedback (Munson et al., 2004).

In both the case of internships and contract work, graduate students do learn valuable practitioner and professional skills related to time management, interpersonal relations, technical writing, and teamwork. For example, the 2003 SIOP internship survey found that the tasks performed most frequently by graduate interns were data analysis, developing training courses or selection assessments, project management, report writing, and job analysis (Munson et al., 2004). In most cases, the learning of these valuable skills, however, only benefits a single individual. In contrast, when service learning is offered, the learning occurs throughout the student group given the focus on group processing and reflection. Although at times a class may actually be divided up to serve several institutions at one time,

the opportunity to convene as a class with a faculty facilitator provides students with the unique opportunity to verbally process their client engagement and gain outsider knowledge and feedback from the faculty member as well as their peers. Within a service learning classroom, students have the opportunity to serve as service provider, coach, and consultant to each other. Service learning may, therefore, provide a novel avenue and benefit for socializing students while reinforcing values related to engagement and collaboration. Unlike an internship in which students may work alone or in (relatively) short-term groups of other interns from other graduate programs, service learning frequently occurs within a class or even a cohort with intact groups of students that share a program and institutional identity. Thus, service learning creates opportunities for students (and their faculty) to participate in collective processing of the experience and engage in conversations around their class and their projects, both within the physical classroom as well as outside of it over extended lengths of time (Thomas & Lambert, 2005; Thomas & Landau, 2002).

BENEFITS OF SERVICE LEARNING IN I-O PSYCHOLOGY

Research indicates that service learning in higher education has many benefits, both direct and indirect. These benefits concern communities as well as higher education institutional cultures. One visible and direct benefit of service learning reflects the services received by the community partner. These entities benefit through service learning through the time and commitment of the faculty and students involved. The benefit here is more than mere labor, but it reflects the application of the knowledge, skills, and abilities of the faculty involved and the developing skill set of their students. Brower (2011) uses a case study of service learning in a Third World context to explain the potential for service learning opportunities in management to be a driver behind sustainable community development, where students develop the awareness of how they are able to apply their skills when resources are limited and how they can help facilitate community progress. Therefore, service learning partners often receive a level of quality that likely surpasses that of volunteers.

Service learning partners benefit as well through an expanded network of faculty and students who are invested in the continued success of their

client organizations and who may become ardent community advocates or even board members. For example, Seider, Gillmor, and Rabinowicz (2011) found that business students who participated in a service learning component developed a more sophisticated understanding of the complexities that can contribute to poverty. Additionally, they demonstrated with qualitative interviews that at least half of the participants "described how this deeper understanding of poverty would positively impact their future work as businessmen and women" (p. 498).

Another benefit of service learning is the potential for advancement of science, research, and practice in sectors that are typically overlooked during traditional I-O training. Peters, McHugh, and Sendall (2006) evaluate the incorporation of service learning into undergraduate human resource management courses to supply students with practical experience in the face of the economic recession that rendered internships less available. They found that students were still able to develop skills that made them competitive, while also gaining awareness of additional business sectors that can benefit from their technical skills. This can prove to be equally as beneficial for graduate students in I-O psychology and their community partners. For example, most I-O psychology internships occur in for-profit organizations that have the resources to employ students. However, nonprofits, health care organizations, or local government and education institutions who partner with service learning students and faculty are able to pursue needs and projects that may have been delayed due to the lack of time or human resources, as well as funding. Simultaneously, these partnerships will develop scientists who can better understand the needs of these sectors and the communities they serve, which can translate into expanding the contexts of I-O research and a body of competent I-O psychologists who can effectively use their skills to improve organizational effectiveness under such constraints.

Research indicates there are numerous benefits for students enrolled in service learning courses. An obvious direct and visible benefit is the opportunity to connect classroom learning with application and practice. That is, students benefit by being able to apply their learning to a community or organizational problem. At a minimum, students are able to study an issue in a real-world context that, without service learning, may have only been taught through textbook examples, cases, or faculty storytelling. For example, Casile, Hoover, and O'Neil (2011) found that students engaged in service learning were shown to have higher course content mastery than peers that were engaged in a research project. Furthermore, these students showed greater pride in their work and

satisfaction with the course, as well as more positive beliefs that the project helped them learn course content and that the expended energy was worth the gain.

Another way in which student learning is facilitated is through understanding the boundaries by which in-class learning is generalizable in the larger community. Students, therefore, come to appreciate the complexity of applying one's learning in the real world and the many boundary conditions that exist outside the classroom or laboratory that can affect the application of I-O research and theories. Doerr (2011) discusses service learning as an opportunity for students to resolve controlled cognitive dissonance resulting from exposure to new experiences and environments, pushing them to work through complex challenges to their beliefs (e.g., power and privilege, social inequities) as facilitated by educators, making students better able to navigate the nature of different contexts. But, perhaps most importantly, research has shown that students like service learning classes, finding them to be realistic, interesting, and beneficial to the learning experience (Maloni & Paul, 2011).

Student learning is enhanced through service learning but so is student career development. Within a service learning teaching environment, students have the opportunity to try out their intended career path (Thomas & Landau, 2002). This is especially true for I-O psychology students intending to become practitioners. Service learning provides future practitioners with the opportunity to perfect consulting skills and coping mechanisms for the complexities of conducting applied research in the field. However, we believe that service learning benefits the future academic as well. Given the pressures for graduate students to engage in research, teaching assistantships, and increasingly grant writing, students may have limited opportunity to personally experience what they learn up close. Service learning provides future faculty with the unique opportunity to gain experiences that will subsequently benefit *their* future students (Thomas & Lambert, 2005; Thomas & Landau, 2002). Therefore, service learning enables future I-O psychology faculty to be more effective and credible teachers and recruiters of the next generation of those in the discipline. For students considering research careers, inside or outside of academe, service learning helps to stimulate new lines of inquiry that may not have sprung from reading journal articles or textbooks. Future researchers who engage in service learning likely develop skill sets that facilitate the identification of future research avenues based upon their real-world experiences (Thomas & Lambert, 2005; Thomas & Landau, 2002).

There are likely unexplored and indirect benefits for faculty who engage in service learning. For example, service learning broadens the professional and community network for faculty, who, over time, may become limited to contact with colleagues on campus, their students, or those within their discipline. Therefore, service learning may provide benefits to faculty such as those to students that help faculty members broaden their networks, perspectives, and ideas around their own research and teaching. For many seasoned professors, faculty may be energized by a service learning experience that breaks the pattern of more traditional classroom teaching. Likewise, service learning in many ways lets faculty "off the hook" to wear their expert hat. That is, faculty who lead service learning classes retain the expertise of content, methodologies, etc., but they will not be an expert on the client. Students and faculty therefore become co-learners in the process (Nelson, 2004).

Another unexplored benefit of service learning may relate to graduate student recruitment, especially as it relates to attracting ethnic minority students who are frequently underrepresented in I-O psychology graduate programs. In short, service learning can help fields better demonstrate their relevance to the day-to-day lives of underrepresented students and the larger community overall. The University of Georgia Preparing Future Faculty Program (APA, n.d.) incorporated service learning in order to better inform minority doctoral students about the diversity of academic appointments available to them. UGA-PFF students from the disciplines of counseling, educational, and I-O psychology had the opportunity to be mentored by faculty in diverse areas of psychology at their home institution, but also from other faculty at partner institutions. These partner institutions varied in regards to their academic missions, types of students, and even geographic locations. For example, partner institutions included a medical college, a historically black college, and a rural four-year institution with a military background. In addition to mentoring from this faculty, students worked alongside partner faculty as co-instructors and facilitators in service learning classes and participated in a service learning incubator. A major area of learning for these students was how, through infusing service learning into their courses, they could potentially have direct contact with their own ethnic minority communities and impact the health and effectiveness of people such as themselves (Thomas, Willis, & Davis, 2007). This epiphany made the academy a much more attractive career option for these students who previously had been on a practitioner path. For future minority faculty, service learning may be an opportunity to retain a connection with minority communities and avoid the isolation that so

many minority faculty experience (Thomas et al., 2007). In short, in this program, minority students came to appreciate the academy as a viable career option through service learning. Further anecdotal and empirical evidence is critical to understanding how service learning in diverse contexts may promote greater diversity in the discipline of I-O, especially in the academic career path.

Likewise, another unintended benefit of service learning, especially for I-O psychology, may be its impact upon the image of the field, again especially for minority communities. The more that scholars and students of the field interact with the community, the greater awareness community members will have about the field, and hopefully the more attracted future students will become. Service learning may break the image of I-O psychology as a science that is solely concerned with servicing the interests of big business and making/saving organizations money.

INSTITUTIONALIZING SERVICE LEARNING IN I-O PSYCHOLOGY EDUCATION

Despite the benefits to I-O psychology education and research, service learning has not been adequately addressed within the I-O psychology context. Consequently, the importance of using this learning approach as a tool to advance educational experiences and expand research has been overlooked. Introducing service learning into any course can be a challenge; however the broad service learning literature can serve as a guideline for incorporating this approach in the I-O classroom. The design and administration of service learning experiences can vary dramatically, and "these variations can have a differential impact on student learning from the experience" (Yorio & Ye, 2012, p. 24). Additionally, I-O psychology faculty members who are considering service learning as a part of their courses "will quickly discover that many issues need to be considered before the service activities are developed" (Osborne, Weadick, & Penticuff, 1998, p. 128). Therefore, it is important to think thoughtfully about the course design and implementation before deciding to incorporate service learning into the classroom. This section of the paper will offer many ideas and suggestions on how to successfully integrate service experiences into a course.

When determining how to incorporate service learning in the classroom, Howard (1993) suggests the following 10 principles for integrating service

learning into the curriculum. The first principle is (1) academic credit is for learning, not for service; students should demonstrate effective academic learning that should be evaluated by the professor, as it is in traditional learning environments. With adherence to the second principle, (2) do not compromise academic rigor, students should be expected to perform both in-class and service assignments to appropriate and challenging standards of learning. The third principle, (3) set learning goals for students, describes the importance of teachers setting explicit learning objectives for the student's clarity. The fourth principle is self explanatory and stresses for teachers to (4) establish criteria for the selection of community service placements. By developing learning tools and strategies for how to apply service experiences to learning, the professor is complying with the fifth principle, (5) providing educationally sound mechanisms to harvest the community learning. Closely in line with the fifth principle, the sixth principle, (6) provide support for students to learn how to harvest community learning, asks professors to take the strategies a step further by distributing examples of what successful demonstration of community learning looks like. Integrating the service learning components into the in-class academic material will help (7) minimize the distinction between the student's community learning role and the classroom learning role. The eighth principle is (8) rethink the faculty instructional role, which inspires faculty to step out of their traditional teaching roles and explore other styles of instruction. The ninth principle is (9) be prepared for uncertainty and variation in student learning outcomes. In other words, there is no possible way to predict all student outcomes, thus one should be prepared to expect the unexpected. Lastly, faculty should seek to (10) maximize the community responsibility orientation of the course.

By continually revisiting these principles throughout the development process, one can expect a successful learning experience for students, but determining where to start can be the hardest part. Throughout this section of the chapter, we will outline what relevant research has identified as key things to consider in the development, implementation, and evaluation of service learning programs. The remainder of this section discusses issues that relate to construction of a service learning syllabus, course design, and community partnership. Additionally, potential barriers to service learning implementation will be addressed.

Syllabus and Course Design

Service learning can be incorporated into almost any I-O psychology course, and there are ample opportunities for connecting the practical

experiences provided through service learning to course content (Osborne et al., 1998). It is important to recognize from a general pedagogy standpoint that classes with service learning components, versus traditional assignments, involve both a higher quality and amount of work, and require that students are adaptable and independent (Kenworthy-U'Ren & Peterson, 2005). The best place to start when considering a course is the syllabus. Syllabus design is the opportunity to present the structure of the course and desired educational outcomes. The syllabus should clearly explain why service is the pedagogy of choice, the role of service in the course, what the service component will entail, and how it relates to course content (Heffernan, 2001). According to Heffernan (2001), there are important criteria that an exceptional service learning syllabus should include. These criteria (Heffernan, 2001) are:

- *Service should be included as an explicit goal of the course.* Expressing service as a goal and linking it to specific learning objectives allows students to "discover that the service learning experience is designed to enhance both their learning and their developing psychological skills" (Osborne et al., 1998, p. 131).
- *The nature of the service placement and/or project should be clearly described.* Students should be aware of their expectations of their service learning placements. Questions to consider addressing in the syllabus include: What type of placement is it: a nonprofit organization, a private company, a university affiliated organization, or another? What are the consulting needs? Who are the consumers? What was the initial motivation for the partnership?
- *Student roles and responsibilities in the placement and/or service project should be specified.* Outside from the desired classroom work, students should be made aware of expectations related to their service projects. Instructors should be careful to outline their roles as consultants and how they will be expected to use course material to deliver products, determine if they will be expected to implement business solutions or just submit a proposal, and describe how often students should expect to meet with their community partners. This information could be presented in a timeline of desired project deadlines or with bullets, but the presentation should clearly outline expectations.
- *Define the needs the service placement meets.* These needs can include many things and should be addressed as the instructor sees fit. The need for an increase in practitioner skills, experiential learning, development of business and consulting competencies, and application

of course content are a few of many potential needs that could be met by service experiences. Identification of these needs will encourage students to actively participate in their learning experience.

- *Describe clearly how the service experience will be measured and what will be measured.* This can often be the most challenging aspect of designing a service learning course. Howard's (1993) first principle for integrating service learning into curriculum is: academic credit is for learning, not for service. The instructor must decide what he or she wants students to be learning and develop a set of measurable criteria around learning objectives. For example, the aim that a student "demonstrates how to analyze a data set" is a clearly stated goal about what to measure and tells students what is expected of them (Heffernan, 2001).
- *Specify how students will be expected to demonstrate what they have learned in the placement/project.* There are several ways that student work can be assessed, such as project presentations, portfolios, observation periods, reflection papers, feedback from the placement organization, and feedback from group members (Gordon, 2000). These assessment methods should be used separately from exams to ensure the service aspect of a course is being measured.
- *Present course assignments that link the service placement and the course content.* The service learning project will require time and effort of students outside of classroom time, thus classroom hours provide the opportunity to support the service project with empirical materials. Providing a reading list will link the relevant course material to their community service projects. Reflection papers that connect course material to their applied experiences are also an excellent method. Instructors may also find that exams are relevant for the course. The key to a successful service learning experience is to develop service learning projects that reinforce the content of the course (Osborne et al., 1998).
- *Include a description of the reflective process.* This description could be included in another section, such as in course assignment section, but the important thing to remember is that reflecting on experiences is the best way to assess what each individual student has learned as a result of the course (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996; Heffernan, 2001). Through this reflective process, students may also provide valuable feedback and suggestions on how to improve the course for the next time. Research strongly supports the use of reflection as an integral part of a service learning class (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996; Eyler et al., 1996; Mahin & Kruggel, 2006).

- *Include a description of the expectations for the public dissemination of students' work.* What is the deliverable? Students should be made aware of what they will be expected to do once the project is completed. Will they just have a class presentation, or will they be expected to present to the service partner?

Using these criteria, the instructor may spend a great deal of time constructing the syllabus, but the course will likely be better planned and students will likely have a clear understanding of their role as service learners.

Community Partnership Building

Another important step in the service learning development process is building partnerships in the community. Relationships with partners will develop over time and the types of projects and outcomes will vary depending on the community partners with whom the instructor or department have worked. According to Klein (2001), pro bono service opportunities can become available through acquaintances, organizational affiliations, and reputations. Sometimes faculty members are approached by an organization needing assistance while other times they see a need for a service and offer their assistance. To maintain the most control over the learning experience, the instructor should initiate the contact and seek out community partners whose consulting needs match the overall goals of the course (Klein, 2001).

During initial partner contact, the class size, geographical location of clients, and the length of the relationships are important to keep in mind. The number of students in a given course will help determine the number of community partners needed (Gordon, 2000). If the faculty has control over class size, the instructor should consider how many students would be ideal in a group and how large a class can be managed. The geographic location is important because students might be expected to expend their own resources getting to and from their client meetings. It might be helpful to both students and community partners for the location to be close in proximity to their everyday work. The nature of coursework in graduate programs usually only allows for a limited timeline for the completion of projects. Time can be limiting on the types of projects that can be completed, and clients and students should be made explicitly aware of the limited length of the relationship and encouraged to use time wisely.

The very nature of service learning projects ask students to enter into a mutually beneficial relationship with their communities and foster

collaboration and learning (Thomas & Landau, 2002). However, an instructor's job is to manage the expectations of both parties. With the client, the instructor needs to be realistic with what is possible for the students to accomplish in the provided length of time. Instructors may not have extensive experience as consultants, but budget-strapped nonprofit organizations can almost always benefit from an outsider's perspective (Gordon, 2000; Troper & Lopez, 2009). Clients should be aware of the student partners' accessibility. As the instructor, the communicative role should be limited to the beginning stages of development and at times when students are not meeting expectations. After partnerships are formed, contact with community clients should be restricted to their student partners instead of the instructor, and students should be readily accessible to their clients during the entire course of the project (Thomas & Landau, 2002).

Faculty who implement service learning will often find that students have diverse backgrounds with unique sets of experiences, knowledge, and skills (Thomas & Landau, 2002). Teams should be encouraged to capitalize on the array of talents in their groups, but, as with any type of group work, team members will not always work well together. Problems may arise among group members, and the instructors should be prepared to address issues in dysfunctional teams. As well as individual differences, teams will have distinct experiences based on their community client partnership. Organizations are also extremely diverse in the types of consulting help they will seek out, thus no team will have the same applied experience. Some groups may experience a lack of communication from community partners. Because the work of community organizations is ongoing, they may have a hard time fully committing to the completion of the project. Other priorities may take precedence over the service learning projects. If the instructor is careful and direct in selecting partners, one should seldom run into this problem; however, being prepared to deal with it is very important. An exhaustive list of potential problems is impossible to generate because each service learning course will have its own set of issues that arise. Thoughtful course planning and clear objectives will help to reduce the stress that students and community partners may experience.

Potential Barriers

One potential barrier to implementing service learning, especially in graduate education, relates to faculty resistance (Thomas & Lambert, 2005). Certainly, some faculty will resist the inclusion of service learning because

they have become accustomed and comfortable with their present teaching strategies. Others may resist because of the pressure to identify potential community partners. Another source of resistance to service learning in graduate education may simply be the characterization of graduate education, especially at the doctoral level, as solely emphasizing research. This may be especially risky for junior faculty on the tenure track in research-intensive environments where any form of service, especially outside of the normal academic domains of editorships or reviewing, connotes a lack of value or interest in research. Therefore, for junior faculty, service learning may have negative political career implications. Yet, for savvy professors, service learning-based community partnerships can also produce field data, case studies, and the opportunity to contribute to the scholarship of engagement.

Likewise, an institutional form of resistance may manifest in institutional support for service learning. Some institutions may support faculty participation in service learning through providing small seed grants to support students' efforts. This may be most visible in the presence or absence of credit for service learning in promotion and tenure reviews.

Service learning is not without its risks and therefore some level of resistance is an important opportunity to scrutinize if the benefits of a service learning engagement for students, for the community, and even supervising faculty outweigh the risks. Troper and Lopez (2009) outline some of the risks for "novice consultants" that likely apply to I-O graduate students and faculty as well. A likely risk involves the overestimation of the student team's ability to deliver the desired outcome or service. Students are not full-time employees and so they come into a service learning engagement with knowledge and skill gaps that the engagement is expected to fill. Also, as students, their schedules do not always align with that of their client sponsor, which may create performance difficulties. Faculty may also underestimate the extent to which students can constructively work together to complete their assignment, especially if ignorant of interpersonal difficulties and conflicts that are not readily apparent in classroom environments (Troper & Lopez, 2009).

Another potential risk involves graduate students (and faculty) who work across significant cultural and/or economic class differences. It is not uncommon for majority group members to overestimate their effectiveness in working with ethnic or cultural groups that are different from their own (Thomas et al., 2007). This might lead to ethnocentrism that can quickly derail a student team's ability to be perceived as credible. Faculty, therefore, must themselves be comfortable in working across demographic

boundaries and be willing to engage in the hard work of building multicultural competence in their students before and during the engagement. Any difficulties in a service learning engagement certainly may limit opportunities for student team effectiveness and the clients' needs being met. In addition, unmanaged risks can also limit the opportunities for future engagements from occurring or, worse, impair relations between a community and the university.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Service learning provides an opportunity to develop a generation of I-O scholars that are engaged, socially responsive, and diverse. Throughout our chapter, we have alluded to a number of potential benefits of service learning that may prove to be fruitful areas of research. Importantly, as Yorio and Ye (2012) point out, most of the research to date on service learning has been qualitative in nature, thus the field could stand to benefit from more quantitative empirical evidence highlighting the outcomes of service learning. Perhaps a research agenda on this topic should examine the role of service learning as potentially beneficial for students' learning and development, and in particular the variety of skills that may emerge. The process of how this particular education vehicle might promote student success is also worth discussing. Likewise, service learning may have consequences for the promotion and identity of I-O psychology as an academic discipline and career path.

Service Learning and Skill Development

A major goal of any service learning engagement is to promote student learning. According to a recent meta-analysis of the effects of service learning, it was found to have a positive effect on a student's understanding of social issues, personal insight, and cognitive development (Yorio & Ye, 2012). In light of this research, additional questions should be asked about the benefits of this form of learning. For example: specifically, how does service learning promote socially responsive knowledge? Is service learning a better strategy for developing this form of knowledge compared to volunteer work or even taking a class on business and society? What might service learning that promotes socially responsive knowledge look like in practice? Do service learning students choose thesis and dissertation topics

that are more likely to have a social-justice undercurrent? Are service learning students more likely to pursue research sites outside of the typical for-profit workplace? Do service learning students simply think more broadly about how their knowledge, skills, and abilities can be applied outside of the silos of enhancing worker and organizational effectiveness? It may also be that service learning I-O psychology students cultivate a value and knowledge of how the discipline contributes to the larger society other than the for-profit sector and its priorities.

As previous research suggests, students who participated in service learning experiences reported feeling less discomfort speaking in front of authoritative groups, less discomfort initiating conversations with unfamiliar people, increased communication skills, and more comfort leading a group (Govekar & Rishi, 2007). Additionally, those students also reported an increase in their ability to think creatively, an increased comfort in deviating away from planned formats, and going beyond the available textbooks to find answers to questions (Govekar & Rishi, 2007). Thus, to further examine this line of research, an important area for further inquiry may be to further examine the impact of service learning on students' efficacy for engaging in practice. That is, do students who have been provided service learning opportunities believe themselves to be more competent to apply I-O psychology to organizational problems and concerns? Given that service learning students are able to develop practitioner skills in a team environment and under the supervision of a faculty member, do they develop a practitioner efficacy that is stronger and/or developed earlier than students who are not afforded a service learning opportunity. Subsequently, how does this impact career expectations and choice? Do service learning students, because of their portfolio of experience, start in their careers at a more advanced level? Are these same students more open to practitioner careers outside of traditional for-profit workplaces? It would also be worthwhile to investigate what employers know about service learning and their value for it relative to contract-based work and internships.

It would also be interesting to examine if, from the perspective of a future employer, service learning students are better workers. Through service learning, students are exposed to the many pressures and contingencies that drive business behavior that cannot be accounted for in a textbook or article. Through this supervised real-world experience, perhaps service learning students may be more sophisticated and prepared for the complexities of organizational life.

I-O Psychology and Diversity

Another area to which we have alluded relates to the recruitment of diverse students into the field of I-O psychology and the academy. Does service learning to diverse clients challenge the images that society and potential students have of I-O psychology? Are graduate programs with service learning components more effective at recruiting, retaining, and graduating minority students compared to more traditional I-O psychology programs? Are minority students in graduate programs with service learning more satisfied and committed to their discipline? The opportunity for engaging in service learning, especially for underrepresented graduate students, may facilitate students' appreciation for how I-O psychology benefits and is relevant to their own communities. Furthermore, k-12 students who may be the direct or indirect beneficiaries of service learning, may have a contact-based knowledge of the discipline and interest that surpasses those who lack exposure to the field.

Likewise, future research could examine whether service learning I-O psychology courses "give psychology away" to those who may have never been exposed to the discipline. That is, engaging in work in communities or sectors of society where one may not normally encounter I-O psychology may create new opportunities to promote the discipline and hopefully attract interest and new students to the field.

The issue of promoting the development of engaged scholars has also been a persistent theme in this chapter. Are service learning students more likely to develop the qualities of an engaged scholar? Are service learning students more creative researchers and more credible teachers? These are important questions to consider and investigate as I-O psychology continues to broaden the contexts in which it is taught and applied.

Conclusion

Overall, our discussion suggests the potential for service learning to support the aims of I-O psychology training and education. Specifically, service learning may help to foster students' civic engagement and social responsibility, extending our skills and abilities to nonprofits or community organizations that typically would not have access to our services. Furthermore, service learning may promote engaged scholarship and enlightened, creative researchers and practitioners alike. In our hopes of establishing service learning as a viable tool in I-O psychology education, we have suggested avenues for future research that would prove invaluable

in establishing the relationship between service learning education and the performance and preparation of I-O psychology students. We encourage educators to consider our implementation recommendations for integrating the principles of service learning pedagogy in I-O psychology courses and creating community partnerships to ensure that the intended goals can be achieved.

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Section III

Non-Traditional Domains: I-O Psychology Without Borders

12

I-O Psychology Without Borders: The Emergence of Humanitarian Work Psychology

Alexander E. Gloss and Lori Foster Thompson

INTRODUCTION

Humanitarian work is perhaps the quintessential example of an activity devoted to the greater good. This chapter concerns the growing sub-field of humanitarian work psychology (HWP) and the implications of that sub-field's emergence for industrial-organizational psychology. We define "humanitarian work psychology" as the synthesis of I-O psychology with deliberate and organized efforts to enhance human welfare. These efforts prominently include many punctuated and short-term activities such as humanitarian aid and disaster relief as well as more long-term and systemic activities such as poverty reduction, the promotion of gender equality, and the reduction of corruption. It is important to point out that while these efforts often span national boundaries and are aimed toward "developing" countries, they also include intra-national activities and activities within "developed" countries. Moreover, while many of these efforts to enhance human welfare are carried out by or take place within a formal organization, many others involve teams, communities, various types of personal and professional associations, complex organizational alliances, and international systems. Therefore, HWP is a good example of I-O psychology that is not limited by national or organizational borders.

Understanding the nature and implications of HWP's emergence requires a consideration of I-O psychology's relation to the broader world of humanitarian aid and international development. Humanitarian aid and

international development can be distinguished from each other by the short-term and more crisis-based emphasis of the former (e.g., responding to a natural disaster) and the more long-term and systemic emphasis of the latter (e.g., enhancing regional economic growth). Viewing I-O psychology in the context of humanitarian aid and international development is important for three reasons. First, when working toward the greater good, I-O psychology will interface with a complex, powerful, and often controversial system of actors devoted to improving human welfare on a global scale. The success of I-O psychology's efforts to promote the greater good depends, at least in part, on its relationship with this system. Second, as the world becomes metaphorically "flatter," I-O psychology's continued prosperity as a discipline likely rests on whether it can be relevant to understanding and enhancing human welfare in developing countries. Understanding and enhancing human welfare in developing countries is the major focus of the humanitarian aid and development system. I-O psychology can and should use the lessons learned from, and the best practices of, that system to maximize the effectiveness of its efforts. Third, the efficacy and ethics of certain types of humanitarian aid and development work are in question. Without appreciating the legitimate criticisms of the humanitarian aid and development system, I-O psychologists' efforts to serve humanity might inadvertently do more harm than good by contributing to the problem. Because the aid and international development system tends to focus upon vulnerable and marginalized populations, issues of harm are of especially great concern.

We begin the chapter with an overview of the concept of "development" from the standpoint of disciplines traditionally involved in international development, including political science, economics, and sociology. It is important to highlight that this concept is distinct from, but at times related to, the concept of human development in developmental psychology. Next, we provide examples of how I-O psychology currently is and could continue to interface with development by looking in-depth at two different research strands: counterproductive work behavior and globally distributed teams. We then discuss the origin and characteristics of the emerging sub-field of HWP. Following that, we discuss how future research will need to be conducted to avoid harm and to promote the greater good in developing societies and in the humanitarian aid and international development system. Finally, we make a case for how to increase the supply of and demand for HWP research.

HUMANITARIAN AID AND DEVELOPMENT

We now turn to the world of humanitarian aid and international development. For the benefit of readers who are unfamiliar with this topic, we provide a brief introduction focused around issues of potential importance for I-O psychology. In the interest of brevity, we concentrate on general trends and rely on simplifications of otherwise unmanageably complex subjects. In particular, we center our discussion around the concept of human "development." Development can be conceptualized as many things, including a state of being, a system of international actors, a process of change, and a set of goals. Consequently, I-O psychology can relate to development by researching work and organizational behavior in developing settings, by researching organizations in the international humanitarian aid and development system, by investigating the process of development, and by considering work designed to advance certain developmental goals. To begin, we consider development as a state of being.

Development as a State of Being

The terms "developing" and "developed" are widely used in academic and popular discourse to label and describe people and places. They are usually tied to a national or country level of analysis. The terms are loaded with a host of normative, political, and historical connotations. Their popular usage is commonly traced back to a speech given by U.S. President Harry Truman in 1949. Truman (1949) referred to the "underdeveloped areas" (para. 43) of the world and to the fact that "for the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of [the] people [living in those areas]" (para. 45). "Development" terminology was presaged by designations such as "backwards" and "primitive," which were deeply stigmatizing, often racist, and patently inaccurate. Whether or not the "development" nomenclature offers meaningful improvement over these designations is open to debate. Many alternatives to the term have been proffered. MacLachlan, Carr, and McAuliffe (2010) chose to refer to "developing countries" as "low-income countries," reflecting the central and multifaceted nature of poverty as an indicator of human well-being. Conversely, Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, and Sam (2011) focus on the fact that the vast majority of the world lives in developing countries (approximately 85% in 2010; United Nations Development Programme, 2010) by instead referring to the "majority

world" (those areas designated as "developing") and the "minority world" (those areas designated as "developed"). Designating a country as "developing" does not account for temporal and intra-national diversity in well-being. Moreover, a dualistic division does not reflect the changes in living standards and the tremendous economic growth in many "developing" countries over the last half century. Nevertheless, despite its limitations and problems, in order to reflect the nature of the "development" debate, and the widespread use of "development" nomenclature, we reluctantly use the term and its derivatives.

What qualities, then, separate a developed setting from a developing one? We identify five aspects of development relevant to I-O research: income, education level, health and life expectancy, human security, and materialist/post-materialist values. The United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) measures the first three of these five dimensions. The HDI is a composite of a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy at birth), access to knowledge (measured by mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling), and a decent standard of living (measured by gross national income per capita; United Nations Development Programme, 2010). The HDI rank orders countries into quartiles and labels their level of human development as very high, high, medium, or low. Those countries falling outside of the "very high" category are designated as developing (United Nations Development Programme, 2010). When referring to a country as developing or developed, we adhere to the HDI's classification.

The fourth dimension of development that we highlight is human security. The United Nations Development Programme defines human security as having two components, "freedom from fear and freedom from want" (United Nations Development Programme, 1994, p. 24). Human security is a concept that runs in parallel with development. Important human security issues that disproportionately affect developing settings include extreme poverty, famine, the spread of disease, drought, crime, ethnic violence, and open warfare.

The fifth aspect of development relates to values and worldviews. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) observed that aggregate increases in income, education, life expectancy, and human security are tied to shifts in values, priorities, and worldviews. Inglehart (1990) argued that the values of individuals, communities, and nations that experience higher levels of development are shifting over time from an emphasis on material well-being and physical security (materialist values) toward a greater emphasis on quality of life, a decline in traditional religious orientation, and a loosening of conventional sexual and social norms (post-materialist values).

Thus, in general, it is argued that people in the developing world will tend to hold values that are more materialist whereas those in the developed world will tend to hold ones that are more post-materialist.

Development as a System

In addition to being a state of being, development is closely tied to an international system of actors. This system includes a bewildering set of individuals, communities, organizations, loosely formed and formal alliances, norms, and laws. For our purposes, we focus on four major types of organizations and the power dynamics that historically exist within the broader system.

The first group of organizations, namely states and public governments, are categorized based on whether they traditionally donate development assistance (known as "aid donors") or receive forms of development assistance (known as "aid partners"). The second group, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)—such as the United Nations and the World Bank—are jointly governed by, or made up of, representatives from states. In addition to governments, IGOs play a central role in helping to coordinate and direct approximately $150 billion worth of official aid per year (De Haan, 2009). The third group is made up of public and private business organizations that play an important role in the development system (see Section I of this volume) through corporate social responsibility projects and the social, economic, and environmental ramifications of their standard policies and practices (Aguinis, 2011). Finally, civil society organizations (which include nonprofit organizations; see Section II of this volume) stand in the intermediate realm between the state and for-profit businesses. They include, for example, private foundations, think tanks, public universities, professional societies, and community associations. Another important sub-set of civil society organizations are non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Typically, NGOs (e.g., Save the Children) are nonprofit organizations that are unaffiliated with governments and have a social or political aim. NGOs contribute to development efforts in a multitude of ways, including by donating finances and resources, providing expert technical assistance, conducting research, and spreading awareness about social and environmental issues.

The international development system only increases in complexity when one accounts for the multitudinous and dynamic ways in which these organizational actors interface with one another, with individuals, and with local communities. Historically, this system has been punctuated by the

dominance of those who donate forms of development assistance (e.g., aid donors) over those who traditionally receive it (e.g., aid partners; MacLachlan et al., 2010). Imbalances in power also exist within organizations—especially in those that employ both expatriates and local workers in a developing country (McWha, 2011). Such imbalances are often reflected through organizational factors such as salary and social status (see Carr, Eltayeb, MacLachlan, Marai, McAuliffe, & McWha, this volume). The international development system is, in many ways, a product of both colonialism and the economic and political state of affairs that emerged following the end of the 1940s. As many colonized countries began to gain their independence following World War II, the relationships that existed between colonial masters and the former colonies were sometimes rebranded as humanitarian in nature (see Esteva, 2009). Post-colonial patterns of humanitarian aid and development assistance were later crosscut by political allegiances during the Cold War. Humanitarian assistance, cash flow, and resources were often funneled to countries for political and economic—as opposed to purely humanitarian—reasons. In fact, as argued by Klein (2007) and as evidenced by the overtly political agenda of some national development agencies (e.g., United States Agency for International Development, 2010), this is sometimes still the case.

Development as a Process

Broadly speaking, actors in the humanitarian aid and international development world are concerned with social, environmental, economic, and behavioral change on a community, regional, or national level. However, they are also concerned with aggregated changes on individual and organizational levels. Activities meant to support or accelerate development can be placed along a spectrum with short-term humanitarian aid or development *projects* on one side and longer-term development *programs* on the other. Humanitarian aid or development projects are more short term than programs, and they traditionally have more distinct and concrete objectives. Often, development projects are undertaken through the initiative of an aid donor government, an IGO, or an NGO. These projects often have a cycle that includes the formulation of strategy, project appraisal and approval, implementation, supervision and monitoring, and evaluation (De Haan, 2009). The immediate response by an NGO to a natural disaster in a developing country is an example of a humanitarian aid project. In contrast to projects, development programs sometimes do not have a specific set of tangible objectives or do not fund development activities

directly. Instead, they might fund or support intermediary organizations. An example of a development program would be a World Bank initiative to fund and monitor an aid partner government's efforts to enhance its transportation infrastructure. Often, projects and programs are supported by teams of individuals or organizations from multiple countries and from both developed and developing settings.

Development as a Goal

Developmental processes are aimed at a specific end-state or goal. At present, the Millennium Development Goals are likely the most well-known goals in the international development system. These goals were adopted by the United Nations in September 2000 and seek to address eight broad issues: poverty and hunger, primary education, gender equality, child mortality, maternal health, diseases (especially HIV/AIDS and malaria), environmental sustainability, and partnerships for development (United Nations, 2010).

As evidenced in the Millennium Development Goals, the reduction of poverty is a central aim of the international development system. Poverty is particularly important for I-O psychology to consider due to its close connection with work and workers. The World Bank has developed a prominent framework for understanding and reducing poverty, which includes expanding the opportunities of people living in poverty and enhancing empowerment (World Bank, 2001). In order to support these goals, organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) have called for the promotion of "decent work." Major objectives for the ILO's Decent Work Agenda include creating jobs, guaranteeing rights at work, enhancing social protections and working conditions, and promoting broader social dialogue about these issues (International Labour Organization, n.d.).

The expansion of opportunity and the enhancement of empowerment are also central goals of the humanitarian aid and international development system. The idea of expanding opportunities stems from Sen's (1999) capabilities approach. In this approach, development is a form of freedom—the freedom, or capability, to do what one legitimately wants to do. According to Sen, income, for example, is not a measure of development, but one of many tools that might help support one's capability to be free. Gaining greater capabilities or freedoms can be thought of as a form of empowerment. Empowerment, in turn, can be understood on both structural (e.g., in terms of political representation) and psychological

(e.g., self-efficacy) levels (Spreitzer, 2008). Thus, important goals for the international development system include empowerment and freedom, in addition to the Millennium Development Goals, poverty reduction, and decent work. However, this system has not always placed a high priority on these goals either in principle or in practice.

As Carr and Bandawe (2011) summarize, since the modern international development system was established in the 1940s, it has emphasized a wide range of goals, including infrastructure improvement (e.g., building roads) and market reform (e.g., promoting free trade). Critics have argued that conceptions of development are culturally relative and potentially damaging to some non-Western societies (e.g., Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Others contend that the system's current goals, like past goals, obscure the fact that poverty and underdevelopment are a product of a global economic and political system that has been set against the developing world since colonial times (e.g., Wallerstein, 1974). They argue that goals such as market reform might only help to uphold a Western capitalist system that marginalizes developing countries. Still others would add that the idea of development is inherently ethnocentric and patriarchal and helps to stigmatize and label (e.g., Escobar, 1995). Critics might point to the fact that over the last 20 years the income gap between developed and developing countries has widened and that life expectancies in some countries have stagnated or fallen since 1970 (United Nations Development Programme, 2010). Despite these critics, many have highlighted what they believe to be important successes. For example, in 2010, life expectancy in Sub-Saharan Africa was eight years longer than it was in 1970, and worldwide the proportion of people who have attended school rose from 57% in 1960 to 85% in 2010 (United Nations Development Programme, 2010). While some would argue that international development efforts can be carried out much more effectively by, for example, taking a more participatory and "bottom-up" approach (Easterly, 2006), others point out that there is no viable alternative to continuing work toward international development with big global plans such as the Millennium Development Goals (e.g., Sachs, 2005).

In summary, development can be understood as a state of being, a system of international actors, a process of change, and a set of goals. In addition, while development is accepted by many as necessary and beneficial, development goals, and the system devoted to pursuing them, are controversial and rejected by some. Highlighting differing opinions on international development is not a trivial academic exercise; it is a matter of life or death. Consider that one in five workers and their families live

in extreme poverty, nearly a quarter of children under five in the developing world remain undernourished, and HIV/AIDS claims the lives of approximately 1.8 million people each year (UNAIDS, 2010; United Nations, 2010). Debates over the most effective and ethical ways of dealing with these and other global issues are central to the greater good. Even with the best intentions, I-O psychologists devoting their skills to humanitarian aid and international development have the potential to do more harm than good if their efforts occur without an understanding of the complex problems and intricacies pertaining to development.

EXAMPLES OF I-O PSYCHOLOGY'S TOPICAL RELEVANCE TO HUMANITARIAN AID AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

We now turn to demonstrate how research in I-O psychology has been, and could continue to be, relevant to the world of humanitarian aid and international development. To do so, we choose two important development issues and marry them with research streams in I-O psychology that, at least on their face, seem potentially relevant. We begin with an exploration of how research into counterproductive work behavior is relevant to the international fight against corruption and then turn to how research on globally distributed teams is relevant to collaborative work in the humanitarian aid and development sector.

Illustrative Example I: Counterproductive Work Behavior and the Fight Against Corruption

The World Bank lists the control of corruption as an important prerequisite to societal development (Kaufmann, Kraay, & Mastruzzi, 2009). Corruption has been defined by the watchdog group Transparency International as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" (Zinnbauer, Dobson, & Despota, 2009, p. 7). Corruption is a broad concept that can include everything from bribery, nepotism, and petty theft to insider trading and corporate fraud (Ashforth, Gioia, Robinson, & Treviño, 2008). In 2010, one out of every four people in the world reported paying a bribe in the previous year (Harrison & Sidwell, 2010). Corruption is, of course, present in all societies; however, it has been argued that poverty is both a cause and result of corruption (World Bank, 2001), and that low-income groups

are twice as likely to pay bribes for basic services such as education and medical care (Harrison & Sidwell, 2010). In general, corruption leads to increased costs for goods and services, a decline in the quality of public services, and decreased economic growth (Stapenhurst, 1997). While corruption is universal, it seems to affect people in developing settings disproportionately (World Bank, 2001).

How can I-O psychology assist in the global fight against corruption? A share of the answer lies in research that has been conducted on counterproductive work behavior (CWB). CWB is a measure of non-task job performance (Sackett, Berry, Wiemann, & Laczo, 2006) that has been shown to be negatively correlated with, but on distinct continuum from, organizational citizenship behavior (Spector & Fox, 2010). CWB can be broadly defined as "any intentional behavior on the part of an organization that is contrary to its legitimate interests" (Gruys & Sackett, 2003, p. 30). The construct of CWB has been divided into two broad categories—interpersonal deviance (directed toward individuals) and organizational deviance (directed toward the organization; Berry, Ones, & Sackett, 2007). Gruys and Sackett (2003) proposed 11 more specific categories of CWB behavior, including theft and related behavior, alcohol use, and unsafe behavior. The construct of corruption arguably overlaps with both the categories of organizational deviance (e.g., corporate corruption) and interpersonal deviance (e.g., demanding a bribe from a private citizen). In addition, it overlaps with the "theft and related behavior" category (e.g., petty theft and embezzlement) proposed by Gruys and Sackett (2003). Yet, corruption likely excludes such counterproductive activities as unsafe behavior and alcohol use. Therefore, counterproductive work behavior is related to, but not synonymous with, corruption.

Major actors in international development (e.g., the UN, World Bank, and national governments) have often employed societal and governmental reform initiatives to fight corruption (e.g., legal or electoral reform and the establishment of national corruption task forces; Getz, 2006; Nanda, 2006). However, it has been recognized that to solve the problem of corruption, business and civil society organizations must also play a role in reform (Zinnbauer et al., 2009). Therefore, organizational efforts to control corruption are essential. Some research in I-O psychology has been focused on selecting individuals who are less prone to corruption, and identifying organizational contexts that might make it more likely for individuals to commit corrupt acts (Sackett & Devore, 2001). Selection efforts have often centered on personality. The Five Factor Model (FFM) has featured prominently in this vein. An important example of this work has been

the observed negative correlation between conscientiousness and organizational deviance and again between agreeableness and interpersonal deviance (Berry et al., 2007). In addition to the FFM, integrity tests have been widely used to select for individuals who might be less prone to forms of CWB such as theft (Greenberg & Tomlinson, 2004). These tests either assess people's beliefs and experiences, upon which inferences are made about future behavior, or they measure personality as a way to screen out individuals prone to corruption (Sackett & Devore, 2001).

In addition to identifying criteria for selection, I-O psychology has also investigated a wide range of contextual factors that can be adjusted to reduce or prevent corrupt organizational behavior. Of fundamental importance is the observation that organizational interventions that promote the fair treatment of workers can reduce counterproductive work behaviors (Greenberg & Tomlinson, 2004). As tangible examples of this, Semmer, Tschan, Meier, Facchin, and Jacobshagen (2010) highlighted how "illegitimate" task demands may predict CWB, and Greenberg (1990) demonstrated that underpaying employees can lead to theft. More broadly, CWB has been negatively tied to forms of justice at work and positively to psychological contract breach (Aquino, Lewis, & Bradfield, 1999; Semmer et al., 2010). In addition to questions of fairness and justice, job stressors such as organizational constraints (e.g., the unavailability of resources and inadequate training) have helped to predict organizational deviance (Fox, Spector, & Miles, 2001). Furthermore, Schmidtke (2007) demonstrated the power of in-group social norms and how they can establish organizational cultures where counterproductive work behaviors such as theft are considered more acceptable.

Thus, I-O has already made potential contributions to the fight against corruption by testing tools and validating theories that could be used by organizations in developing countries and organizations involved in humanitarian aid and development. However, broadly speaking, much CWB research in I-O falls short of being relevant to developing settings or development work. For example, CWB research is nearly exclusively relegated to populations in developed settings (Rotundo & Xie, 2008), which leaves potential cultural and socio-economic biases about corruption intact and does not consider realities relevant to more materialist worldviews. CWB research also focuses nearly exclusively on individual, work-group, and organizational levels of analysis. Without acknowledging the larger societal realities that cause individuals and organizations to participate in corruption, this exclusive focus risks "blaming the victim" through conceptual tunnel vision (see Prilleltensky, 2003). Furthermore,

CWB researchers sometimes do not deliberately consider their work's relationship, and frequent overlap, with the theories and research of other disciplines. Because research sometimes remains in a "discipline silo," collective resources are wasted, I-O's voice is often not heard, and overall conceptual confusion about CWB (which is also known as workplace deviance, organizational corruption, mobbing, and unethical/antisocial/dysfunctional behavior) results. Moreover, the isolation of I-O research limits the chances that its theories and tools will help contribute to the greater good.

A growing body of literature has begun to overcome these shortcomings. Three examples of such work are noteworthy. First, Rotundo and Xie (2008) have helped to expand CWB to consider people from developing settings—in this case, Chinese nationals. The authors observed that when rating overall performance, Canadian managers gave similar relative importance ratings to CWB and task performance while Chinese managers gave a lower importance rating to CWB than they did to task performance. Despite these differences, there were also many similarities in both groups' conceptualizations of job performance. Rotundo and Xie (2008) engaged with the ramifications of their study's findings with an eye to societal change and socio-economic context. On one hand, they argued that the many similarities in Chinese and Canadian managers' ratings of job performance might indicate that cultures are converging toward a universal norm. On the other hand, they reasoned that the differences observed could also indicate the continuing role of unique cultural norms in determining behavior and cognitions about performance. Surprisingly, one subset of Chinese managers studied was even more individualistic in ways than were some Canadian respondents. The authors pointed out that this might be because this subset was young, well educated, and belonged to a high socio-economic class. The seemingly surprising individualism of the Chinese participants highlights the importance of considering levels of development at a finer grain than just the societal/country level of analysis. While the results of this study were interesting and require further exploration to be of greater use to the international fight against corruption, the authors' engagement with issues of counterproductive work behavior, socio-economic context, and societal change highlight I-O psychology's potentially important contributions to understanding corruption in developing settings.

The second study we profile compared the aggregate integrity test scores of job applicants in 27 countries with the Corruption Perception Index produced by Transparency International and with Hofstede's (2001)

cultural dimensions (Fine, 2010). The study helps to establish integrity tests' cross-cultural validity and pulls the issue of integrity testing into a broader societal framework. The author justified the need for this study based on the apparently widespread use of integrity tests in the countries studied—which included countries from low (e.g., Ethiopia) to high (e.g., France) human development (United Nations Development Programme, 2010). The author took pains to warn against the use of integrity testing without first obtaining culturally relevant norms. Fine (2010) reasoned that the aggregation of integrity scores within an organization might be an additional tool to measure corruption (and to assess the effectiveness of reforms). We agree, and emphasize that it would be important to validate such a tool across not only cultures, but also across levels of development.

Finally, Connelly and Ones (2008) dealt directly with cross-disciplinary research from the social sciences regarding the antecedents of national corruption. They nationally aggregated scores of the FFM and compared them to Hofstede's (2001) cultural dimensions and the aforementioned Corruption Perception Index. Connelly and Ones (2008) found that nations high on neuroticism and low on openness to experience tend to be more corrupt. The authors attempted to connect thinking about personality scores on the individual and national levels of analysis. Even though, as they argued, considering "national personality scores" might require accounting for a number of variables absent from the consideration of individual personality scores, they made intriguing, albeit controversial, assertions about their results. They reasoned that nations high on openness to experience might be low on corruption in part because they contain citizens who would endorse politically liberal and non-traditional values inimical to allowing corrupt behavior to remain hidden or to continue. Furthermore, the authors highlighted the practical and scientific promise of further studying aggregated personality, both on national and organizational levels. Because "national personality" was able to provide prediction beyond cultural values in understanding corruption, further investigation into "organizational personality" might be a promising line of research in the international fight against corruption.

In summary, research into CWB is potentially of great relevance to the fight against corruption. However, the relevance of existing studies is often in question because of their focus on populations in developed settings and their tendency to exclude societal levels of analysis and related work from other disciplines. Nevertheless, as we have seen from the work of Rotundo and Xie (2008), Fine (2010), and Connelly and Ones (2008), this is not always the case.

Illustrative Example II: Globally Distributed Teams in Humanitarian Aid, International Development, and Developing Settings

Next, we consider research into "virtual" or "globally distributed" teams and how it might relate and contribute to collaborative work in the world of humanitarian aid and international development. Within the field of international development, technological innovation is often viewed as essential for human progress (United Nations Development Programme, 2001). Particular attention has been focused on information and communication technology (ICT) and how it can assist teamwork, communication, and collaboration. ICT issue is important to the international development system because the highly collaborative, yet international, nature of aid and development work is made especially difficult as teams and organizations attempt to communicate and collaborate across distance, with people from different cultures, and in lower-income environments. Indeed, a breakdown in internal communication within and between organizations has been identified as a key problem in the humanitarian aid industry (Johnson, 2010).

A share of how I-O research might assist communication, collaboration, and teamwork in the humanitarian aid and international development system lies in work conducted on globally distributed teams. Leung and Peterson (2011) define globally distributed teams as those that "involve members located in multiple nations having different cultural backgrounds, information, knowledge, and skills, [and] whose collaboration is facilitated by a variety of media tools supported by information and communication technologies" (p. 781). Globally distributed teams are often defined by their electronic dependence, their geographic dispersion, and the national/cultural diversity of their members (Stanko & Gibson, 2010). A team's electronic dependence, or its "virtuality," can be divided into at least three sub-components, namely: the degree to which virtual tools are used to coordinate and execute team processes (e.g., every day or every week), the amount of information provided by those tools (e.g., alphanumeric characters in text-based messages versus visual images in video), and the synchronicity involved in those tools (e.g., email versus live chat; Kirkman & Mathieu, 2005).

Within the body of globally distributed team research, we are interested in work that considers the realities facing teams that span boundaries between developed and developing settings and that are engaged in humanitarian work and development. These realities are likely to include

strong inter-group power dynamics, the materialist values of some team members, the need for teams to work toward empowerment, and the difficulty of overcoming the global digital divide. The digital divide is a metaphor used to describe global disparities in Internet use. One indication of these disparities is provided by Internet access statistics. By the end of 2008, only one out of eight households in developing countries was connected to the Internet—compared to three out of five in developed countries (International Telecommunications Union, 2010). In addition, at the end of 2009, while most people in developed countries had access to high-speed Internet, broadband penetration (a measure of household adoption) in developing countries was only at 3.5% (International Telecommunications Union, 2010). These disparities present obvious challenges to the use of ICT tools by globally distributed teams.

The digital divide is connected to socio-economic, political, historical, and geographic trends within and between societies (United Nations Development Programme, 2001; Van Dijk, 2005). The digital divide is not only created due to a lack of access to ICT tools (Rodino-Colocino, 2008) —it is also created by a disparity in the effective utilization of them. Inequalities in the skills necessary to effectively utilize ICT tools (e.g., basic computer literacy and written-language fluency), and disparities in people's motivation to utilize them (e.g., being discouraged by a lack of content that is culturally, linguistically, or regionally relevant), also fuel the digital divide (Van Dijk, 2005). Thus, a team's virtuality is dependent on issues of ICT access, skills, and motivation. These factors are, in turn, dependent on questions of culture, politics, geography, and economics—both at organizational and national levels.

While there is limited research into globally distributed teams that work across levels of development or are involved in humanitarian and development work, we highlight four studies that address issues relevant to the realities these sorts of teams face. As an example of the sorts of issues that can arise in globally distributed teams that confront the digital divide, Vignovic and Thompson (2010) looked at the effects of technical language violations and deviations from Western social etiquette in email correspondence. Such violations and mistakes might occur, for example, when team members are learning new virtual tools and skills. The authors confirmed that individuals make dispositional attributions (by, for example, considering a communication partner to be lacking in conscientiousness) about people sending error-filled or socially improper messages. While the attributions stemming from grammatical errors can be mitigated by conveying contextual constraints (e.g., highlighting that the sender is

corresponding in his or her second language), the attributions stemming from breaches of social etiquette were not significantly moderated by such information. These findings are potentially important for globally distributed teams that confront the digital divide because they demonstrate how questions of virtuality (e.g., what virtual tools are involved, what skills those tools require, and how much contextual information about the sender they convey) can directly influence intercultural interaction and distance between members (e.g., by prompting negative attributions and cultural division). The authors called for similar research into other virtual tools and further investigation into practical ways of mitigating unwarranted negative attributions.

The second study we consider was carried out by Swigger, Alpaslan, Brazile, and Monticino (2004). Their work indirectly explored the issue of materialist and post-materialist values in globally distributed teams by investigating the effects of team members' views on social hierarchy. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) have contended that views on hierarchy are intertwined with religious and political practices that are themselves embedded in the materialist/post-materialist divide. Swigger et al. (2004) found that work teams whose members believed that organizations function best when there is a rigid power structure (a belief associated with a materialist worldview) had higher odds of poor performance. Based upon other findings, Leung and Peterson (2011) speculate that people high on power-distance (a cultural orientation related to materialist values) may not be receptive to virtual communication; furthermore, they found that people from individualistic societies (who tend to hold more post-materialist values) might be more adaptive in a virtual context. Therefore, materialist/post-materialist values could predict performance in virtual environments. Further investigating such a relationship can help inform and facilitate virtual teamwork in developing societies.

As a third example of relevant research, we consider the work of Baba, Gluesing, Ratner, and Wagner (2004). These authors explored the important role of cognitive convergence of team members in the performance of globally distributed teams. In part, they observed that "concentrations and/or networks of people and resources tied together by linguistic, cultural, and historical ties" were manipulated by leaders in a corporate globally distributed team (p. 582). They found these "power clusters" allowed for the dominance of one team member or group over another. The authors analogized these power clusters to forms of colonization wherein team members in developed settings were able to maintain control of networks that reached into developing countries. Similar future research might

further help to reveal the dynamics of power clusters within globally distributed teams involved in humanitarian aid and international development. Such research might not only speak to predictors of team productivity, but to the conditions and interventions necessary to promote the empowerment of team members from developing settings.

The issue of empowerment in globally distributed teams is of particular relevance to those teams that include members from developing settings or work toward humanitarian and developmental goals. Models of globally distributed teams often focus on factors that affect team outcomes and on performance measures such as decision quality and efficiency (Stanko & Gibson, 2010). However, such outcomes are often only part of some teams' broader mission. In the aid and development sector, team processes are equally relevant. The importance of "process" stems, in part, from the fact that the goals of the humanitarian aid and international development system include empowerment and freedom. When it comes to empowerment, procedural issues (e.g., joint decision-making and procedural justice) are often as important as, or more important than, the outcome of the procedure (e.g., making the "right" decision or being efficient).

Research on empowerment in globally distributed teams is scarce. However, an example of a relevant study is that of Kirkman, Rosen, Tesluk, and Gibson (2004). These authors found that team empowerment in globally distributed teams is positively related to process improvement and customer satisfaction outcomes. They defined team empowerment as "increased task motivation that is due to team members' collective, positive assessments of their organizational tasks" (Kirkman et al., 2004, p. 176). Their findings suggest that empowerment might be more critical to the processes and outcomes of virtual teams than it is to collocated ones. The authors argued that this is partly because, in the absence of face-to-face meetings, the team may become passive and rely upon the team's leader for direction. While Kirkman et al. (2004) provided an important example of research into globally distributed teams and empowerment, the authors largely conceived of team empowerment as a means to accomplish a given task. Future research should look into empowerment as a desirable state in and of itself.

In summary, research into globally distributed teams is potentially of great relevance to the enhancement of communication, collaboration, and teamwork in the aid and development industry and between developed and developing settings. However, as in the previous example of research into CWB, a failing of the existing research is that it tends not to consider populations from, or closely tied to, developing settings. In addition, very

few studies have directly considered globally distributed teams that are engaged in humanitarian aid and development work. Because of this, most studies seem to be chiefly concerned with issues of productivity and efficiency as dependent variables without great consideration as to the importance of process.

By combining observations from our two research streams, we see that to be of greater relevance to humanitarian aid, development, and developing settings, I-O researchers should: (1) include the perspectives (e.g., materialist values) and realities (e.g., the digital divide) of people from developing societies by including them as research subjects; (2) incorporate broader levels of analysis to account for community, societal, and international dynamics; (3) admit to power dynamics within the aid and development system; (4) synthesize with related efforts outside of the discipline; and (5) focus on developmental goals such as empowerment as dependent variables. We call for continued research into counterproductive work behavior, globally distributed teams, and many other important research areas that contributes to the greater good by addressing these five concerns.

THE EMERGENCE OF HUMANITARIAN WORK PSYCHOLOGY

Our look at existing research into counterproductive work behavior and globally distributed teams reveals that I-O psychology has the potential to help solve important problems pertaining to humanitarian aid and international development. However, the developmental relevance of a great deal of research in these areas can be called into question, and it is clear that I-O psychology's overt and organized engagement with topics such as humanitarian assistance and poverty reduction has been quite limited (Ager & Loughry, 2004; M. O. Berry et al., 2011; Carr & Bandawe, 2011; Carr et al., 2008). I-O psychology's limited engagement with these issues contrasts with prominent calls, including from the APA, for psychology to "improve the condition of individuals, organizations, and society" (American Psychological Association, 2010, Preamble, para. 1) and to "help prevent and reduce the prevalence of poverty. . . by building on the strengths of communities" (American Psychological Association, 2000, para. 23).

Nevertheless, authors both inside and outside of the discipline have outlined areas of potentially fruitful engagement between psychology and

various topics central to humanitarian aid and international development (e.g., Lefkowitz, 2010; Moghaddam, Bianchi, Daniels, & Apter, 1999; Mullainathan, 2005). J. W. Berry et al. (2011) have pointed out how psychology can assist national development processes by understanding the present state of affairs (e.g., personality characteristics, values, interests, and attitudes), by understanding the process of change (e.g., motives and coping mechanisms), and by understanding the valued end-state (e.g., by drawing out the psychological aspects of developmental goals). Burt and Carr (2011) have noted that I-O psychology has the potential to help fill a gap between various macro/societal and micro/individual issues by, for example, helping to translate the Millennium Development Goals into organizational goals. Ager and Loughry (2004) stress that psychology could help to support the welfare of humanitarian workers by interfacing with their selection and training systems, and with the culture and management practices of NGOs. M. O. Berry et al. (2011) highlight an assortment of current and promising future research directions, including using behavioral histories to predict the success of development initiatives, understanding the role of empowerment and participative decision-making in development projects, and enhancing the psychometric integrity of evaluations and surveys related to development initiatives. These authors further emphasize the potential value added by organizational psychology's ability to "assess needs and change, develop partnerships with stakeholders, bring about and manage change, and systematically review, evaluate, monitor and revise high level mandates" (p. 240).

The wide variety of relevant research avenues raises questions about why I-O psychology has not engaged more fully and overtly with international development. The reasons for this limited engagement likely involve issues pertaining to the "supply" of I-O research that is to development. Quite possibly, however, "supply" is not the only issue at hand. I-O's limited engagement may also stem from a lack of "demand" for I-O research by development actors. In terms of demand, Ager and Loughry (2004) argued that development actors do not seek out psychology for three reasons. First, psychology is of uncertain developmental relevance. I-O psychology is often focused on either the individual or the organizational level of analysis, whereas national development is conceptualized and studied on the level of communities and societies. Moghaddam et al. (1999) believe that psychology does not seem to provide effective explanations for social change. Moreover, because psychology is often perceived to be limited to clinical issues, it may appear to be of little relevance outside of issues of

individual psychotherapy. Second, psychology is absent from international development because it has been constrained by its focus on the cultures and issues of people in the West. Gelfand, Leslie, and Fehr (2008) highlight that there is some way to go before I-O psychology is able to adopt a truly global perspective. In particular, research has tended to exclude issues such as economic and physical security (e.g., poverty and ethnic violence) that relate to a more materialist perspective. Third, Ager and Loughry (2004) argue that psychology is not in demand because those who practice and use psychology are largely from, or live in, developed countries in the West. Tsui, Nifadkar, and Ou (2007) lend support to this contention by observing high incidences of authors in cross-cultural organizational psychology being tied to countries that have high levels of human development. This observation tracks with the larger trend observed by Arnett (2008) wherein almost all journal content in leading psychological publications comes from investigators representing countries with very high human development (especially from English-speaking and Westernized nations such as the United States and Australia).

I-O psychology's lack of engagement with issues in humanitarian aid and international development was met head-on by a symposium in 2008 at the annual meeting of the SIOP; the symposium addressed organizational psychology's relationship with the issue of world poverty (Reichman et al., 2008). One of the aims of the symposium was the creation of a plan to establish a global task force devoted to promoting I-O psychology's engagement with the issue of poverty reduction. Presenters in the symposium included a number of prominent I-O psychologists and several future members of what was to become the "Global Task Force" for Humanitarian Work Psychology. In June 2009, the first meeting of the Global Task Force was convened in London (Thompson, 2009). At that meeting, the composition and focus of the Global Task Force crystallized and the name "humanitarian work psychology" was selected to represent the domain in which those practitioners and researchers worked. The initial makeup of the Global Task Force included I-O psychologists from multiple countries including New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the United States, Uganda, Norway, Ireland, China, the United Kingdom, and Australia (Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology, n.d.). Starting in 2009, the Global Task Force set out to "usher in a new era of greater practical application of I-O expertise to the humanitarian arena" and to advance its "socially responsible agenda" (Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology, n.d., para. 7). Members of the Global Task Force issued calls to this end in various I-O journals and in a regular column

entitled "Pro-Social I-O – Quo Vadis," which appears in the SIOP's quarterly publication, *TIP* (e.g., Berry, Reichman, & Schein, 2008; Carr, 2007, 2008; Carr et al., 2008).

Since its establishment, the Global Task Force and its members have made several practical contributions to the growing sub-field of HWP. The Global Task Force has established a growing online website (www.humworkpsy.org) and network to support research, facilitate communication and collaboration, and to promote the field and attract new participants. An electronic mailing list entitled "Povio" has also been used to connect I-O psychologists concerned with applying their discipline to the issue of poverty reduction. The Global Task Force has continued to make presentations at the meetings of professional associations including SIOP, the European Association of Work and Organizational Psychology (EAWOP), the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP), and psychological associations in Australia and New Zealand. Global Task Force members have also delivered presentations at prominent development conferences and made policy submissions to important development actors such as the United Nations and the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development. In addition, funding for multiple research projects has been obtained from national development agencies from around the world. Coverage of the Global Task Force's efforts has been included in prominent publications including an I-O psychology textbook by Landy and Conte (2010). Finally, courses and modules devoted to HWP have been taught around the world, including at the University of Bologna in Italy, the University of Barcelona in Spain, Elon University in the United States, and Massey University in New Zealand.

The body of HWP research has also increased since the establishment of the Global Task Force. Whether or not authors or readers attach the designation "humanitarian work psychology" to their research, it is clear that there is an increasing amount of I-O research that considers deliberate and organized efforts to enhance human welfare. Some of this research is included or referenced in the present volume. Other recent and prominent venues for such work include the *Journal of Managerial Psychology*'s special issue devoted to poverty reduction (Burt & Carr, 2011). For example, in that issue, Manson and Carr (2011) explored person-job fit and job specification in mission organizations. The special issue was part of a larger "Global Special Issue" constituted by special issues or sections devoted to addressing poverty reduction in eight journals of psychology. Moreover, the book *Humanitarian Work Psychology* (Carr, MacLachlan,

& Furnham, in press) features the work of a number of Global Task Force members and other humanitarian work psychologists. Its chapters address a variety of topics, including the importance of trust in the funding of humanitarian work (Burt, in press), the motivation of teachers in developing settings (Tumwebaze & MacLachlan, in press), and opportunities afforded by online volunteerism (Atkins & Thompson, in press).

FUTURE RESEARCH: PROCESS AND VALUES

Further HWP research represents an opportunity to promote the greater good, advance I-O psychology's relevance to the vast majority of the world's population, and to test the universality of I-O's theories and tools. However, I-O psychology must overcome certain challenges in order to seize these opportunities. As demonstrated in the examples of counterproductive work behavior and globally distributed teams, I-O psychologists must adjust the focus of their work in order to promote its relevance to aid work, development, and developing societies. However, as pointed out by several authors, to avoid harm and to promote the greater good, I-O psychologists must do more than adjust *what* they research, they must change *how* they research (e.g., Carr, 2003; Carr & Bandawe, 2011; Carr et al., 2008). As suggested in the first section of this chapter, and explained more fully by MacLachlan et al. (2010), international development can be accused of being potentially detrimental to the welfare of the people it is meant to benefit. Therefore, to avoid harm, I-O psychologists will need to conduct humanitarian work psychology research in a way that reduces existing inequalities and forms of injustice in the humanitarian aid and international development system. In other words, as I-O psychology becomes further engaged with the humanitarian aid and development system, I-O psychologists must increasingly reflect upon whether their research processes improve, perpetuate, or worsen the current state of affairs in this system.

We propose that to avoid harm and to promote the greater good, humanitarian work psychologists should consider both the values that they hold and the research practices they employ. Prominent voices have highlighted how I-O psychology's values and practices might be inadequate or detrimental to the promotion of the greater good (see Lefkowitz, this volume). Lefkowitz (2008) echoed the arguments of Baritz (1960) and observed that I-O psychology can be accused of holding values that are biased in favor of corporate and managerial interests. Lefkowitz (2008)

further suggested that I-O might be hiding behind the veil of value-neutral science while in reality either deliberately or inadvertently upholding the status quo within society. Such a bias toward corporate and managerial interests and the status quo could be especially problematic when I-O psychologists become engaged with the international development system. Indeed, that system has often encountered criticism that it privileges the priorities of people and organizations from developed settings over those from developing ones (e.g., focusing on the welfare of expatriates working in developing settings; see MacLachlan et al., 2010). As a partial remedy to its corporate and managerial bias, Lefkowitz (1990, 2008, 2010) has called for the adoption of a scientist-practitioner-humanist model. This model would explicitly include the promotion of psychology's humanist tradition and would help to prioritize understanding, and ameliorating, important individual and social-psychological problems and societal issues such as poverty (Lefkowitz, 1990, 2010).

In addition to adopting a scientist-practitioner-humanist model, there have been calls by others for I-O psychology to adhere to a set of best practices and values as it interfaces with international development (Carr & Bandawe, 2011; Carr et al., 2008; Gloss, Glavey, & Godbout, in press). In part, these calls have been a reaction to prominent development critics. For example, Easterly (2006) observed that the international development system has committed a fundamental and widespread mistake by not more stringently listening to those it is trying to help, by not letting that feedback guide the process of helping, and by not holding those in positions of power within the system accountable for the results of their efforts. Moreover, Easterly (2006) highlighted the need for democratic, participatory, and "bottom-up" development as opposed to the dictatorial and "top-down" efforts that are often directed from developed settings.

In response to such criticisms, Carr and Bandawe (2011) have proposed that I-O psychology adhere to the "meta-policy" found in the Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Change—prominent best practices for humanitarian aid and development assistance (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 2009). Traditionally, these best practices apply to aid donor governments, intergovernmental organizations, and to the country governments that traditionally receive aid. However, Carr and Bandawe (2011) have expanded the concept of "aid donors" to include all actors providing any form of development assistance (e.g., an NGO supplying technical assistance) and "aid partners" to include anyone (e.g., local communities) affected by that assistance.

We briefly lay out all five of the Paris Declaration's principles and then reflect on their applicability to research in I-O psychology. First, the principle of "ownership" emphasizes the importance of ensuring that aid partners not only participate but also lead the way in setting development priorities and strategies. For example, Spain has worked toward "ownership" in its development efforts by ensuring that local regional governments in aid partner countries participate in aid projects (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 2009).

Second, the principle of "alignment" stresses that development assistance should be deferential to the existing development efforts of aid partners. A major challenge in working toward "alignment" has been ensuring that aid funding and development projects are in agreement with and in support of the national development plans developed by aid partner governments.

Third, the principle of "harmonization" calls upon aid donors to coordinate and streamline their efforts to avoid waste, confusion, and counterproductivity. For example, much progress toward "harmonization" has been made by aid donor governments (e.g., Norway and Sweden) as they have begun coordinating their support to certain aid partner countries (e.g., Malawi; Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 2009).

Fourth, the principle of "managing for results" requires that development assistance is managed for, and informed by, tangible results that are meaningful to aid partners. A large component of promoting the management of aid projects for results has been ensuring that aid partner governments have the evaluation and monitoring capacity to oversee complex projects.

Finally, the principle of "mutual accountability" calls for two-way accountability between aid donors and aid partners in their activities. For example, "mutual accountability" has been pursued by promoting the role of parliaments and civil society organizations in aid policy discussions so that local populations in aid partner countries have some degree of oversight over development projects (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 2009).

As I-O psychology more deliberately interfaces with humanitarian aid and international development, it becomes a development actor in its own right. In order to uphold the principles of the Paris Declaration described above, it is important to emphasize at least three qualities in HWP research. First, research will often need to be directed in a way that actively promotes development. It is unlikely that "research for research's sake" can be managed for results meaningful to local populations. Indeed, such research

might unwittingly uphold an inhumane status-quo within developing societies and the international development system. Thus, research will often deliberately need to blend scientific study with socially directed action in order to ensure that I-O psychology contributes to development instead of diverting resources from other results-based projects. There are numerous examples of how this can be done, and include ensuring that the results of projects are communicated to research participants in a way that empowers and enables them; adjusting research questions, timelines, and procedures to promote participants' goals and priorities; and volunteering to assist participants before or after the research is completed (e.g., by performing job analyses or developing surveys for the organizations studied).

In addition to being action-oriented and socially directed, HWP research will also need to be participatory. Involving and working alongside those who are directly affected by HWP research (e.g., community members and local researchers) will increase the likelihood that such research will be owned by, and accountable to, the organizations, communities, and societies concerned, aligned to their own priorities and procedures, and managed for results meaningful to them. Participation will likely enhance the external validity of research by ensuring that it is grounded in the realities and experiences of relevant stakeholders. Participation will also help to support the procedural justice of HWP research. As Smith (2008) has argued, research is not just a "civilized" search for knowledge, but a human activity that reproduces social relations and power. The exclusion of local populations from knowledge creation and from research that affects them might reinforce existing inequities and injustices. As discussed below, partnerships between researchers in developed and developing settings is a promising way to avoid this. Moreover, including members of the communities that might be affected by research in the formulation and planning of that research is another promising way to promote participation.

Finally, in order to adhere to the Paris Declaration's principles, HWP research will need to be coordinated with other disciplines and professions. International development research is inherently multidisciplinary as it often draws from thought in a variety of disciplines, including economics, political science, anthropology, and sociology. Development research is also often cross-sector. Think tanks, multinational organizations such as the World Bank, and non-governmental organizations help to produce a great deal of development research. As seen in the earlier example pertaining to counterproductive work behavior, there is much work to do to ensure that

I-O psychology is able to harmonize with efforts undertaken by other disciplines. Coordinating with these multidisciplinary and cross-sector efforts is a crucial step toward "harmonization" and ensuring that I-O psychology does not contribute to greater confusion, fragmentation, or waste of resources. Coordination can be promoted by actively networking and building relationships with development actors (e.g., researchers in the World Bank) and staying abreast of current developments by reading international development journals and news briefs. Moreover, the importance of engaging in wide-ranging literature and "industry" reviews before starting a project is of especially great importance in the sub-field of humanitarian work psychology.

As an imperfect yet laudable example of research that is socially directed, participatory, and coordinated with other efforts, we consider Project ADD-UP (Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance?; Carr et al., this volume; Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2010). Project ADD-UP was a cross-sectional and survey-based exploration of the "dual-salary" system. This system describes a state of affairs in many humanitarian aid and development organizations wherein locals and expatriates are salaried and receive benefits according to different currencies and rules. The study's aim was to measure the pay discrepancies within this system and to assess the impact of them on indicators of work performance (McWha, Carr, & MacLachlan, in press). The study involved project teams from the six developing countries (Malawi, Uganda, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, India, and China) that housed the 202 aid, government, and business organizations that were considered.

McWha et al. (in press) detailed the manner in which Project ADD-UP researchers tailored their study to the Paris Declaration's principles. By reviewing both McWha et al.'s observations and descriptions of the original study, we highlight the ways that Project ADD-UP was socially directed, participatory, and coordinated with other efforts (Carr et al., 2010; Marai et al., 2010; Munthali, Matagi, & Tumwebaze, 2010; Zhou et al., 2010). Project ADD-UP's research process was socially directed in two ways. First, the research team decided to adhere to an equal salary structure for the various project team-members. Specifically, they paid everyone according to a New Zealand-based salary scale instead of adjusting salaries to in-country norms. While imperfect, this solution was designed to benefit colleagues in low- and middle-income countries (McWha et al., in press). Second, toward the conclusion of the project, workshops were held in five of the six country sites with various stakeholders (e.g., policymakers, organization representatives, and government officials). These workshops

were directed toward empowering the organizations, individuals, and community stakeholders involved in the project by discussing and engaging with its results.

In addition to being socially directed, Project ADD-UP was also participatory because of its use of research teams from the various countries studied and its adoption of consensus decision-making. By forming research teams in each of the countries studied, and having those teams play a prominent role in decision-making, the project helped ensure that its research was owned by representatives of the very populations being studied. Moreover, this form of ownership and decision-making had the added benefit of aligning the research's direction toward the priorities of various local stakeholders.

Finally, Project ADD-UP was coordinated with other efforts in the aid and development world. The project was partially funded by a major actor in the aid and development system—namely the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID). After the completion of the project, the funders released a research summary designed to reach a range of stakeholders (Carr, 2010a). Furthermore, because the project included external stakeholders (e.g., policymakers) in its follow-up workshops, the integration of the project with local efforts was furthered.

In conclusion, not only is the content of HWP research critical to promote the greater good, the adoption of specific research processes and values is also necessary. In particular, in light of the scientist-practitioner-humanist model and the Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness, we argue that HWP research should be socially directed, participatory, and coordinated with other efforts in the humanitarian aid and international development system.

INCREASING THE SUPPLY OF AND DEMAND FOR HUMANITARIAN WORK PSYCHOLOGY

The preceding pages argue that I-O psychologists can work toward the greater good within developing settings by adapting the content of their research and adapting the process involved in conducting their research. As I-O psychologists make these adaptations, there is likely to be greater demand for HWP from the humanitarian and international development system and from developing societies. We now focus on additional ways in which the field of I-O psychology can engender greater supply of, and

demand for, HWP. We suggest three approaches. First, I-O researchers can be encouraged to engage in HWP by highlighting that it is nothing other than just "good" I-O psychology. Second, the supply and demand for HWP can be enhanced by the formation of partnerships between researchers in developed and developing settings. Third, various efforts by professional associations can also help to enhance both the supply of and demand for the work of humanitarian work psychologists.

Just "Good" I-O Psychology

We mean that HWP is just "good" I-O psychology in two ways: "good" as in I-O psychology that is deliberately devoted to the promotion of human welfare, and "good" as in I-O psychology that adheres to the highest research and practice standards. By engaging in HWP, I-O psychologists are not only helping to advance the greater good, but they are advancing their own professional and scientific practices. Frequently, HWP research aspires and tends to consider humanistic perspectives and priorities, to embrace a global perspective, to help bridge the gap between science and practice, and to confront certain methodological limitations. All four of these issues, discussed below, were identified in the 2008 special issue of the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, which was devoted to the major hurdles that the discipline must overcome in order to prosper (Greenberg, 2008).

First, greater engagement in HWP will help I-O psychology to adopt a more humanistic perspective (see Lefkowitz, 2008, this volume). In line with Lefkowitz, Aguinis (2011) has called for greater consideration of organizational responsibility—prominently including issues of the "triple-bottom line" of social, environmental, and economic accounting. Aguinis (2011) has argued that I-O needs to catch up with other fields in considering such factors—especially because of the overall positive relationship between social and environmental performance and economic performance. HWP is defined by issues of organizational responsibility and organizational behavior's relationship to the greater good. Humanitarian work psychologists can help to ensure that, for example, corporate social responsibility efforts are not only helpful to the corporation's bottom line, but also harmonized and beneficial to the larger goals of the international development system (Carr, 2010b).

Second, HWP's growth is likely to continue to enhance I-O's global perspective in meaningful ways (see Gelfand et al., 2008). Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) highlighted the parochial nature and limitations

of psychology's current perspective. They demonstrated how psychology is often overwhelmingly concerned with, generated from, and consumed in WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) settings. Such a focus is problematic, in part, because psychologists often explicitly or implicitly assume the universality of their theories (Arnett, 2008). These assumptions ignore a growing body of evidence that "fundamental" aspects of human cognition and behavior such as visual perception, memory, attention, spatial cognition, and the heritability of IQ exhibit substantial variability between (and within) the West and non-industrialized societies (Henrich et al., 2010). This variability extends to issues central to I-O psychology, including fairness and cooperation in economic decision-making, interdependent self-concepts, perceptions of personal choice, and moral reasoning (Henrich et al., 2010).

A global perspective in I-O psychology is not likely to be gained by simply exporting Western theories to the developing world. Indeed, as J. W. Berry et al. (2011) have argued, such an approach is potentially harmful and counterproductive as it might transplant irrelevant or harmful theories and practices. In contrast, a global perspective is likely to be promoted by paying greater attention to indigenous psychologies and by refining existing theories to take into account the realities of materialist settings (Gelfand et al., 2008). Research in HWP can help to do this by prioritizing the participation of, and listening to, a diverse range of voices, both in its samples, and in its own ranks. Including voices from developing settings and indigenous communities will be an especially important way to promote a global perspective that helps enlighten and guide the discipline's efforts to promote the greater good.

Third, HWP is likely to help I-O psychology bridge the divide between science and practice (see Cascio, 2008). HWP research is focused on understanding and interfacing with many issues that are likely to have contributed to such a divide. For example, Cascio (2008) observed that social and contextual influences (e.g., socio-economic status), and organizational politics (e.g., those between expatriates and locals) help to contribute to the divide. In contrast, humanitarian work psychologists are likely to employ certain practices that could help reduce the division between science and practice. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of development and the requirements of funding agencies, systematic reviews often play an important part in development research. HWP's uptake of this practice might not only reduce the scientist-practitioner divide by connecting the realities and priorities of practitioners with those of researchers, but it could help to advance the extent to which I-O psychology

is evidence-based (see Briner & Rousseau, 2011). Indeed, HWP is in many ways defined by its particular consideration of the several types of "evidence-based" information, namely: evidence from the local context and the perspectives of those who may be affected by research (e.g., voices from the developing communities and societies studied); practitioner expertise and judgment (e.g., information from cross-sector collaborators); and the critical evaluation of the best available research (via systematic reviews; Briner & Rousseau, 2011).

Fourth, HWP might help I-O psychology overcome certain methodological barriers to continued scientific progress. Edwards (2008) argued that I-O psychology needs to move beyond its reliance on convenience samples and self-report. Relying upon convenience samples might be especially difficult to avoid in HWP due to the nature of many of the populations under consideration (e.g., humanitarian workers operating in the field). Moreover, avoiding self-report might be especially important due to the potential complications stemming from the crosscutting influences of social dominance, historical injustice, and threatened identity in the international development system. As HWP struggles with these issues, I-O is likely to benefit from the lessons learned. In addition, because HWP must often account for both emic and etic perspectives, it can lead the way in combining both forms of information and in innovative combinations of quantitative and qualitative research (e.g., Marai et al., 2010).

In summary, by demonstrating and publicizing that HWP research helps to overcome many of the obstacles to I-O psychologists' continued prosperity, a compelling case can be made for its increased adoption and practice.

Partnerships for Development

As previously mentioned, research partnerships between developed and developing settings might be an important way for I-O psychology to engage responsibly in international development. Griffith and Wang (2010) have noted the importance of international research partnerships in I-O psychology as a way to solve problems, expand I-O's cultural perspective, and promote learning. J. W. Berry et al. (2011) argued that those forms of partnership could help to enable two-way exchanges of psychological knowledge and ameliorate the imbalance in psychological knowledge between developed and developing settings. Partnerships also appear to be important practical ways to promote "alignment," to help ensure

"ownership," and to facilitate "harmonization." Examples of such partnerships might include short-term two-way collaboration, more enduring partnerships, or a more complex team-based form of collaboration similar to that seen in Project ADD-UP. The promise of such partnership is even greater now than in the past. The widespread use of the Internet has allowed for greater partnership in published research between scientists and academics in developed settings and developing regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa (United Nations Development Programme, 2001).

Despite the promise of research partnerships, caution is warranted. MacLachlan et al. (2010) have pointed out that identity can be threatened by unequal power relationships and international development efforts. In general, research partnerships run the risk of assimilating indigenous and emic perspectives into Western or universal theories in a way that destroys their unique identity (J. W. Berry et al., 2011). The loss of identity for indigenous populations is a particularly serious matter as it has been tied to important facets of psychological well-being and has even been linked to major social ills, including higher incidences of youth suicide (Lawson-Te Aho & Liu, 2010). Jones and Jenkins (2008) caution that an enthusiasm for collaboration might represent an unwitting "imperialist demand" in part because the terms of engagement are likely to be controlled by those in positions of power and because learning about the "other" is part of a Western tradition of control. A dogmatic and unreflective infusion of Western-based theories and practices might also disrupt the process observed in many non-Western countries wherein a culturally appropriate psychology gradually emerges from a Western-centric and under-contextualized psychology (Azuma, 1984).

As a way forward, McWha et al. (in press) have proposed a set of best practices for globally distributed and development-focused research teams that might be applied to various forms of cross-socio-economic research partnerships. Further research into such partnerships would have to consider the highly variable economic realities (e.g., poorly financed institutions, limited salaries, relative lack of ICT infrastructure), linguistic trends (e.g., a wide range on indigenous languages), and socio-political dynamics (e.g., histories of colonialism and the capture of indigenous knowledge by the West) of this and other diverse regions of the world (Ondar-Okemwa, 2007). In addition, research into these partnerships would not only have to consider how to make them "productive," for instance in terms of research output, but also how to make them empowering for those researchers who choose to participate. To that point, it is important to highlight that while the share of international

co-publications by African scientists/scholars has increased from 1980 to 2004, Africa's share in worldwide science steadily declined during that period (Tijssen, 2007).

Despite the risks, research partnerships remain a promising way for I-O psychologists to work for the empowerment and well-being of people in developing settings. However, it might not be enough to let these research partnerships form on their own. Instead, in order to ensure that I-O psychology makes a meaningful contribution to the greater good, research partnerships might need to be encouraged, supported, and nurtured by the efforts of professional associations. We now turn to consider the role of professional associations more generally in helping to promote HWP research.

The Role of Professional Associations

Professional associations can play an important role in I-O psychology's work toward the greater good (see Rizzuto & Vandaveer, this volume). In addition to supporting research partnerships, there are multiple ways that professional associations can assist in the process of increasing the supply of, and demand for, HWP. These ways include promoting and publicizing HWP, coordinating ("harmonizing") the efforts of actors within I-O psychology, connecting those efforts to actors in the international development system, supporting the practical aspects of humanitarian work psychologists' research, and expanding existing principles of research ethics to account for the unique realities of research in developing settings and research that regards humanitarian aid and international development.

Despite its rapid growth, the sub-discipline of HWP is not widely known. While a multitude of publications such as this book and that of Carr et al. (in press) are helping to change that, coverage of HWP has largely been limited to English-speaking and Western audiences. Thus, the greater involvement of international professional associations that can reach non-English speaking audiences—especially in developing settings—is crucial. Progress was made on this front by Division 1 of the IAAP when it established a task force to support and liaise with the Global Task Force. Continued promotional efforts will be necessary to ensure that HWP is not just an export of developed settings. Professional associations such as SIOP, the Global Task Force for Humanitarian Work Psychology, and IAAP can support "alignment" and "ownership" by promoting HWP outside of developed settings.

Professional associations can also promote the supply of and demand for HWP by facilitating communication and collaboration on HWP research. It will be important to facilitate communication and collaboration both within I-O psychology and between I-O psychology and the larger international development community. Facilitation within the discipline is important to ensure that researchers harmonize their efforts with one another. Ensuring that researchers from different national, socio-economic, and linguistic backgrounds communicate and collaborate will be especially important. Facilitation between the discipline and the broader international development system (and other related disciplines) should help I-O psychologists to identify funding sources, potential research participants, and cross-sector research partners (e.g., development researchers in major IGOs).

Another important role for professional associations will be to assist researchers in practical aspects of their work. Professional associations can assist researchers in gaining access to applicable populations (e.g., humanitarian aid workers) by creating and maintaining databases of potential leads and maintaining an active network of applicable contacts. In addition, gaining access to literature, conferences, and statistical programs is sometimes difficult for researchers in developing settings due to economic constraints and geographic and political boundaries. Such access can be facilitated by creating scholarships and grants for researchers and ensuring that systematic reviews of relevant areas of research are made freely available.

Finally, professional associations can enhance the supply of and demand for HWP by instituting codes of ethics to guide research and professional practice. As Aguinis (2011) and Carr et al. (2008) have pointed out, research in the realm of organizational responsibility and international development might raise questions about process and methodology (e.g., the proper procedures for data collection with various stakeholder populations). The Paris Declaration's principles seem to require more than just the mitigation of potential harm in research. Instead, they demand that research, like all development initiatives, contributes positively to the welfare of local populations—as defined by those populations. In order to assist researchers in I-O psychology to feel comfortable in attempting to meet these high standards, it will be important to develop and advertise a set of best practices.

To accomplish all of these things, professional associations will likely require a robust global online network. Such a network will have to overcome geographic, professional, academic, cultural, political, socio-historical,

and linguistic boundaries while also accounting for socio-economic trends and the limitations of the digital divide. If successful, such a network might not only enable greater participation in and demand for HWP, but it might be the most meaningful and efficient way to support the Paris Declaration's principles (see Gloss et al., in press). Indeed, there does not seem to be a better way to ensure that HWP does not simply contribute to the status quo within the international development system than by developing a vibrant online network that allows all participants to communicate and collaborate on an equal footing.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we described the world of humanitarian aid and international development by highlighting development as a state of being, a system, a process, and a set of goals; we took care to give voice to some of development's critics and proponents. We also demonstrated the potential of HWP to promote the greater good, to enhance the relevance of I-O psychology to the vast majority of the world's population, and to test the universality of I-O's tools and theories by looking at research into counterproductive work behavior and globally distributed teams. However, we noted that to seize upon these opportunities, the content of I-O psychology research must: (1) include the perspectives of developing societies; (2) incorporate broader levels of analysis; (3) admit to power dynamics within the aid and development system; (4) synthesize with related efforts outside of the discipline; and (5) focus on developmental goals such as empowerment. Because of I-O psychology's arguable bias toward corporate, managerial, and Western interests and perspectives, we suggested that humanitarian work psychologists should also adopt a scientist-practitioner-humanist model and abide by the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness to avoid harm and to make a positive impact on the international development system. In particular, humanitarian work psychologists need to ensure that their research topics and processes are: (1) action-oriented and promote developmental goals identified by people in developing settings; (2) participatory and therefore owned by and accountable to the populations they are meant to study and help; and (3) coordinated with existing efforts across sectors and disciplines. Research that incorporates these five issues and is carried out in these three ways is just "good" I-O psychology because it helps consider humanist

priorities, helps promote a global perspective, helps bridge the gap between science and practice, and helps confront various methodological limitations within the field. Finally, to ensure the growth of HWP, we argued for robust research partnerships between developed and developing settings and the enhanced support of professional associations.

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13

Entrepreneurship and Poverty Reduction: Applying I-O Psychology to Microbusiness and Entrepreneurship in Developing Countries

Michael M. Gielnik and Michael Frese

INTRODUCTION

More than a billion people, the bottom billion of the world (Collier, 2007), live in extreme poverty. Both scholars and policymakers have proposed that entrepreneurship is an effective means for economic development and poverty alleviation in impoverished and lower-income regions of the world (Mead & Liedholm, 1998). Entrepreneurship can be defined as the identification and exploitation of business opportunities to create goods or services (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). In this sense, entrepreneurship is a broad term, including different types of entrepreneurship, such as conventional for-profit entrepreneurship (i.e., starting new ventures), social entrepreneurship (i.e., identifying and exploiting opportunities to address social problems), or corporate entrepreneurship (i.e., entrepreneurship within established organizations) (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; Dacin, Dacin, & Matear, 2010; Phan, Wright, Ucbasaran, & Tan, 2009). Although it is fair to argue that each of the different types of entrepreneurship play an important role in the context of poverty reduction, we concentrate on conventional for-profit entrepreneurship in this chapter because this has been the main focus of research on entrepreneurship in the domain of I-O psychology. The core of conventional for-profit entrepreneurship is an individual or a team of individuals who identify and enact an opportunity to create a new venture (Baron, 2007a; Gartner, 1985). We refer to this type of entrepreneurship in the remainder of this

chapter when we discuss the role of entrepreneurship for poverty reduction and the means to promote entrepreneurship in developing countries.[1] In this chapter, we provide an overview of factors that have been linked to successful entrepreneurship. We integrate the factors and develop a theoretical model of entrepreneurial success in developing countries (see Figure 13.1). This model argues that actions by the individual entrepreneur are central for entrepreneurial success (see also Frese, 2009; McMullen & Shepherd, 2006). Other factors, such as institutions and resources, have only indirect or moderating effects on entrepreneurial success.

Putting entrepreneurs' actions center stage in theoretical models on entrepreneurial success is warranted because the individual entrepreneur is central to understand and promote entrepreneurship. "Entrepreneurship is fundamentally personal" (Baum, Frese, Baron, & Katz, 2007, p. 1) or more specifically "in the absence of action by individual entrepreneurs, there would simply be no entrepreneurship" (Baron, 2007b, p. 167). This means that any approach to promote economic development through entrepreneurship, such as regulatory changes or aid programs, cannot have a positive direct effect, but only an indirect effect through the entrepreneurs' actions. A central question in entrepreneurship is therefore how to improve entrepreneurs' actions and performance. This question directly relates to the domain of I-O psychology. I-O psychology deals with theoretical and practical questions of how to improve performance of people in work contexts. Recently, I-O psychology has put a stronger focus on efforts to contribute to humanitarian and prosocial objectives, in other words to the "greater good." Our chapter contributes to the efforts to promote the "greater good" by developing a theoretical model that is rooted in I-O psychology and explains entrepreneurial success. Our model is rooted in I-O psychology as we base our theoretical model on an action theory approach toward entrepreneurship (Frese, 2009). Action theory helps to explain successful action and performance (Frese & Zapf, 1994). Our model contributes to promoting the "greater good" because the main outcome variable of our model is entrepreneurial success; entrepreneurial success should have positive humanitarian and prosocial functions, such as economic development and poverty alleviation (Mead & Liedholm, 1998).

We give our overview within the general framework of evidence-based entrepreneurship (Frese, Bausch, Schmidt, Rauch, & Kabst, 2012). Evidence-based entrepreneurship is part of the literature on evidence-based management. Evidence-based management argues that decisions and principles used to guide organizational practices should be based on

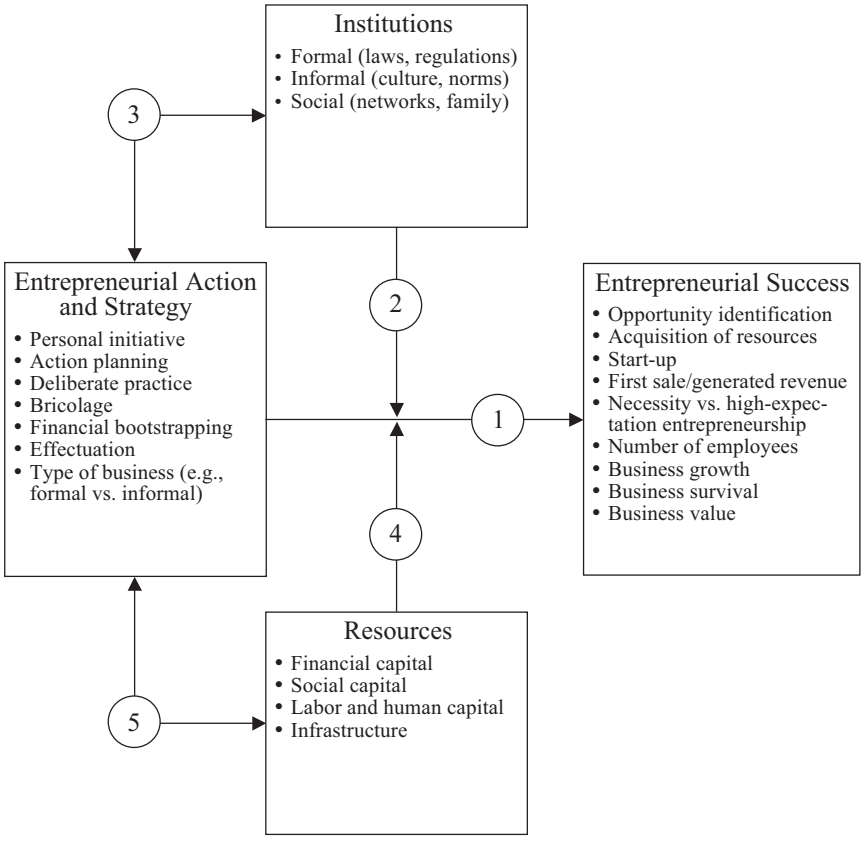

FIGURE 13.1
A theoretical model of entrepreneurial success in developing countries integrating individual and contextual factor

the current best evidence (Pfeffer & Sutton, 2006; Rousseau, 2006). Accordingly, evidence-based entrepreneurship provides a guideline on how to develop effective means to promote entrepreneurship. Evidence-based entrepreneurship consists of four aspects (Frese et al., 2012): (1) identifying the best scientific knowledge and evidence related to entrepreneurial success; (2) developing theoretical models to explain entrepreneurial success; (3) deriving action principles from the theoretical models to develop manuals for evidence-based practices; and, finally, (4) evaluating the action principles in a randomized controlled experiment to test whether the use of such action principles has a positive impact.

In line with the concept of evidence-based entrepreneurship, we present the current scientific knowledge and theoretical models explaining

successful entrepreneurship in developing countries. We take an action theory perspective (Frese, 2009) and focus on success factors in the form of actions and action strategies taken by the entrepreneur. We then present two entrepreneurship trainings that we developed to promote entrepreneurship. The manuals for both training programs are based on action principles derived from action theory (Frese, 2009; Frese & Zapf, 1994). Both trainings have been successfully evaluated in a randomized controlled experiment in a developing country. We thus address all four aspects highlighted by the concept of evidence-based entrepreneurship to effectively promote entrepreneurship. Finally, we will turn to context factors (institutions and resources) to explain how these factors influence actions or interact with them in the entrepreneurial process. The model we develop is thus a general model on entrepreneurial success factors in the context of developing countries (see Figure 13.1). This model can be used as a starting point for future studies on entrepreneurship in developing countries and for research subscribing to the concept of evidence-based entrepreneurship.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND POVERTY REDUCTION

Entrepreneurship has two important prosocial functions relevant for economic development and poverty reduction. First, entrepreneurship highly contributes to the creation of new jobs and to growth in productivity and value added (Carree & Thurik, 2003, 2008; van Praag & Versloot, 2007). Entrepreneurship exerts these positive effects on micro- and macro-levels of the economy. On a micro-level, entrepreneurs have higher earnings than wage/salary workers and they can afford to spend more money on private consumption (Fairlie, 2005; Tamvada, 2010). On a macro-level, entrepreneurial firms have the highest percentage growth in employment compared to other business units (van Praag & Versloot, 2007). Furthermore, an increase in self-employment leads to a subsequent decrease of unemployment (Fritsch, 2008; Thurik, Carree, van Stel, & Audretsch, 2008). Finally, research has shown that entrepreneurship contributes to national GDP growth (e.g., Carree & Thurik, 2008). These findings suggest that entrepreneurship is an important driving force to alleviate poverty through the creation of employment and wealth (Acs, Desai, & Hessels, 2008).

Second, many technological inventions are converted into innovative products or services by entrepreneurs for the benefit of the wider society.

Shane (2000) has illustrated how entrepreneurs develop and market different novel products and services on the basis of a single technological invention. Similarly, Acs and Varga (2005) have provided evidence that entrepreneurship contributes to knowledge spillover and technological change. Most research and development is carried out in large firms or universities; subsequent implementation of the research outcomes, however, depends on entrepreneurial individuals who economically exploit these opportunities (Acs & Varga, 2005). Additionally, entrepreneurial firms show a higher efficiency in introducing innovations than established firms and entrepreneurial firms are more innovation intensive (van Praag & Versloot, 2007). Entrepreneurship has thus an important function for technological transfer from research institutions to the general society. This technological transfer further contributes to the economic development of a country.

It is important to note, however, that despite the widespread calls for entrepreneurship to promote economic development, a more differential perspective on the positive effects of entrepreneurship may be necessary. Research on the country level has shown that the relationship between economic development and entrepreneurship is U-shaped (Acs et al., 2008). The level of entrepreneurship is high in countries very low and very high in economic development. This means that the level of entrepreneurship is already very high in most developing countries. Countries such as Uganda, Peru, and Morocco regularly rank among the top of countries regarding entrepreneurial activity. Furthermore, research has shown that in developing countries, there is a negative relationship between entrepreneurial activity and economic growth (growth in gross domestic product) and that the positive effect of entrepreneurship on economic growth increases with per capita income (van Stel, Carree, & Thurik, 2005). This means that entrepreneurship in developing countries does not have the same positive effect on economic performance as it has in developed countries; instead, there are different forms of entrepreneurship with different effects on the economic development. In fact, research has shown that the U-shaped distribution between economic development and entrepreneurship is attributable to the high prevalence of necessity entrepreneurship in developing countries and the high prevalence of high-expectation entrepreneurship in developed countries (Valliere & Peterson, 2009). Necessity entrepreneurship means that entrepreneurs have no better choice to earn a living while high-expectation entrepreneurship means that entrepreneurs expect to employ at least 20 employees in five years (Reynolds et al., 2005). In developing countries, much of the entrepreneurial activity

is invested in necessity-motivated, marginal businesses (e.g., shopkeepers or small crafts) with little potential for wealth creation (van Stel et al., 2005). Research has suggested that necessity-based entrepreneurship does not contribute to economic performance and that only high-expectation entrepreneurship is positively associated with economic growth (Valliere & Peterson, 2009). A study by Goedhuys and Sleuwaegen (2010) in 11 Sub-Saharan African countries has shown that high-growth firms are particularly important for catching up and creating technological, physical, and human capital.

The research on the different effects of necessity and high-expectation entrepreneurship shows that it is important to consider this distinction when using entrepreneurship as a means to reduce poverty. Therefore, our theoretical model also includes success measures of necessity versus high-expectation entrepreneurship and more long-term oriented outcome measures, such as number of employees, business growth, survival, and business value. These are important entrepreneurial success measures besides the more typical success measures, such as number and quality of business opportunities identified, acquisition of resources in terms of financial capital, equipment or high-quality employees, time required till start-up, and making the first sale (Baron, 2007a).

ACTIONS: A CENTRAL SUCCESS FACTOR FOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP

According to action theory, entrepreneurs' actions and action strategies are central determinants of entrepreneurial success (Frese, 2009; Rauch & Frese, 2000) (see arrow 1 in Figure 13.1). Action theory holds that successful action can be separated into different steps: forming a goal, seeking information, planning, monitoring the execution, and feedback processing (Frese & Zapf, 1994). Research has shown that these steps are related to entrepreneurial success (Baum & Locke, 2004; Brinckmann, Grichnik, & Kapsa, 2010; Gielnik, Frese, Graf, & Kampschulte, 2012; Patel & Fiet, 2009). Contextual factors have an effect on entrepreneurial success insofar as they influence or interact with entrepreneurs' actions. Actions are important for entrepreneurship for two reasons. First, taking action is important to acquire the necessary resources for exploiting an opportunity (Gartner, 1985). Irrespective of whether entrepreneurs intend to start a new business or improve/extend an existing one, they have to perform several

(start-up) activities to implement the business opportunity they have identified. The activities can be geared toward establishing new business structures, operational procedures, or marketing strategies. The US Panel Study of Entrepreneurial Dynamics lists 27 start-up activities important to starting a new business (Reynolds, 2007). Important activities are, for example, developing a new product or service, organizing the necessary resources (e.g., starting capital, equipment), and fulfilling the legal requirements (e.g., obtaining licenses). Research provided support for the importance of performing these activities to start a new business; successful entrepreneurs are more active and perform more start-up activities (Carter, Gartner, & Reynolds, 1996; Edelman & Yli-Renko, 2010; Gatewood, Shaver, & Gartner, 1995; Kessler & Frank, 2009; Lichtenstein, Dooley, & Lumpkin, 2006; Newbert, 2005). The more start-up activities are performed and the more these start-up activities are spread over time, the more likely it is that entrepreneurs successfully proceed through the entrepreneurial process (Lichtenstein, Carter, Dooley, & Gartner, 2007).

Second, taking action improves entrepreneurs' cognitive model of entrepreneurship and promotes developing entrepreneurial expertise. In the beginning when people engage in a task such as entrepreneurship, they only have a rudimentary mental model with little knowledge about the conditions for specific actions, the skillful execution of action, and the possible outcomes of actions (Frese & Zapf, 1994). Thus, similar to lay persons in any other domain, entrepreneurs start the entrepreneurial process with a rudimentary cognitive model of how entrepreneurship works and it is unlikely that the quality of the cognitive model is sufficient to be successful. Yet, entrepreneurs who perform actions can improve their cognitive model about entrepreneurship based on the feedback they receive (Frese, 2009). Performing actions and observing the outcomes provides feedback about whether the actions conformed to one's standard and whether or not the actions helped to accomplish the goal. Integrating this feedback helps to refine the cognitive model and improve its correctness and sophistication (Frese & Zapf, 1994). As a consequence, future actions should be more efficient. This is important because entrepreneurship is a complex task that can take several years and it requires the accomplishment of several start-up activities (Carter et al., 1996). Research showed that successful entrepreneurship often involves repetitions and loops of start-up activities; entrepreneurship is not a linear process but entrepreneurs often have to repeat a start-up activity or a sequence of start-up activities (Lichtenstein et al., 2007). For example, entrepreneurs develop a prototype of the envisioned product and by presenting the prototype to potential

investors or customers they receive feedback on how to improve the product. As a consequence, they are likely to go back to the drawing-board, design a new prototype, and start the cycle anew. Through the repetitions and loops, entrepreneurs refine their business opportunity, which goes hand in hand with improving the cognitive model of how to successfully exploit this opportunity. This line of reasoning is similar to the literature on the development of expertise. Expertise in any skilled activity is based on well-developed cognitive models that facilitate the efficient control and execution of action. Such well-developed cognitive models are the result of continuous practice and action in the specific domain of expertise (Ericsson, 2005; Ericsson & Lehmann, 1996).

ACTION-RELATED FACTORS ENHANCING ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS

Personal Initiative

Action theory has developed the concept of personal initiative to capture people's degree of active performance (Frese & Fay, 2001; Frese, Fay, Hilburger, Leng, & Tag, 1997; Frese, Garst, & Fay, 2007; Frese, Kring, Soose, & Zempel, 1996). In our model, entrepreneurs' personal initiative should have a direct effect on entrepreneurial success (see arrow 1 in Figure 13.1). A high level of personal initiative is characterized by behavior that is self-starting, proactive, and persistent (Frese et al., 1996). "Self-starting" means that entrepreneurs take action without being told by somebody else and without being driven by immediate demands. This implies that entrepreneurs set goals and initiate the necessary action to achieve the goal of their own accord. Being self-starting is essential in entrepreneurship because it is the self-starting people who trigger the entrepreneurial process that leads to the creation of something new. Being self-starting is thus a basic mechanism for bringing about changes in the status quo and making progress. Self-starting also means that people do not set obvious or ordinary goals, but goals that are more challenging, unusual, or innovative. For example, entrepreneurs who set the goal to introduce the same product or service as their competitors do not show personal initiative. A self-starting goal goes beyond the usual and leads to something new and innovative. Self-starting goals thus help to differentiate one's own company from other companies and to gain a competitive advantage over them.

"Proactive" means having a long-term focus and anticipating future threats or opportunities. A long-term focus allows entrepreneurs to prepare for possible threats and opportunities and reduces the necessity to make hasty decisions and react precipitately. Being proactive is a prerequisite for entrepreneurship because looking for future opportunities and exploiting them before others do is considered to be the core of entrepreneurship (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). "Persistent" means showing resilience and overcoming difficulties that arise in goal pursuit. Instead of giving up, persistent entrepreneurs solve problems or find alternative ways to achieve their goals when barriers appear. Entrepreneurship is often characterized by a lack of resources, working long hours, and frequent setbacks with a high demand on entrepreneurs' cognitive and emotional capacities (Baron, 1998; Markman, Baron, & Balkin, 2005). Thus, high levels of persistence are often necessary to be successful in entrepreneurship.

Research provides support for the positive effect of personal initiative on entrepreneurship in developing countries. For example, Krauss, Frese, Friedrich, and Unger (2005) have shown that personal initiative was positively related to the performance of small- and medium-sized enterprises in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Similarly, Koop, de Reu, and Frese (2000) have investigated microbusiness owners in Uganda and provided evidence that personal initiative was significantly related to their business performance; 29% of the business owners who showed a high level of personal initiative were high performing in contrast to only 13% of the business owners with low levels of personal initiative. Focusing on more specific subfacets of personal initiative related to social networking, Zhao, Frese, and Giardini (2010) have shown that a proactive strategy to develop social networks and relational persistence (i.e., perseverance and not giving up easily when experiencing difficulties in developing social relationships) were part of the broader concept of comprehensive social competency, which had positive effects on business owners' success in China. In conclusion, personal initiative is an important success factor for entrepreneurship in developing countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa, Uganda, or China.

Action Planning

Action theory (Frese, 2009; Frese & Zapf, 1994) states that action unfolds in a sequence of forming a goal, developing action plans, and executing the action. Action plans play a major role in this sequence and therefore our model hypothesizes that action planning has a direct effect on entrepreneurial success (see arrow 1 in Figure 13.1). While forming a goal

is necessary for action, it is not sufficient to initiate action. There is a gap between goals and actions (Gollwitzer, 1999; Miller, Galanter, & Pribram, 1960). Action plans bridge this gap and facilitate moving from goals to actions (Frese & Zapf, 1994). Action plans are mental simulations of actions that specify the sub-steps (what to do) and the operational details (how to do it) to achieve the goal. By specifying the sub-steps and operational details, action plans pre-decide the actions people will perform in a certain situation. Pre-deciding about the actions to perform creates a link between the situation and the action. When people encounter the situation, the pre-decided action will be elicited in an automatic manner (Brandstaetter, Lengfelder, & Gollwitzer, 2001; Gollwitzer & Brandstaetter, 1997). Furthermore, action plans mobilize, direct, and control action, which further contributes to overcoming procrastination and initiating action (Frese & Zapf, 1994; Johnson, Chang, & Lord, 2006). In addition to facilitating action initiation, action plans also help to maintain goal-directed behavior. By specifying the operational sequence of how to achieve the goal, action plans facilitate the structure of goal pursuit through prioritizing and focusing the attention on the necessary tasks (Frese & Zapf, 1994; Locke & Latham, 2002). Entrepreneurs who form action plans should thus focus their efforts on key activities that reduce the likelihood of wasting efforts by performing unnecessary activities or activities in an inefficient sequence. Furthermore, action plans provide markers that help to monitor the progress and to resume action after distractions (Delmar & Shane, 2003; Frese, 2009). This should increase entrepreneurs' persistence in their goal pursuit. In conclusion, entrepreneurs who form action plans should be more likely to initiate and maintain action, proceed more smoothly through the entrepreneurial process, and complete it in a timely manner (Delmar & Shane, 2003; Frese, 2009).

Empirical evidence provides support for the positive effect of action planning on success. In general, planning is positively related to performance in entrepreneurship (Brinckmann et al., 2010). In the specific context of developing countries, Frese et al. (2007) have shown that action planning was positively related to business success of small businesses in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. Similarly, Frese et al. (2002) have shown that a detailed approach to planning was positively related to entrepreneurial success of business owners in Namibia. The findings appear to be generalizable to other developing countries. Hiemstra, van der Kooy, and Frese (2006) have investigated small business owners in Vietnam and provided similar findings: a planning strategy was positively, and a reactive strategy was negatively, related to success. Unger, Rauch, Lozada, and Gielnik (2008)

have found positive relationships between action planning and business success in Peru. Additionally, Gielnik et al. (2011a, 2011b) have found that action planning moderated the effects of entrepreneurial intentions on entrepreneurial action and business start-up. In conclusion, the theoretical rationale and the empirical findings suggest that action planning is an important success factor for entrepreneurial success in developing countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Uganda, Vietnam, and Peru.

Deliberate Practice (Active Learning)

The World Bank (2000) noted that the quality of education is insufficient in many developing countries. The low quality of education is a limiting factor for entrepreneurship. For example, in South Africa, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor noted that low education and lack of entrepreneurial knowledge and skills is a main factor inhibiting entrepreneurship (Maas & Herrington, 2008). Several programs such as the National Qualifications Framework were introduced by the government to promote learning and progression within educational paths (Department of Education, 2003). However, many problems still exist that undermine the effective use of these programs to overcome deficits in education (Cosser, 2001). Thus, entrepreneurs in South Africa are often poorly educated and have only limited possibilities to improve their qualifications through formal education. The same problem also exists in other developing countries. For example, in Uganda, the majority of entrepreneurs do not even have a high school degree (Walter et al., 2005).

Because of the fact that high levels of education are a limited resource in some developing countries, scholars have argued that education and human capital are even more important for entrepreneurial success in these contexts than in developed ones (Honig, 1998, 2001). Meta-analytical findings have supported this line of reasoning by showing that human capital has a stronger effect on entrepreneurial success in developing countries than in developed countries (Unger, Rauch, Frese, & Rosenbusch, 2011). Given that access to formal education is limited and that human capital has strong effects on entrepreneurial success in developing countries, an important question is: How can entrepreneurs enhance their entrepreneurial knowledge and skills independent of formal institutions? In a study addressing this question, Unger, Keith, Hilling, Gielnik, and Frese (2009) have proposed that an active approach toward learning in the form of deliberate practice helps business owners to overcome this drawback. Taking an active, self-directed approach toward learning is

particularly important for entrepreneurs because entrepreneurs, in contrast to managers, do not typically receive systematic training or coaching. Accordingly, we propose that active learning in the form of deliberate practice has a positive direct effect on entrepreneurial success (see arrow 1 in Figure 13.1). Deliberate practice can be defined as individualized, self-regulated, and effortful activities with the explicit goal of improving the current level of performance (Ericsson, Krampe, & Tesch-Roemer, 1993). The concept of deliberate practice stems from the literature on expertise. Several studies provided support for the beneficial effect of deliberate practice for learning and high performance in various domains (Ericsson, 2005; Ericsson et al., 1993; Ericsson & Lehmann, 1996). In the domains of music or sports, deliberate practice usually takes the form of repetitive activities to improve the cognitive model underlying successful actions. In entrepreneurship, entrepreneurs usually have to complete more complex and diverse tasks. This requires the entrepreneurs to engage in a variety of learning activities to improve their understanding of operating a business (Unger et al., 2009). For example, deliberate practice in the entrepreneurship domain can take the form of asking customers for feedback, consulting colleagues or experts, holding firm meetings, and professional reading (Unger et al., 2009). Performing these activities with the explicit goal of learning and knowledge acquisition helps entrepreneurs to actively gather new information with beneficial effects for their cognitive model and performance. In fact, Unger et al. (2009) have shown in a study among business owners in South Africa that deliberate practice had a strong effect on entrepreneurial knowledge and that entrepreneurial knowledge mediated the effect between deliberate practice and business growth. This study shows that deliberate practice is an important means of self-directed learning to enhance entrepreneurial knowledge in a country such as South Africa.

Action Strategies for Resource-Constrained Environments

Scholars have argued that entrepreneurs in developing countries often receive only limited resources from capital, product, and labor markets (Seelos & Mair, 2007) and that entrepreneurs are constrained with regard to physical, organizational, and technological resources (Tung, Walls, & Frese, 2007; West, Bamford, & Marsden, 2008). Accordingly, action strategies that are geared toward resource-constrained environments should help entrepreneurs in developing countries to be successful. We discuss three action strategies that illustrate how entrepreneurs can take

action in environments with limited resources (see arrow 1 in Figure 13.1): bricolage, financial bootstrapping, and effectuation. *Bricolage* can be defined as making do by recombining resources at hand for new purposes (Baker, Miner, & Eesley, 2003; Baker & Nelson, 2005). "Making do" implies an active engagement with problems or opportunities and testing conventional limitations that are commonly accepted. "Recombining resources" implies a creative reuse of resources for different purposes than those they were originally intended for. "At hand" means that resources are used that are available very cheaply or for free (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Baker and Nelson (2005) have argued that bricolage should be particularly useful in environments that present new challenges (opportunities or threats) but that do not provide new resources. In two qualitative studies, Baker and Nelson (2005) and Baker et al. (2003) have illustrated how entrepreneurs use bricolage with regard to customers, financing, suppliers, premises, equipment, advice, and employees to successfully start and operate new ventures. Baker and Nelson (2005) identified five domains in which bricolage was used: (1) physical input such as reusing and recombining tools, raw materials, spare parts, or equipment to create new value; (2) labor input by network members such as customers or suppliers who contribute work and expertise to projects; (3) self-taught skills that are used to offer additional services; (4) institutional limitations or regulations that are tested and refuse to be enacted; and (5) markets that are created by offering new products or services that would otherwise be unavailable. Baker and Nelson (2005) and Baker et al. (2003) have shown that bricolage may be a useful action strategy to quickly respond to opportunities and to successfully deal with problems in adverse business environments. Edelman and Yli-Renko (2010) have further underlined the functional value of bricolage for successful entrepreneurship. They have shown that neither the objective existence nor the perception of resources had a significant impact on entrepreneurs' efforts to create a venture. The findings suggest that entrepreneurs act as bricoleurs who recombine elements at hand for new purposes to create something even if there is nothing to build on. Using the concept of bricolage in a developing context, Mair and Marti (2009) have shown how an institutional entrepreneur in the form of a non-governmental organization used means of bricolage to reduce poverty in rural Bangladesh. For example, the non-governmental organization "made do" with a set of existing ("at hand") networks and experiences in microfinance such that ultra-poor women became more actively involved in the economy and in society. Thus, bricolage may be a useful strategy that helps people to take entrepreneurial action even in the

face of environmental constraints and limitations. However, it is important to note that bricolage may be less effective if it is used as a continuous strategy. Baker and Nelson (2005) have reported that entrepreneurs who used bricolage consistently and repeatedly over a longer period of time were successful in terms of business survival but not in terms of business growth. In contrast, entrepreneurs who used bricolage more selectively and only temporarily, for example in phases of transition, were able to grow their businesses even in resource-constrained environments. Thus, a flexible use of bricolage with shifts between using and rejecting bricolage appears to be the most effective strategy.

Similar to bricolage, the concept of *financial bootstrapping* may be a useful action strategy to successfully compete in environments that provide only limited resources. Financial bootstrapping refers to acquiring the necessary resources without relying on long-term external debt and equity financing from banks and investors (Winborg & Landstrom, 2001). In developing countries, access to financial capital is often mentioned as a major factor inhibiting entrepreneurial activity (Khavul, 2010; Naude, Gries, Wood, & Meintjies, 2008). Entrepreneurs who manage to acquire financial capital through other sources than bank loans or venture capitalists should therefore be more likely to start and complete the entrepreneurial process. Winborg and Landstrom (2001) have identified six clusters of financial bootstrapping without relying on formal sources of financial capital. The first cluster is owner financing, which means that owners work on other assignments to raise capital, withhold their own salary, employ relatives who work for no or little salary, and use private credit cards for business expenses. The second cluster is minimization of accounts receivable, which includes methods such as speeding up invoicing and putting interest on overdue payment. The third cluster is joint utilization, which means that owners share and borrow resources from other businesses. The fourth cluster is delayed payments, which may include delaying payments to suppliers but also leasing equipment. The fifth cluster is minimization of capital invested in stock, which means that owners optimize their stock and minimize the cash that is tied up in the business' inventory. Finally, the sixth cluster includes methods of obtaining subsidies, for example from the government or public organizations. Financial bootstrapping is a common method used by 80–95% of small firms to finance their operations (Ebben & Johnson, 2006).

Finally, scholars have argued that *effectuation* can be, in general, a useful strategy in entrepreneurship and specifically so in developing contexts (Sarasvathy, 2001; Sarasvathy, Dew, Stuart, & Wiltbank, 2008; Wiltbank,

Stuart, Dew, & Sarasvathy, 2009). The action strategy of effectuation can be described as taking a set of means as given and selecting between possible effects that can be created with this set of means (Sarasvathy, 2001). Effectuation is the opposite of causation; the action strategy of causation means taking a particular effect as given and selecting the means to create this effect. Sarasvathy (2001) has argued that neither effectuation nor causation is generally more efficient or superior to the other; both can be effective in the sense that they lead to a desired outcome. However, given the resource-constrained environments of developing countries, effectuation may be a particularly effective strategy for entrepreneurs in these contexts. Effectuation relies on using the means that are available to create one of many possible effects; thus, it may be possible to compensate constraints in resources, such as capital, raw materials, or labor, by using a strategy based on effectual logic. If resources are not widely available, forming specific goals and using a strategy based on causation may be less effective because it may be too difficult to acquire the necessary resources to attain the specific goals. Sarasvathy (2001) and Sarasvathy et al. (2008) have noted that there are three primary categories of means available to every entrepreneur: the entrepreneurs' identity (traits, abilities, and attitudes; or "who they are"), the entrepreneurs' knowledge (education, experience, and expertise; or "what they know"), and the entrepreneurs' social networks (family, friends, colleagues; or "whom they know"). Using these resources as a starting point for creating a new business should reduce the levels of investments necessary for the start-up and increase the new venture's feasibility (Sarasvathy, 2001). Accordingly, people should not ask how to become a successful entrepreneur but instead, given who they are, what they know, and whom they know, what types of entrepreneurial ventures they can create (Sarasvathy, 2001). Building on this general principle, Bischoff, Kaap, Gielnik, Schmidt, and Frese (2011) have conducted and evaluated two trainings in Uganda to demonstrate the beneficial effect of effectuation for opportunity identification and exploitation. During the training, the trainees learned how to identify and use their idiosyncratic resources to generate business ideas, to develop these business ideas into business opportunities, and to exploit these business opportunities. In the first study, the trainees were students. In the second study, the trainees were business owners. In both studies, the results revealed that the effectuation training increased the number and quality of generated business ideas, the number of activities to develop the business ideas into a business opportunity, and the number of business opportunities actually pursued. Thus, the findings suggest that effectuation supports

people to come up with feasible business ideas because the ideas are based on people's available means and resources.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP TRAININGS

We have suggested that action plays an important role in entrepreneurship and that action theory (Frese, 2009; Frese & Zapf, 1994) provides a useful starting point for deriving action principles and training manuals to promote entrepreneurship. In this section, we will present two entrepreneurship trainings based on action theory that were conducted and evaluated in Uganda. In both cases, the evaluation study showed that entrepreneurship can be successfully promoted when trainings are based on a strong theoretical foundation. Developing and testing training manuals with action principles correspond to the third and fourth aspect of evidence-based entrepreneurship (Frese et al., 2012). Conducting a sound evaluation is critical to understand how and why trainings are effective. However, to date, the majority of entrepreneurship trainings were not at all or only poorly evaluated, with methodological problems limiting the conclusiveness of the findings (Glaub & Frese, 2012). The two entrepreneurship trainings that we present were evaluated using a randomized control group pre-post-test design. This design is considered to be the gold standard to evaluate interventions (Reay, Berta, & Kohn, 2009).

The Student Training for Entrepreneurial Promotion (STEP)

We have designed the Student Training for Entrepreneurial Promotion (STEP) to be a comprehensive entrepreneurship training with three main objectives: changing the mind-set of university students such that they consider entrepreneurship as a real career option, increasing the start-up rate of new businesses among university students, and turning university students into job creators rather than job seekers (for a more detailed description of STEP and its evaluation, cf. Gielnik et al., 2011b). STEP is a 12-week, action-oriented training using evidence-based action principles to train undergraduate students. The literature suggests that entrepreneurship is a multifaceted field related to different disciplines (Baron, 2007a). Accordingly, STEP includes modules from the disciplines of entrepreneurship, business administration, and psychology. Specifically, the topics covered by STEP are: (1) identifying business opportunities;

(2) business planning; (3) legal and regulatory issues; (4) acquiring starting capital; (5) accounting; (6) marketing; (7) financial management; (8) leadership and strategic management; (9) the psychology of planning and implementing plans; (10) personal initiative; (11) persuasion and negotiation; and (12) networking. Regarding the content of the modules, STEP differs from other entrepreneurship programs insofar as STEP puts a stronger focus on psychological skills, such as leadership, the psychology of planning, or personal initiative (Fiet, 2001; Honig, 2004; Solomon, 2007). STEP is also different from other entrepreneurship programs with regard to the method applied during the training. STEP is a strictly action-oriented training, which means that it is based on four propositions suggested by action theory on how to design effective training programs (Frese, Beimel, & Schoenborn, 2003; Frese & Zapf, 1994). Trainings based on action theory have the following features (see Table 13.1): the training content is presented in the form of action principles, students learn by taking action, students receive positive as well as negative feedback, and training tasks are matched to real-world tasks to increase transfer.

Presenting the training content in the form of action principles means that students get practical knowledge and guidelines on how to deal with entrepreneurial tasks instead of abstract theoretical knowledge. For example, in the module on "the psychology of planning and implementing plans," students learned principles based on goal-setting theory, such as set goals that are measurable, challenging, time bound, and realistic (Locke, 2009). Principles of action can also be described as "rules of thumb" about how to perform a specific activity or how to complete a certain task. By specifying how to deal with entrepreneurial tasks, principles of action facilitate accomplishing these tasks. The modules of STEP used only principles of action that were derived from scientific knowledge. STEP thus complies with an evidence-based entrepreneurship approach to translate scientific knowledge into practical principles of how to be successful in starting and operating a new business venture.

Learning by taking action means that the students should actively perform the target behavior during the training instead of being passive recipients of the training content. STEP requires the students to form entrepreneurial teams of four to six students and to start a real business venture in the 12 weeks of the training course. The goal is to start a microbusiness that makes its first sale and profit in the course of the training. Each entrepreneurial team receives approximately US$100 as seed capital that the students have to repay in the last session of the training. By requesting the students to start a real business venture, they

TABLE 13.1
Central features of action training (Frese et al., 2003; Frese & Zapf, 1994)

Components	Description
Teaching principles of action	Students learning action principles ("rules of thumb"): how to go about a certain task or how to perform a specific activity. This leads to knowledge that is action-oriented. The principles of action are based on scientific knowledge.
Learning by taking action	Students perform actively the target behavior. Additionally, all exercises are geared toward the target behavior and they are connected to the principles of action. In this way, the exercises link the knowledge with the target behavior.
Providing positive and negative feedback	Students receive positive and negative feedback. Both forms of feedback help shaping and modifying the behavior. Negative feedback is provided in a functional manner so that students appreciate the positive value of errors and failures. Errors and failures provide information on what the students still have to learn. Feedback given by the trainers is high in the beginning and fades out in the course of the training. Students are encouraged to provide feedback. This promotes an active and self-directed learning.
Matching training tasks and real-world tasks	Students work on tasks and exercises that are similar to the tasks outside the training context. Furthermore, the principles of action are connected to the tasks and exercises in the training. In this way, students apply the knowledge to tasks that are similar to the tasks they have to accomplish after the training. This promotes transfer of knowledge and skills to tasks outside the training context.

experience the whole entrepreneurial process starting with the identification of a business opportunity and ending with the management of an operating business. Starting and operating a real business is a central element of STEP. Therefore, each training session consists of three parts that center around the microbusinesses the students are supposed to start. In the first part, the trainers present principles of action in a lecture. In the second part, the students work on exercises to understand how the action principles can be applied in practice. In the third part, the students apply

more deeply the principles of action to their business ventures and work on specific entrepreneurial tasks (e.g., planning the next steps or making calculations).

During STEP, students receive positive and negative feedback. Positive feedback reinforces students for behavior that reduces the discrepancy to their goals of starting a business (e.g., students successfully acquire necessary raw materials). Negative feedback provides information about behavior that needs to be improved or changed to reach the goal of starting a business (e.g., if students fail to acquire necessary raw materials). The students receive feedback from the trainers when they present and discuss the status and future plans of their business venture. Whenever the trainers provide negative feedback, they also refer to specific action principles to provide the students with information on how they can improve their behavior. It is important to note that the trainers emphasize that negative feedback and errors are a source of learning for the students. Usually, students are told to avoid errors. Considering errors as a valuable form of feedback helps the students to learn from errors and improves their performance (Heimbeck, Frese, Sonnentag, & Keith, 2003; Keith & Frese, 2005, 2008). The trainers provide a lot of feedback in the beginning of the training. The feedback fades out over the 12 sessions and, instead, the students are encouraged to provide feedback to themselves and to their peers. This helps the students to actively analyze and evaluate their entrepreneurial progress.

Finally, increasing transfer by matching training tasks and real-world tasks means that the tasks in the training should be similar to the tasks in the real world. During STEP, the students start and operate a real venture, which implies that the training constitutes a realistic simulation of the economic and social conditions of a real-world business. All actions during the training resemble the actions the students have to perform when they want to start a business outside of the training context. The fact that the training tasks were identical to the tasks of a real entrepreneur should increase the likelihood that the students transfer the knowledge and skills they have learnt during the training to subsequent entrepreneurial ventures after the training (Baldwin & Ford, 1988).

We evaluated the impact of STEP in a randomized controlled experiment. Students from two universities (Makerere University and Uganda Christian University) in Uganda took part in the evaluation study. The students were randomly assigned to the training group or a non-treatment control group. We measured the students three times: before the training, after the training, and 12 months after the first measurement.

Multiple t-tests revealed that the two groups were equivalent before the training as we did not find any significant difference between the control group and the training group on any background or substantial variable. In the course of the STEP training, the students (trainees) formed entrepreneurial teams and engaged in different entrepreneurial ventures, such as producing and selling popcorn, fruit juices, liquid soap, greeting cards, African jewelry, and also service-based businesses such as offering software courses. At the end of the training, the students were able to repay 91% of the seed capital that they had received in the beginning of the training. The high repayment rate is consistent with findings on repayment rates from the literature on microfinance (Khavul, 2010). Furthermore, on average, the entrepreneurial teams made a profit of US$59, with profits ranging from US$0 to US$176. These figures indicate that the students used the seed capital as intended to start and operate a real microbusiness.

STEP had three main objectives: changing students' mind-sets to become more entrepreneurial, increasing the rate of new start-ups among students, and turning students into job creators. With regard to changing the mind-set, the analyses revealed that STEP had a significant effect after the training on students' entrepreneurial self-efficacy, entrepreneurial goal intentions, action knowledge about how to start a business, action planning to perform start-up activities, business opportunity identification, and entrepreneurial actions performed to actually start a business. Taken together, these findings indicate that the students are more inclined toward entrepreneurship after they have attended STEP. With regard to increasing the start-up rate of new business ventures, the analyses showed that STEP had a significant impact on the number of business owners 12 months after the first measurement wave. We found a significantly stronger increase in the number of business owners after the training in the training group compared to the control group. This finding indicates that STEP is an effective intervention to increase the number of business owners. Finally, with regard to turning students into job creators, we found that STEP also significantly increased the number of people employed by the students. In the control group, the number of people employed by the students changed only slightly while in the training group, the number of people employed by the students doubled. This finding provides support that STEP is effective in turning students into job creators for other people. In conclusion, the evaluation study has provided evidence that STEP, which was developed as evidence-based entrepreneurship training, achieved the objective of promoting entrepreneurship in a developing country.

Personal Initiative Training

Personal initiative is considered to be a central success factor in entrepreneurship (Frese, 2009; Koop et al., 2000; Krauss et al., 2005). We designed a three-day personal initiative training for business owners, which consists of three sections (for a more detailed description of the personal initiative training and its evaluation, cf. Glaub, Fischer, Klemm, & Frese, 2011). To our knowledge, a three-day training session is the least time-consuming program for business owners that covers psychological characteristics. Usually, training programs take about two weeks on average and vary from five days to three months (Glaub & Frese, 2012). Training programs that are less time-consuming are more convenient for business owners because such training programs interfere less with their day-to-day tasks. Again, our training method is based on propositions derived from action theory (Frese & Zapf, 1994; see Table 13.1). We train personal initiative based on the full facet model of personal initiative (Frese & Fay, 2001). The facet model holds that personal initiative consists of self-starting, proactive, and persistent behavior. We train the facets along the action sequence of successful goal-oriented behavior (Frese & Zapf, 1994).

In the first section, we introduce the participants to the concept of personal initiative based on the first two steps of the action sequence (forming goals and gathering information for goal achievement). We use two case studies to illustrate high and low levels of personal initiative. Based on the case studies, we identify situations of the participants' day-to-day business in which they can show personal initiative instead of being passive or reactive. We discuss and reflect on how entrepreneurs can show personal initiative in the following areas: opportunity identification, active information search, opportunity evaluation, dealing with suppliers, marketing, quality management, dealing with employees, and dealing with problems. We use the discussion to illustrate the meaning of being self-starting, proactive, and persistent with regard to forming goals and gathering information. In the second section, the participants learn how to show high levels of personal initiative along the action sequence in more detail. We present action principles for each step of the action sequence. The action principles state what to do to be more self-starting, proactive, and persistent. For example, regarding planning, the participants receive action principles that show how to develop action plans that are self-starting (plans that promote initiating action), proactive (plans that are geared toward future threats and opportunities), and persistent (formulating back-up plans and how to return to plans when being interrupted).

We then use case studies to illustrate positive and negative models of entrepreneurs using or disregarding the action principles. We use exercises to train how to apply the action principles to the case studies. Afterwards, the participants apply the action principles to their own businesses. During the training, we always refer to the participants' own businesses and ask them in what way the training content applies to their businesses to increase the transfer of the training. In the third section, the participants develop a personal project for their individual businesses. We request the participants to consider all facets of personal initiative and all steps of the action sequence. The personal project increases transfer because participants start working on the personal project in the training and continue the project after the training in their businesses.

We evaluated the effect of the personal initiative training in a randomized controlled experiment. We conducted the evaluation study with business owners in Uganda. The business owners were randomly assigned to either the training group or a non-treatment control group. The measurements took place before the training, directly after the training, and 12 months after the intervention. Multiple t-tests revealed that the two groups were equivalent before the training on all substantial variables. The results revealed that the personal initiative training had a significant impact on the number of people employed by the business owners. The number of employees is an appropriate indicator of business performance because it is related to other performance measures, such as sales and assets, and business owners can easily and reliably report their number of employees (Weinzimmer, Nystrom, & Freeman, 1998). The number of employees increased in the training group while it decreased in the control group. The decrease in the control group was due to adverse economic conditions in Uganda during that time. We found a similar pattern for sales level generated by the businesses in the training and control group. The results showed that the business owners who had participated in the personal initiative training were able to increase their business success even when the economic situation did not favor business growth. Further analyses showed that the effect of the personal initiative training on business success was mediated by the business owners' personal initiative. This means that the increase in business success was indeed due to business owners' personal initiative and not due to any other training-related factor (e.g., Hawthorne effect). The findings provide thus further support for the importance of personal initiative for entrepreneurship in a developing country.

CONTEXT FACTORS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THEIR INTERPLAY WITH ACTIONS

Entrepreneurs' actions are a major determinant of their success. Yet, entrepreneurs' actions take place in a context that means the context may directly affect entrepreneurs' actions (and thus, they indirectly affect entrepreneurship) and/or moderate the direct effect of entrepreneurs' actions on entrepreneurial success (Welter & Smallbone, 2011). The context provides opportunities and sets boundaries for entrepreneurs (Welter, 2010). In this section of the chapter, we will present contextual factors that have been proposed to have an influence on entrepreneurship in developing countries. We focus on institutions and resources because, so far, entrepreneurship scholars have mainly used these two factors in their theoretical models to explain entrepreneurship in developing contexts (Bruton, Ahlstrom, & Obloj, 2008).

We suggest a model of entrepreneurial success in developing countries that integrates an action theory perspective on entrepreneurship with context factors (see Figure 13.1). It is important to understand how entrepreneurs can be successful under different contextual conditions. Thus, it is necessary to discuss contextual factors in combination with entrepreneurs' actions to fully understand entrepreneurship in developing countries. Accordingly, considering an I-O psychology perspective that discusses individuals' actions and performance should provide a better understanding of how contextual factors influence entrepreneurship. For example, Kodithuwakku and Rosa (2002) have provided interesting insights into action strategies developed by successful entrepreneurs in an environment providing only limited resources. In a natural experiment, they have investigated entrepreneurs in Sri Lanka who had all the same unfavorable starting conditions. Kodithuwakku and Rosa (2002) have found that entrepreneurs who had been able to create a viable venture after 10 years were more successful in mobilizing resources through social networks, diversified their entrepreneurial activities, and adhered to a Protestant work ethic. These results suggest that action strategies tailored to a specific context may help entrepreneurs to overcome the burdens of resource-constrained environments. Moreover, it is possible that entrepreneurs' actions affect the context. This is in line with the view that entrepreneurs are active agents who change their environments (Frese, 2009; Sarasvathy, 2001). In the following, we discuss in more detail the importance of combining a contextual approach with an I-O psychology approach.

Institutions, Resources, and Entrepreneurship

Following Welter (2010), we distinguish between formal (laws and regulations), informal (culture and norms of the society and the market), and social (networks and family) institutions. This is also in line with Scott's (1995) conceptualization that institutions comprise regulative, cultural-cognitive, and normative elements. Regarding *formal institutions*, the World Bank (2010) lists nine categories of regulations that affect the ease of doing business, such as starting/registering a business, registering property, getting credit, paying taxes, and closing a business. Research has shown that the lighter a country's regulations regarding doing business are, the more likely it is to grow faster in terms of annual gross domestic product per capita (Djankov, 2009; Djankov, La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes, & Shleifer, 2002; Djankov, McLiesh, & Ramalho, 2006). Sub-Saharan African and South Asian countries have the most business-hostile environments (World Bank, 2010). For example, it takes 56 days on average to register and license a business in East Africa while the same procedure takes only 14 days in OECD[2] countries (Khavul, Bruton, & Wood, 2009). Furthermore, weak and inefficient formal institutions foster corruption with further detrimental effects (Tonoyan, Strohmeyer, Habib, & Perlitz, 2010). Accordingly, entrepreneurship scholars have argued that government failure and inadequate or weak regulatory institutions are a major obstacle to entrepreneurship and economic progress in developing countries (McMullen, 2010; McMullen, Bagby, & Palich, 2008; Wright, Filatotchev, Hoskisson, & Peng, 2005). Similarly, development economists generally advocate the building and strengthening of institutions, such as property rights, contract enforcement, and good governance (Naude, 2010).

Formal institutions in terms of laws and regulations may be an impediment to entrepreneurship in developing countries but we argue that it is important to take entrepreneurs' actions and action strategies into consideration. In a study on regulations and entrepreneurship in 39 countries, van Stel, Storey, and Thurik (2007) found only minor effects of regulations on nascent or young business formations. The authors have argued that entrepreneurs overcome or avoid bureaucratic burdens, such as regulatory procedures, through their creativity and actions. Thus, this study questions the findings that there is a main effect of administrative considerations on entrepreneurship. The mixed findings on the impact of regulations point to a potential controversy in the literature calling for further investigation into the nature of the effects of regulatory frameworks on entrepreneurship. In line with the findings by van Stel et al. (2007), we suggest that entrepreneurs may change their action strategies to successfully

deal with adverse institutional conditions (see also Welter & Smallbone, 2011) (see arrow 2 in Figure 13.1). One common strategy in developing countries to deal with regulatory burdens is to start informal instead of formal businesses. Informal business are not registered and licensed (e.g., for tax purposes) but they are considered to be legitimate in most developing countries (Rogerson, 2000; Webb, Tihanyi, Ireland, & Sirmon, 2009). Informal businesses have important functions. Estimates suggest that informal businesses account for approximately 40% of gross domestic product in developing economies (Webb et al., 2009). Informal businesses buffer low labor absorption in the formal economy by providing an opportunity for individuals to sustain themselves (Rogerson, 2000). Furthermore, the low entry and exit barriers allow a rapid cycling through business opportunities such that entrepreneurs can test the viability of different business concepts (Khavul et al., 2009). Informal businesses are thus a stepping stone to ventures creating higher value (Bennett, 2010). Human capital appears to be an important factor to use an informal business as a stepping stone for a formal business. A study with entrepreneurs in Nairobi showed that entrepreneurs with higher education are more likely to leave the informal sector and to transfer to the formal sector (Sonobe, Akoten, & Otsuka, 2011). Thus, starting with an informal business may be an appropriate strategy to deal with regulatory burdens in developing countries. In summary, we argue that institutional factors in terms of laws and regulations do not have a direct effect on entrepreneurial success but they affect or moderate entrepreneurs' actions. For example, entry regulations may not affect the total amount of entrepreneurial activity but influence the distribution of new businesses between the formal and informal activity (van Stel et al., 2007).

Regarding *informal institutions*, two factors are proposed to influence entrepreneurship: culture and social norms. With regard to culture, Kreiser, Marino, Dickson, and Weaver (2010) have investigated to what extent cultural values influence entrepreneurial orientation in six countries (including Costa Rica and Indonesia). Although their study might be criticized because they have used Hofstede's measure, which captures cultural values ("should be") instead of cultural practices ("as is"), their study suggests that uncertainty avoidance and power distance may have a negative effect on risk taking. Moreover, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, and power distance may have a negative effect on proactiveness. In a study of seven countries on the Pacific Rim, Mitchell, Smith, Seawright, and Morse (2000) found effects of the cultural values of individualism and power distance on entrepreneurs' venture creation cognitions and

decisions. Such findings may be important because countries' culture and their economic development co-vary systematically (Tang & Koveos, 2008). This means that developed and developing countries differ in their cultural values. For example, in contrast to Western countries, African countries are more strongly characterized by high levels of collectivism and power distance putting more value on embeddedness, status, tradition, and less on egalitarianism and autonomy (Munene, Schwartz, & Smith, 2000; Takyi-Asiedu, 1993). Accordingly, cultural differences between developed and less-developed countries may account for some differences in entrepreneurship in these two contexts (George & Zahra, 2002; Stephan & Uhlaner, 2010). However, the relationship between culture and entrepreneurship may be more complex than a simple main effect. Pinillos and Reyes (2011) have shown that in developed countries, individualism had a positive effect on entrepreneurship while, in developing countries, the effect was negative. The results suggest that both individualism and collectivism may contribute to entrepreneurship depending on the level of a country's economic development. Similarly, Hayton, George, and Zahra (2002) have proposed that culture interacts with institutional and economic factors to influence entrepreneurship.

Again, we argue that it is important to take entrepreneurs' actions into account when discussing the influence of culture on entrepreneurship (see arrow 2 in Figure 13.1). Entrepreneurs can manage their business to create a match between business practices and culture, resulting in higher business performance. In a study comparing business owners in Ireland and Germany, Rauch, Frese, and Sonnentag (2000) have shown that the effect of action planning on business success differed in these two countries. The effect of planning was positive in Germany while it was negative in Ireland. The authors have suggested that these contradictory findings are due to differences in the level of uncertainty avoidance in the two countries. In Germany, which is a country high on uncertainty avoidance, planning may be more important to minimize the experienced uncertainty while, in Ireland, which is a country with lower scores of uncertainty avoidance, business owners are expected to be more flexible and thus not to plan their actions in too much detail. Hence, culture may moderate the effect of entrepreneurs' actions on entrepreneurial success.

Scholars have argued that perceived social norms to start a career as an entrepreneur positively influence entrepreneurial intentions (Krueger, Reilly, & Carsrud, 2000). Perceived social norms can be described as the social pressure to perform or not to perform a behavior (Ajzen, 1991). Indeed, research found support for a relationship between social norms

and entrepreneurial intentions (Kolvereid & Isaksen, 2006; Souitaris, Zerbinati, & Al-Laham, 2007). It is important to note, however, that entrepreneurial intentions have only a weak effect on actual entrepreneurial behavior (Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Katz, 1990; Souitaris et al., 2007). Gielnik et al. (2011a, 2011b) showed in two separate studies in Uganda that entrepreneurial intentions had no main effect on performing start-up activities or starting a business. There was only a positive effect when entrepreneurs complemented their intentions with action plans. In a study in the US, Meek, Pacheco, and York (2010) showed that social norms in terms of consumption norms, conformity norms, and family interdependence norms influenced the type of businesses started by entrepreneurs (whether or not the business was ecology friendly).

Regarding *social institutions*, we distinguish between positive and negative effects of entrepreneurs' networks and family on their entrepreneurial ventures. With regard to the negative effects, in many developing countries, collectivism, embeddedness, and tradition are highly valued and accordingly, connections by blood, kin, and community play a central role in these contexts (Munene et al., 2000). These strong connections may lead to additional demands entrepreneurs have to meet. For example, successful entrepreneurs are often morally obliged to share their income even with extended family members, use business cash for private expenses (e.g., school fees or medical treatment), and hire family or community members even if they are less qualified than other job candidates (Khavul et al., 2009; Takyi-Asiedu, 1993). This may result in additional burdens and drain valuable resources from the business. Khayesi and George (2011) provided evidence for the detrimental effects of social networks for resource acquisition in developing countries. They showed that entrepreneurs with a strong shared identity in their social networks may acquire less financial resources and have to invest more to get these resources when they show high levels of communal orientation. Consequently, strong social networks and family ties may have an inhibiting effect in these contexts and may undermine entrepreneurial efforts.

Social networks may also be a resource with positive effects for entrepreneurs and can therefore also be considered as *social capital*. Social networks may be a source of financial capital, information, potential employees, access to clients, and also of emotional support and encouragement (Welter, 2010). Research provided evidence that social networks may have beneficial effects in developing countries. For example, Zhao et al. (2010) have shown that government network size was positively related to business growth of small- and medium-sized enterprises in

urban and rural regions in China. In a study in Uganda, Khayesi and George (2011) have found that the strength of the shared identity in the social networks of entrepreneurs had a positive main effect on the quantity of resources raised through the networks. In a qualitative study of informal family businesses in East Africa, Khavul et al. (2009) have illustrated how entrepreneurs use strong and weak ties with family and community members to establish and operate a business. For example, entrepreneurs establish businesses with partners with whom they have strong community ties to avoid that family members gain too much influence in the business. Finally, in a study among Sri Lankan entrepreneurs, Kodithuwakku and Rosa (2002) have shown the usefulness of social networks for mobilizing resources to pursue business opportunities. The study has shown how family members may be helpful to establish connections to customers, to share information (e.g., about potential business opportunities or the trustworthiness of stakeholders), to provide working capital, and to share labor for cost reductions. These findings suggest that social capital may have several positive effects for entrepreneurs in developing countries such as Uganda or Sri Lanka.

The discussion shows that social networks can either promote or impede entrepreneurship in developing contexts. We argue that, similar to formal and informal institutions, entrepreneurs can manage their social context to optimize their entrepreneurial success (see arrow 2 in Figure 13.1). We noted that family obligations and strong extended family ties can have a constraining effect in developing countries, pointing to a dark side of social networks. However, Khayesi and George (2011) have shown that entrepreneurs can increase or decrease the negative effect of social networks by adjusting their communal orientation. For example, entrepreneurs can increase or decrease their interactions with other members of the community and regulate their feelings of responsibility, sensitivity, and responsiveness to other people's needs. Furthermore, Zhao et al. (2010) have demonstrated how entrepreneurs can actively increase their social networks through relational perseverance and proactive and elaborate social strategies. This study is thus an example of how entrepreneurs can actively influence contextual factors, such as institutions or resources (see arrow 3 in Figure 13.1, p. 396). Similarly, Seelos and Mair (2007) have suggested that entrepreneurs should put a stronger focus on building partnerships and strategic alliances in resource-constrained environments to buffer negative effects. Building partnerships and strategic alliances would be a specific action strategy to deal with an unfavorable context. In summary, we argue that only a joint examination of social networks

(as institutions or resources) and entrepreneurs' actions provide a complete picture of the mechanisms in the entrepreneurial process.

With regard to the resource of *financial capital*, economists have argued that constraints in financial capital are a major factor limiting entrepreneurial behavior, particularly in developing countries (e.g., de Mel, McKenzie, & Woodruff, 2008; Ho & Wong, 2007). Research has shown that the likelihood of people becoming entrepreneurs increases with their wealth and assets they control; furthermore, financial constraints are frequently mentioned as the major reason for abandoning the start-up process and new businesses are more likely to survive and grow when the initial capital is higher (Ho & Wong, 2007). In a well-designed field experiment, de Mel et al. (2008) have demonstrated that providing microbusinesses in Sri Lanka with capital of up to US$100 had strong effects on the average return to capital. In developing countries, however, access to finance is often limited. Beck, Demirguec-Kunt, and Martinez Peria (2008) have investigated barriers to the access and use of banking services in 62 countries and found that the barriers correlated negatively with gross domestic product; thus, in poorer countries, banks impose higher barriers to obtaining financial capital. In the developing country of Uganda, a major source of funding is through "business angels" (in this context, business angels are often other business owners in the vicinity or family members). In a representative study, 14.7% of the Uganda adult population reported that they have provided funds for other people to start a business (Walter et al., 2005). In fact, a percentage of 14.7% of the adult population is second highest out of 34 countries studied, including the US, the UK, France, Germany, Australia, and Japan (Walter et al., 2005). However, in Uganda, the majority of business angels (53%) provided only up to US$59 and only 3% of the business angels provide more than $US588 (Walter et al., 2005). A recent phenomenon to improve access to financial capital in developing regions can be subsumed under the term "microfinance." Microfinance offers a wide range of small-scale financial services such as credit, savings, insurance, and money transfers to poor clients. Most attention has been given to microcredits. Microcredit aims to alleviate poverty and stimulate economic growth in developing countries by providing capital to low-income entrepreneurs (Khavul, 2010). Usually, poor people are assessed as high-risk clients by traditional financial institutions because they are often illiterate, have only limited collateral, no official credit histories, and operate most commonly in the informal economy (Khavul, 2010). Microcredit is associated with innovative approaches to

traditional banking, such as group lending or repayment in public to increase repayment rates. In a study in Peru, Karlan (2007) has shown that several mechanisms of group banking are responsible for the higher repayment rates. For example, borrowers take responsibility of the selection process and chose only creditworthy peers to enter the group. Borrowers are also able to monitor each others' use of the loan and they can enforce repayment more easily in their social community (Karlan, 2007). Thus, microfinance appears to be a promising strategy for entrepreneurs in developing countries to acquire financial resources.

We argue that it is important to take a more comprehensive perspective and to examine financial capital in combination with entrepreneurs' actions (see arrows 4 and 5 in Figure 13.1, p. 396). For example, the action strategy of financial bootstrapping (Winborg & Landstrom, 2001) may be useful in such contexts to acquire the necessary resources despite financial constraints. However, it is also important to note that complaints about the lack of financial capital is often a convenient excuse to blame external causes for entrepreneurs' self-regulatory failures to take action or to mask technical and managerial inadequacies (Naude et al., 2008). McMullen (2010) has argued that a lack of entrepreneurial abilities is impeding entrepreneurship in developing countries much more than a lack of financial capital. Naude et al. (2008) have concluded that empirical evidence on the constraining effect of financial capital is mixed; this is also because of the fact that the amount of start-up capital is often relatively small in developing countries. A case that illustrates how entrepreneurs take action with only minimal financial resources is presented by Sarasvathy (2001). She has shown how entrepreneurs used means of effectuation (using available resources, tapping the social network, and partnering with other companies) to start a company. Although this is a case from the US, it may provide a model for dealing with financial constraints in other contexts. Thus, financial resources alone cannot provide a satisfactory explanation for entrepreneurship. In fact, this also follows from the study by de Mel et al. (2008), which has provided strong evidence for the beneficial effect of financial capital on entrepreneurial success, but it has also shown that the positive effect varied with entrepreneurial ability. Thus, there was an interaction between financial capital and individual factors of the entrepreneur. In conclusion, theoretical frameworks need to take into consideration the interplay between actions taken by the entrepreneurs and contextual factors in the form of institutions and resources to explain entrepreneurship in developing contexts.

FUTURE RESEARCH

We think that our discussion of the success factors of entrepreneurship in developing countries and our theoretical model provide some avenues for future research on this topic from an I-O psychology perspective. We think that it is particularly interesting to investigate how the interplay between individual and contextual factors affects entrepreneurship. Naude (2010) has recently noted that it is important to unpack the "black box" (p. 2) of contextual factors and combine these factors with the role of the individual entrepreneur to better understand entrepreneurship in developing economies. Similarly, Bruton et al. (2008) have noted that theories from a developed context do not always hold in emerging economies and that it is necessary to develop a better understanding of contextual factors in emerging economies that moderate entrepreneurs' behavior.

First, we propose that investigating the interplay of entrepreneurs' actions and availability of financial capital may provide new insights. Limited availability of financial capital is a contextual factor that has received wide attention. Scholars have noted that investigating barriers to the acquisition of such resources and how entrepreneurs overcome these barriers is a promising way ahead to enhance our understanding of entrepreneurship in developing countries (Wright et al., 2005). Financial bootstrapping may be an action strategy that helps to solve problems of limited access to financial capital. However, as far as we know, no studies on financial bootstrapping in developing contexts exist, which calls for research on the use and effect of financial bootstrapping on entrepreneurial success in these contexts. Our theoretical model proposes that entrepreneurs using bootstrapping strategies will be successful even in cases of limited access to financial capital. Future research could also investigate whether entrepreneurs in developing contexts use different or additional clusters of financial bootstrapping than the six clusters described by Winborg and Landstrom (2001). Furthermore, it would also be interesting to investigate potential dark sides of financial bootstrapping. With regard to the concept of bricolage, Baker and Nelson (2005) found that entrepreneurs who use bricolage temporarily and not continuously are more likely to experience business growth. Similarly, future research could investigate whether the flexible use of financial bootstrapping and long-term external debts is more beneficial for entrepreneurial success. Future research could also examine other factors that may help to overcome problems of access to financial capital. Baron and Ensley (2006) have

suggested that expert and novice entrepreneurs differ in their cognitive frameworks, which affects how the two types of entrepreneurs identify and evaluate business opportunities. Expert entrepreneurs put a stronger focus on financial aspects of a business opportunity while novice entrepreneurs focus more strongly on aspects related to the novelty of the business opportunity. These expert cognitive frameworks may also be helpful to deal with unfavorable financial circumstances because expert cognitive frameworks should provide a broader knowledge base to solve such problems. Subsequent studies could then investigate how trainings contribute to developing expert cognitive frameworks to equip entrepreneurs with an additional point of leverage for overcoming limited access to capital. Finally, studies can be connected to the domain of microfinance. Although there are some studies on the effectiveness of microcredit (e.g., Karlan & Appel, 2010), microcredit has not been the subject of a comprehensive scientific examination and the effects are not yet clear (Hermes & Lensink, 2007). Research, so far, has concentrated on repayment rates and found that they are generally high (Khavul, 2010). However, repayment rates provide only little information about the effectiveness of such programs; it might be possible that individuals borrow additional money to repay their loans (Khavul, 2010). Thus, the domain of microfinance may offer unique opportunities to investigate how contextual factors (in this case, the availability of microcredits) influences entrepreneurs' actions and their success. It is important to note that research in the domain of microfinance has to take into consideration the general concept of microcredits. Usually, entrepreneurs receive a series of loans; after repayment, they apply for and receive a subsequent loan. This concept allows researchers to track microcredit receivers over a longer period of time and to examine cycles of how loans affect subsequent actions and actions affect subsequent loans. Research has shown that small business owners' action planning and performance affect each other; there are recursive effects of high action planning and high performance as well as low action planning and poor performance (van Gelderen, Frese, & Thurik, 2000). We expect similar recursive effects in the domain of microcredits; entrepreneurs who show more action planning should be more successful in subsequent rounds because they better prepare for the future. Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate moderating factors that enhance this virtuous cycle as well as moderating factors that break the vicious circle of low action planning and low performance.

Second, there are topics in the domain of entrepreneurship in developing contexts that are still unsettled. For example, there is a controversy

regarding the impact of regulatory factors on entrepreneurship and economic development. While some studies have found a negative effect (Djankov, 2009; Djankov et al., 2002), other studies have found no effect (van Stel et al., 2007). Further research is necessary to clarify whether or not regulatory issues are a burden. In line with our theoretical model, we suggest that taking an interactionist perspective and examining how entrepreneurs individually deal with those burdens might offer a promising starting point to resolve this controversy. Specifically, we propose that entrepreneurs high on personal initiative are successful even in cases of high regulatory burdens. An important aspect of personal initiative is being persistent and overcoming barriers, which implies generating creative solutions for solving problems (Frese & Fay, 2001). Personal initiative should thus help to deal with unfavorable regulatory circumstances.

Third, we discussed that social institutions may be beneficial and detrimental for entrepreneurial success. Additional research is necessary to investigate the controversial effects. For example, employing family members may be detrimental because they may be less qualified to perform certain tasks. However, it may also be beneficial because kinship may be a source of trust (Khavul et al., 2009; Khayesi & George, 2011). Trust, in turn, enhances the quality of exchange and may be a substitute for inefficient formal institutions (Hoang & Antoncic, 2003; Welter & Smallbone, 2011). Investigating the various trade-offs and the question of how entrepreneurs can attenuate the negative effects while maintaining the positive effects would provide interesting insights. Specifically, we propose that entrepreneurs using proactive and elaborate social strategies will be more successful in this regard. Proactive and elaborate social strategies specify what interactions, with whom, in what order, and when they are needed to enable entrepreneurs to achieve their objectives (Zhao et al., 2010).

Fourth, an interesting topic is the interplay between cultural factors and entrepreneurial actions. A starting point for future studies related to this topic may be the study by Koenig, Steinmetz, Frese, Rauch, and Wang (2007) in which the authors developed scenario-based scales to measure cultural orientations of entrepreneurs. Future research can use these scales to investigate entrepreneurs' orientations in different cultural settings. An interesting research question would be whether entrepreneurs should manage their business according to the cultural practices of their countries or whether they may create a competitive advantage by differentiating their business from the cultural standard.

Fifth, we discussed the importance of distinguishing between necessity and high-expectation entrepreneurship for economic development. Based

on this research, scholars have suggested changes in government policies and greater allocation of financial support to potential high-growth companies (Shane, 2009). Such suggestions call for more research following the concept of evidence-based entrepreneurship. If only high-growth companies contribute to economic development, then interventions promoting high-growth companies should have a positive effect on economic development. Designing such interventions requires a comprehensive investigation into the antecedents of necessity and high-expectation entrepreneurship. A study by van Stel et al. (2007) has shown that enrollment in tertiary education was positively related to entrepreneurship that is not necessity-motivated; thus, to promote high-expectation and opportunity entrepreneurship, human capital appears to be an important factor. Similarly, higher education has an important function for transforming informal into formal businesses (Sonobe et al., 2011). Given that human capital contributes to high-expectation and more formal entrepreneurship, future studies could investigate how entrepreneurs can continuously broaden their knowledge to increase the likelihood of starting and running high-growth businesses. Unger et al. (2009) have shown that deliberate practice is an active learning strategy that increases entrepreneurs knowledge with positive effects for business performance. A related line of research could investigate how deliberate practice and other active learning strategies contribute to setting-up high-expectation entrepreneurial ventures or transforming informal into formal businesses.

Finally, we note that we evaluated STEP in comparison to a non-treatment control group, which means that the control group did not receive any form of training. In a next step, it is important to compare STEP with other forms of training (e.g., shorter trainings or trainings using a different method) to identify the most efficient way of promoting entrepreneurship through trainings.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to provide an overview on success factors in entrepreneurship and to link these findings to the context of developing countries. We argued for the importance of taking an I-O psychology perspective and considering entrepreneurial action as a central determinant of entrepreneurial success. Entrepreneurship only occurs if people take action to pursue and exploit opportunities (Frese, 2009; McMullen &

Shepherd, 2006; Rauch & Frese, 2000). We further argued that contextual factors, such as institutions and resources, have an indirect or moderating effect on entrepreneurial success. We developed a theoretical model integrating entrepreneurial action and contextual factors to explain entrepreneurial success in developing countries. The model suggests that an I-O psychology perspective that focuses on actions of the individual entrepreneur is a promising approach to promote entrepreneurship. Promoting entrepreneurship contributes to humanitarian and prosocial efforts because entrepreneurship has positive effects on economic development and poverty alleviation (Mead & Liedholm, 1998).

Furthermore, we presented two training programs that aimed to promote entrepreneurship in the developing country of Uganda. The trainings were developed based on the concept of evidence-based entrepreneurship and included action principles derived from the relevant scientific knowledge on success factors in entrepreneurship (Frese et al., 2012). Rigorously designed evaluation studies provided evidence for the effectiveness of the two training programs. Making use of such training programs is considered to be a promising bottom-up approach to promote entrepreneurship in developing countries (Kabongo & Okpara, 2010). The effectiveness of the trainings provides further evidence for the importance of an I-O psychology approach to the topic of entrepreneurship and poverty alleviation.

In this chapter, we argued that I-O psychology can contribute to the "greater good" because an I-O psychology perspective is important to better understand entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship has important prosocial functions. An I-O psychology perspective focusing on the individual entrepreneur may become even more important in the future because of a growing interest in bottom-up approaches toward entrepreneurship and poverty alleviation. Recently, scholars have noted that it might be necessary to reconsider top-down approaches in this area (e.g., Easterly, 2006). Top-down approaches focus on changing the regulatory framework to facilitate entrepreneurship and on foreign aid programs (Khavul, 2010; West et al., 2008). Measures such as business start-up time are often taken a proxy for good governance and a healthy economic system in the development industry and popular media. Accordingly, many governments established an administrative and regulatory framework to facilitate starting and operating private enterprises. In fact, 85% of the world's economies introduced regulatory reforms between 2005 and 2010 to ease doing business; between May 2009 and June 2010 alone, 117 economies implemented 216 regulatory reforms (World Bank, 2010).

However, the effectiveness of this approach to promote entrepreneurship was recently questioned by van Stel et al. (2007).

Similar to regulatory changes, foreign aid programs can be characterized as a top-down approach and such programs are often criticized. Foreign aid programs by organizations such as the World Bank, regional development banks, national aid agencies (e.g., USAID or GIZ), and United Nations agencies have spent several trillion dollars in the last 50 years; yet, scholars have questioned the positive effects of this approach (Ahlstrom, 2010; Khavul, 2010). For example, West et al. (2008) presented a case from Latin America where aid programs that were not properly tied to projects initiated by the local community got lost in periods of political instability. Furthermore, research showed that foreign aid has a negative impact on a country's index of democracy (Djankov, Montalvo, & Reynal-Querol, 2008). Foreign aid can be easily appropriated by corrupt politicians, with the effect that only a fraction of the money trickles down to the people at the bottom (Djankov et al., 2008; Khavul, 2010). Aid programs may also create dependencies on external organizations and lead to learned helplessness (West et al., 2008). Thus, poorly designed aid programs may promote passivity rather than activity resulting in a decrease in people's entrepreneurial behavior. In fact, recent research has questioned the effect of aid on economic growth (Djankov et al., 2008).

We note that the debate about the effectiveness and appropriateness of these approaches is still going on and such top-down approaches may have several positive effects on the contextual factors described in this chapter. Furthermore, the empirical results regarding the effectiveness of aid programs on economic growth appear to be fragile, and several moderators, such as good versus bad policies, seem to affect the relationship (Roodman, 2007). We do not deny that regulatory changes or aid programs have an effect in the entrepreneurial process, but any approach to promote entrepreneurship that does not take into account the people and their actions neglects an important factor. Accordingly, we do not argue against top-down approaches but we recommend more comprehensively integrating a bottom-up approach. In contrast to top-down approaches, bottom-up approaches focus on the individual level. For example, Khavul (2010) has suggested to direct investments to individuals based on their initiatives and projects. This may increase productivity and innovation leading to growth from within the country (Khavul, 2010). Similarly, West et al. (2008) have argued for a bottom-up model that focuses on building a proper foundation for entrepreneurship on a more individual basis. Their approach emphasizes creating and developing individual resources,

such as entrepreneurial orientation, knowledge, and skills, to foster entrepreneurial activity. This should provide inducements for further entrepreneurial activity because the people observe that achievements are linked to their own efforts (West et al., 2008). These suggestions, as well as our theoretical model and training programs, indicate that a bottom-up approach, which focuses on the individuals who take actions in the entrepreneurial process, and a top-down approach may complement each other and help form an effective approach toward poverty alleviation through entrepreneurship.

Clearly, more research is needed, as scholars have noted that although entrepreneurship in developing countries is of importance for over a billion people, it is one of the least studied major economic and social phenomena (Bruton et al., 2008; Naude et al., 2008). Thus, there is still a large gap in our understanding of entrepreneurship in developing contexts. We hope that this chapter provides a starting point for future studies that contribute to closing this gap in the literature.

NOTES

1. Developing countries can be defined as countries with a gross national income per capita less than US$12,275 (World Bank, 2011).
2. OECD countries are largely high-income countries, such as North American and European countries, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Korea.

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14

Assessing and Placing Disaster Relief Volunteers

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Although industrial-organizational psychology is often viewed as serving the interests of shareholders, employers, and management, for some academics and practitioners humanitarian concerns are the heart of the subject. There are examples of I-O psychologists responding swiftly to disasters such as the devastating Hurricane Katrina (Rizzuto, 2008) and applying their knowledge of I-O psychology to humanitarian crises. In a world full of natural and human-made disasters, the opportunities and the potential for I-O psychology to make a contribution are great (Williams, Carr, & Blampied, 2007). One purpose of this chapter is to examine the application of I-O psychology to the selection and placement of disaster relief volunteers, and to describe a project that illustrates how this can be achieved. We shall then discuss the work that remains to be done in this area.

VOLUNTEERS, DISASTERS, AND "DISASTER RELIEF VOLUNTEERS"

Volunteering is an "activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group, or cause" (Wilson, 2000, p. 215). Volunteers are those people who "choose to act in recognition of a need, with an attitude of social responsibility and without concern for monetary profit, going beyond one's basic obligations" (Ellis & Noyes, 1990, p. 4). Very often, this decision will take volunteers to work settings that are less comfortable than the paid work that they could have gotten with their level of experience and education. These planned, prosocial behaviors are an integral part of all

human societies, the operation of which depends on both salaried workers and volunteers.

There are many types of volunteers. Some can be called "event volunteers" or "episodic volunteers," who volunteer for a short-term or for a specific project; others are regular (or "long-term") volunteers. Some are "formal volunteers," working with an organization; others are informal, such as those who render regular or occasional help to their neighbors. Most volunteers are motivated by their humanitarian values (wanting to help someone), although some also participate to increase understanding, to gain career-related experience, to develop social networks, to address personal problems, or to seek personal psychological growth (Clary & Snyder, 1991). Regardless of their types and motivations, these unpaid workers are indispensable, especially during and after a disaster, which suddenly increases the demand for human resources.

In a disaster, volunteers' roles change as the response to the disaster moves from one phase to the next. The first phase, rescue, begins shortly after the disaster occurs. During this phase, the primary goal is to save lives and minimize physical injuries. Thus, work in this phase is often undertaken by people who can be quickly mobilized (e.g., the military). Volunteers play a relatively minor role unless they are in the vicinity of the disaster zone. Because survival rates quickly dwindle by the day, the rescue phase is usually no longer than two weeks, unless the disaster is a civil war or a famine. The relief phase follows, during which the victims are provided with basic necessities such as water, food, medication, and shelter. It is during this phase that most disaster relief volunteers (DRVs) begin to help. This phase lasts for approximately two to six months. Victims slowly recover from their losses and daily routines are gradually restored. The DRVs also participate in the final phases (rehabilitation and rebuilding) when people work together to rebuild a social and physical environment that, it is hoped, will be better than before. Infrastructures are built or rebuilt. Together, these phases can last for years.

Unlike support volunteers who may serve in indirect ways (as office assistants, fundraisers, and board members, for instance), DRVs perform their duties directly on the front line. These individuals, especially those serving during the rescue and relief phases, usually have to work under high stress and impoverished but fast-paced conditions. The workload is heavy. Personal privacy is almost non-existent. The exposure to human body remains may bring feelings of horror and helplessness (Mitchell, Walters, & Stewart, 2006). The longer the DRVs serve, the more readily they may identify with the affected population. In short, the work is

emotionally evocative. The sacrifices DRVs make to improve our world are many. However, these people are understudied. They are the focus of the present chapter.

THE NEED FOR SELECTING VOLUNTEERS

The number of people wanting to volunteer for disaster relief and recovery is usually small compared to the number of people wanting to become paid employees. Presumably, this is because serving as a volunteer does not provide one with financial compensation; it can even be extremely costly and demanding both psychologically and physically. Given the relatively small supply of potential volunteers, extant research usually focuses on who will enroll (e.g., Okun & Sloane, 2002), how to attract volunteers (e.g., Boezeman & Ellemers, 2008), and how to retain them (e.g., Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007), rather than on how to select them. Indeed, volunteering in large numbers within a short time is rare in human history.

However, large-scale volunteering does still happen when major disasters occur, particularly when the news quickly reaches many people in neighboring regions, motivating and mobilizing them to help. This has happened after major disasters such as the Oklahoma bombing (St. John & Fuchs, 2002). In 2008, a major earthquake in Sichuan, China left 87,164 people dead or missing, and 374,640 injured (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2008; Xinhua Net, 2009). Although accurate counts of the number of volunteers providing assistance at the disaster zone are impossible, reports indicated that 1,087,000 people registered as volunteers during the 10 days after the earthquake (Chinese Communist Youth League, 2008).

A large number of people wanting to help can be a mixed blessing. On the one hand, this clear expression of solidarity with the affected population boosts the victims' morale. On the other hand, having to deal with a large number of prospective volunteers is a human resource management problem. Crowds of volunteers on the doorstep of the disaster zone is analogous to having a mass of the same size applying for jobs in a company that does not have enough office space, where the assembly lines have not been set up, and where the company rules and policies are still being written. Worse still, some of these "job seekers" may not be suitable for any "job," although they are eager to "do something." Reviewing the relief efforts after the Sichuan earthquake, You, Chen, and Yao (2009) observed

that "many were unable to make an effective contribution because they lacked the relevant background or skills needed and even added to the many burdens of the local government as they needed food and lodging" (p. 391). Letting such people into the area can result in someone getting hurt, important roads being blocked, valuable resources being depleted, and services being hindered. Furthermore, when exposed to gruesome scenes at the disaster zone, some volunteers may find themselves helpless and incompetent, thus becoming "secondary victims," at least at a psychological level.

Although there can be positive outcomes from volunteering in disaster work situations (Shih, Liao, Chan, Duh, & Gau, 2002), psychological maladjustment is not a remote possibility (see also Lopina & Rogelberg, this volume). Studies have shown that post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is high among rescue workers (Ursano, Fullerton, Vance, & Kao, 1999). For example, one in four of the rescuers who responded to the aftermath of a tsunami disaster later developed PTSD (Armagan, Engindeniz, Devay, Erdur, & Ozcakir, 2006). Another study of humanitarian aid workers found that 30–50% of them had a moderate to severe level of emotional distress (Eriksson, Kemp, Gorsuch, Hoke, & Foy, 2001). About 13% reported PTSD symptoms, and 40% were at a high risk of burnout.

Burnout can be precipitated by working in a disaster zone where workers are required to display appropriate emotional reactions and behaviors such as empathy, care, optimism, and hope while serving the disaster victims. The work requires emotional labor (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), which can be a source of stress for DRVs, and can lead to emotional exhaustion. Indirect but relevant evidence supporting this assertion abounds. In a study of Red Cross paid workers and volunteers after 9/11, McCaslin et al. (2005) found that a person's humanitarian acts (such as visiting the site and contacting survivors) predicted the severity of the impact of negative life events (e.g., death of loved ones) in the following year. These changes, in turn, predicted depressive symptoms, PTSD, and anxiety.

Psychological risks are higher for the aid workers on the front line than for those providing support at a location far from the disaster zone (see, e.g., Thoresen, Tønnessen, Lindgaard, Andreassen, & Weisæth, 2009). Obviously, the culprit is the work setting, where there is a shortage of water, food, medicine, electricity, communication, and means of transportation, but plenty of pain and fears (see e.g., Musa & Hamid, 2008). This is where cultural dislocation, health hazards, deprivation, injuries, and deaths occur. These conditions can also be found in war zones.

Some insights can be drawn from the military's human resource practices. Research on military personnel identified protective factors such as self-efficacy, which predicts higher program completion rate (Gruber, Kilcullen, & Iso-Ahola, 2009) and better mental health (Sümer & Sümer, 2007). Although some of these factors are trainable, there is still a great emphasis on screening for certain individual characteristics. Hence, the military screens candidates using methods such as physical fitness tests (British Army, 2012; Canadian Forces, 2012; US Army, 2010), personality inventories, and measures of psychosocial resources (Gruber, et al., 2009; Sümer & Sümer, 2007). In a disaster zone, DRVs have to work under the same stressful and extreme conditions as troops, and yet most of them are not protected by the discipline and clear rules found in a military organization. It is therefore essential that DRVs possess the protective factors discussed above. As most NGOs have very limited resources for training compared to military organizations, personnel selection may be an alternative solution (Shelther Box, 2010).

Unfortunately, few organizations with a mandate to respond to disasters put their potential volunteers through a rigorous selection process. Ehrenreich and Elliott (2004) asked 100 non-government organizations (NGOs) whether they screened their potential staff for possible adverse responses to stress. Only 17 responded, and, of them, very few had any systematic selection procedure. We recently learned that some offices of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) follow a detailed set of procedures to screen potential aid workers.[3] These procedures involve multiple methods (questionnaire, phone interview, and assessment center) assessing such attributes as knowledge of the organization, personality, communication ability, interpersonal skills, etc. However, the entire multistage process takes several months to complete. The wait for the screening results may be acceptable to organizations such as MSF that are constantly building a reserve of volunteers ready to be deployed at any time, but is not feasible when a large number of people suddenly offer to become DRVs in response to a major disaster.

The reason for the lack of a systematic screening method is quite ironic. On the one hand, the number of people who want to volunteer is often smaller than the number needed, making selection seem unnecessary. On the other hand, when the number of candidates exceeds the need, it is often because of an unexpected catastrophe, which will not wait for the development of such an instrument.

I-O psychologists can contribute to the humanitarian sector by developing and validating psychometric instruments that can quickly

screen people wanting to assist in disasters and catastrophes. These instruments should aim to identify volunteers more likely to maintain their psychological well-being while executing disaster relief tasks.

TASK ANALYSIS

The first step in developing such selection instruments is identifying what to measure. Unfortunately, very few researchers have investigated characteristics that distinguish effective volunteers from less effective ones. Dolce and Ricciardi's (2007) study of 2,576 Italian volunteer rescuers is a rare exception. They found that volunteers who had received more training and education, who were in commanding roles, and who received social support from working in large (versus small) emergency response teams had a lower risk of psychological distress. Schmidtke and Cummings (this volume) suggested that because personnels in nonprofit organizations face uncertain situations, they need to be high on emotional awareness, tolerant of role ambiguity, and be adaptable/flexible. DRVs may require the same. Nonetheless, a more systematic list of KSAOs for DRVs is needed.

Ng, Chan, and Hui (2012) made an initial attempt to compile such a list. They noted that, in general, expertise in medicine, engineering, administration management, logistics, and transportation is in great demand. Apart from these specialized skills, there are other general skills needed for disaster relief, such as communication and social skills (to handle massive information flow); problem-solving skills (to deal with unpredictable situations); and psychological first aid skills (to protect oneself and others from emotional distress).

A SCREENING INSTRUMENT

In this section, we describe the construction of an instrument that measures some of the KSAOs that predict effectiveness as a DRV. We then report a validation attempt for this screening instrument, which examined the relations between these characteristics and some DRV outcomes. We hope that this will stimulate future efforts in the development of a fuller battery of assessment instruments for selecting and placing future DRVs, with the purpose of maintaining their psychological well-being.

Potentially Important Predictors

We focus on two traits—namely, resilience and adaptability—that seem to have the highest potential to protect people from psychological harm.

Resilience (or stress tolerance) buffers against mental health threats, which can be prevalent when a person is exposed to a disaster (Armstrong, Lund, McWright, & Tichenor, 1995). It is hypothesized to have a genetic component (see, e.g., Kim-Cohen & Gold, 2009), and is an individual difference variable that embodies optimism, perceived control, and self-esteem (Chan, Lai, & Wong, 2007). Essentially, it is a person's capability to cope with change or misfortune (see, e.g., Wagnild & Young, 1993), and to rebound quickly. Hence, resilient individuals do not easily develop PTSD after a trauma (Hoge, Austin, & Pollack, 2007).

The other characteristic, adaptability, is defined as "an individual's predisposition to read a situation and respond effectively in a changing environment, to explore one's self identity in order to modify it effectively, to integrate appropriate response behaviors into one's personal identity and to motivate oneself to develop adaptive competence, or ability to adapt" (Morrison & Hall, 2002, p. 225). The construct of adaptability is akin to flexibility, which is a key requirement for both decision systems (Mendonça, 2007) and workers operating under extreme conditions, such as those conducting counseling at disaster sites (Benyakar & Collazo, 2005; Kuriansky, Gielen, Draguns, & Fish, 2008). Adaptability is essential for disaster relief work because although all natural disasters share some common and predictable elements and demands, each presents unique challenges; new tasks and responsibilities are continuously being created, with a concomitant need for improvisation on the responders' part. Individuals with high adaptability are more likely to have a better person-environment fit in dynamic circumstances (Ployhart & Bliese, 2006; Wang, Zhan, McCune, & Truxillo, 2011).

In this instrument, resilience is measured with 20 items from the Resilience Scale for Adults (RSA; Friborg, Hjemdal, Rosenvinge, & Martinussen, 2003), which comprises five dimensions, namely: personal competence, social competence, personal structure, family coherence, and social support. Sample items are "It is easy for me to make other people laugh" and "I always have someone who can help me when needed." For adaptability, although Ployhart and Bliese (2006) provide a multidimensional model, we create only six items based on their work. We adopt this approach for the sake of conciseness, cultural appropriateness, and relevance for a disaster relief context. The new items measure adaptability to foreign and culturally different situations, as well as flexibility in handling

problems and completing tasks. Sample items include "When one method does not work, I can use other methods" and "I am open to doing any task to meet the needs in the disaster zone."

The screening instrument also includes items that ask about knowledge, experience, and/or qualifications in the following areas: administration/management, building and construction, chemistry, computing, education and training, electronic and mechanical engineering, mass communication, medical care, psychological counseling, and transportation. The items are scored according to whether the person has received professional/technical training or para-professional training on the above subjects.

Potentially Important Outcomes

A uniform and reliable measure of performance that I-O psychologists are familiar with (e.g., supervisor rating, peer rating, etc.) would be very difficult to obtain. For one thing, prospective raters do not have time for extra performance assessment work, especially in the midst of very chaotic relief and recovery operations. Furthermore, there are usually multiple performance objectives for disaster relief tasks, and these objectives may vary substantially among DRVs (see Schmidtke & Cummings, this volume). Consequently, a generic performance measure (if ever designed) is too general and may not be useful for comparison among the DRVs.

To avoid this problem, we restrict ourselves to two psychological outcomes (namely satisfaction and burnout), on the basis of their centrality in disaster relief work (Eriksson et al., 2009; Musa & Hamid, 2008). Burnout consists of feelings of overwhelming emotional strain, feelings of detachment toward one's client, and feelings of incompetence and lack of achievement (Maslach, 2001). Volunteer satisfaction is a multidimensional construct that comprises: (1) the perceived availability of educational and emotional support from the organization; (2) participation efficacy, which is a recognition that one's own efforts make an impact; (3) empowerment; and (4) group integration, which is the social relationships developed with other personnel (Galindo-Kuhn & Guzley, 2001). Just as a salaried employee's job satisfaction is related to work consequences such as organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behavior, and loyalty to the company, a volunteer's satisfaction may be predictive of similar consequences. Chacon, Vecina, and Davila (2007) found that volunteer satisfaction is related to intention to continue to serve.

People who possess the required adaptability and resilience are likely to experience more positive outcomes. They tend to feel more satisfied and

emotionally stable in their volunteer work (e.g., Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002), and experience fewer negative outcomes such as burnout (Michielsen, Croon, Willemsen, De Vries, & Van Heck, 2007). Resilient individuals are less likely to suffer negative consequences when exposed to stressors (see, e.g., literature reviews such as Agaibi & Wilson, 2005; Klohen, 1996). Additionally, on the basis of the literature on adaptability (Ployhart & Bliese, 2006; Pulakos, Arad, Donovan, & Plamondon, 2000), we deduce that adaptable DRVs are more capable of adjusting to physically uncomfortable disaster environments, and therefore they are less likely to hold and express negative views of their volunteer experience. As formal training on handling the physical and psychological demands in the disaster zone are not available to most DRVs, they have to rely even more upon their own psychological capacity to cope. Therefore, we expect that DRVs' resilience and adaptability levels might be positively related to their volunteer satisfaction and negatively related to burnout, after the effects of demographics and KSAs are controlled for.

To measure volunteer satisfaction, we adapted 23 items from the Volunteer Satisfaction Index (VSI; Galindo-Kuhn & Guzley, 2001). Sample items are: "The way in which the agency provides me with performance feedback" (organizational support); "The progress that I have seen in the clientele served by my organization" (participation efficacy); "The chance I have to utilize my knowledge and skills in my volunteer work" (empowerment); and "The friendships I have made while volunteering here" (group integration). To measure DRV burnout, we adapt the 22-item Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) for participants to report the frequency of certain thoughts and feelings during their time at the disaster zone.

Sample and Procedure

Prospective participants were approached through many channels during the several months after the Sichuan Earthquake. They were told about the purpose of the project, and informed that they were welcome to participate whether they planned to go to the disaster zone or not. They were asked to fill out an online questionnaire comprising the screening items and demographic questions. Data collection began on July 29, 2008 (about 10 weeks after the Sichuan Earthquake), and ended on February 27, 2009. A total of 1,322 individuals completed the questionnaire.

A follow-up survey questionnaire, including the outcome measures, was emailed to those who had indicated that they would volunteer or had already been to the disaster zone and had given us permission to contact

them again. The contact took place between January 12, 2009 and March 11, 2009. A total of 437 individuals responded, of whom 175 reported that they had been to the disaster zone at least once.

We used the data from the 885 individuals who did not participate in the follow-up survey to evaluate the internal structure of the instrument and then refine it. We did this on the assumption that the instrument has similar psychometric properties across the people who responded to our follow-up survey and those who did not. We used data from the 175 DRVs to investigate how the DRV Screener might predict two potentially important outcome variables (namely, volunteer satisfaction and burnout), and how the people who volunteered were different from the 262 who did not. The demographic characteristics of the two samples can be found in Table 14.1.

Major Findings

The 175 individuals who served in the disaster zone represented a broad distribution in age, ranging from 18 to 66. Fifty-eight (33.14%) of the respondents went to the disaster zone more than once. The average time interval between submission of the first survey and submission of the second was 118 days. A total of 37 individuals first arrived at the disaster zone during the rescue phase (i.e., within two weeks of the earthquake); the other 138 arrived later.

We were mindful of confounding effects that might arise from several sources. For example, DRVs with a wide range of skills are more likely to feel valued and therefore more satisfied. Those with advanced professional training are more likely to be assigned to challenging tasks that may lead to a greater sense of accomplishment. At the same time, the highly qualified DRVs may also be given too many tasks with inadequate support, thus leading to burnout. Another possibility is that some tasks are comparatively more unpleasant, putting the incumbents at greater risk of burnout and dissatisfaction, and even disappointment with the relief organization. As it would be impractical to control for all these variables, given the large number of tasks in the disaster zone, we used four KSA measures of skills and qualifications as proxies for statistical control.[4]

CFA results supported the factor structure for adaptability ($\alpha = .81$) and resilience (overall $\alpha = .89$). As the four volunteer satisfaction subscales were highly correlated with each other, all items were aggregated to yield an overall index ($\alpha = .94$). From the MBI, we dropped the depersonalization subscale, because a CFA failed to recover the depersonalization factor in

TABLE 14.1
Participants' demographic profile

	Entire sample (N=1,322)	Stage 1 sample (N=885)	Stage 2 volunteer sample (N=175)[1]
Gender			
Male	530	369	77
Female	790	515	98
Unreported	2	1	
Age	30.70 (14.87)	30.51 (9.96)	30.84 (10.59)
Geographic location			
Mainland China	770	871	137
Sichuan	101	65	36
Outside Sichuan	669	806	101
Hong Kong	540	9	35
Others	12	5	3
Education	Not available	Not available	
Junior high school			1
Secondary			11
Post-secondary			34
Bachelor			89
Master			35
Doctoral			5
Religious faith	Not available	Not available	
Buddhism			3
Catholicism			1
Protestantism			16
Other			6
Non-response			149

[1] This sample does not include the 262 individuals who responded but indicated that they had not gone to the disaster zone.

the original three-factor structure, and the subscale had a low Cronbach α. This led us to adopt, for the burnout measure only, two subscales: emotional exhaustion and personal accomplishment, which were orthogonal to each other (r = –.01, ns).

Descriptive statistics and correlations among the main study variables can be found in Table 14.2. We conducted regression analyses to evaluate the incremental effects of DRVs' resilience and adaptability levels over and above age, gender, KSAs, and length of the service, on volunteer satisfaction

TABLE 14.2
Correlations among main variables

	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Gender (1 = male; 2 = female)	1.56 (.50)															
2. Age	30.84 (10.59)	–.10														
3. Mass Communication	11.75 (3.11)	.10	–.05													
4. Medical Care	8.87 (2.63)	.05	–.19*	.25**												
5. Psychological Counseling	5.57 (2.07)	–.01	–.05	.52**	.33**											
6. Administration/Management	9.46 (2.20)	.31**	–.04	.54**	.22**	.37**										
7. Adaptability	24.86 (2.76)	–.16*	–.01	–.30**	–.21**	–.31**	–.35**									
8. Personal Competence	20.45 (2.54)	–.29**	–.06	–.30**	–.23**	–.25**	–.31**	.59**								
9. Social Competence	15.19 (2.57)	–.15*	.00	–.25**	–.26**	–.23**	–.30**	.56**	.51**							
10. Personal Structure	12.01 (1.69)	–.27**	–.01	–.21**	–.19*	–.15*	–.24**	.42**	.58**	.39**						
11. Family Coherence	16.47 (2.43)	.03	–.08	–.22**	–.15*	–.09	–.16*	.31**	.37**	.33**	.48**					
12. Social Support	17.17 (1.83)	.06	–.23**	–.12	–.11	–.24**	–.09	.47**	.39**	.42**	.32**	.51**				
13. Resilience (total)	81.29 (8.19)	–.17*	–.09	–.30**	–.26**	–.26**	–.31**	.64**	.79**	.75**	.72**	.73**	.69**			
14. Emotional Exhaustion	15.52 (5.35)	.14	–.12	.01	–.07	.21**	.05	–.04	–.11	–.09	–.17*	–.06	.05	–.10		
15. Personal Accomplishment	31.34 (6.36)	–.08	–.04	–.15	.00	–.14	–.11	.34**	.28**	.33**	.25**	.11	.14	.31**	–.07	
16. Volunteer Satisfaction	97.14 (13.79)	–.01	–.04	–.21**	–.13	–.20*	–.06	.23**	.34**	.32**	.33**	.24**	.24**	.39**	–.17*	.46**

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; N = 155 to 175.

and perception of burnout. Length of service was included as a control because the more days a DRV spends in the disaster zone, the more hazardous conditions this person will encounter, and the greater the likelihood that this person will feel dissatisfied and burnt out. Consistent with our postulation, the regression results revealed that resilience was positively related to personal accomplishment and volunteer satisfaction, and negatively related to emotional exhaustion. Adaptability was positively related to personal accomplishment. One unexpected observation, discussed in detail below, was that people who were qualified to provide psychological service were more likely than others to experience emotional exhaustion.

Resilience had a unique and significant contribution to the prediction of burnout and volunteer satisfaction. This characteristic, which is strengthened by external support systems and dispositional attributes such as self-efficacy and self-esteem, reduced the likelihood of emotional exhaustion. Resilience also preserved DRVs' sense of accomplishment and their satisfaction levels despite a stressful work environment.

Significantly, DRVs who scored high on adaptability experienced higher personal accomplishment, but not necessarily lower emotional exhaustion. This apparent inconsistency can be explained by first understanding how adaptability is operationalized. In the instrument used, adaptability is operationalized as the readiness to: adopt a contingency plan when the original one does not work, do whatever tasks are required at the scene (even when one may not like doing them or has not been trained to do them), and collaborate with a diverse range of people. Adaptability is being flexible and proactive when resources are scarce. This characteristic enables the DRVs to act under a variety of conditions (Wang et al., 2011). As a result, adaptable DRVs may take part in more tasks, thus enhancing their feelings of having contributed to the service recipients' well-being. The absence of significant protective effects of adaptability against emotional exhaustion may be due to the same underlying cause; adaptable DRVs are seen as more capable and therefore may be given more tasks to do. On one hand, they were able to handle dynamic conditions in the disaster zone and thus tended to experience less emotional strain. On the other hand, their extra workload might lead to emotional exhaustion. These two opposite potential effects might have canceled each other out.

Although the relationship between adaptability and volunteer satisfaction was only marginally significant with the overall volunteer sample, this relationship was significant among the subset (N = 138) who began to serve during the relief phase (two or more weeks after the disaster). This suggests

that the timing of the response is a boundary condition for the proposed relationship. There is a difference between the rescue and relief phases in terms of the nature of stressors. As the rescue phase is extremely difficult, DRVs during this period have very similar levels of burnout and volunteer satisfaction, regardless of their individual characteristics. In contrast, DRVs in the relief phase are in comparatively safer and less extreme (albeit difficult) environments; hence, the influence of personality characteristics would be more noticeable. This is consistent with the notion that personality plays a stronger role when the situation is weak and non-restrictive (Meyer, Dalal, & Hermida, 2010; Mischel, 1984). To investigate this possibility, we ran additional analyses on the rescue and relief subsamples separately. With the exception of the relationship between adaptability and burnout, the other three proposed relationships were stronger for the relief subsample than for the rescue subsample. During the rescue phase, the environment is usually very dangerous. For example, in a place hit by a major earthquake, there are frequent aftershocks. Death and injuries can result from collapsing ruins, landslides, and dammed lakes. Those DRVs who arrive at the scene shortly after the disaster might be faced with not only a harsh work setting, but also life-threatening conditions. With stress levels hitting the ceiling for most people during this rescue phase, the protective effects of resilience might be exhausted. The lack of resources and support during this phase might add to the level of distress and sense of helplessness. Hence, DRVs under these extreme conditions might experience the same low volunteer satisfaction regardless of their individual characteristics. In line with this, we found that the rescue subsample ($N = 37$) experienced significantly lower satisfaction than the relief subsample. In the relief phase, when the working conditions have improved and become less hazardous, the impact of resilience in reducing burnout and enhancing volunteer satisfaction become more discernible.[5]

The regression results also suggest that ability and training in psychological counseling may be a risk factor for subsequent emotional exhaustion. At first glance, this is counter-intuitive, and inconsistent with observations that disaster workers performing tasks for which they had been trained were at a lower risk of sustaining physical injuries and psychological harm than those who engaged in tasks outside of the scope of their training (Perrin et al., 2007). However, our discussion with colleagues and informants who served on the front-line or conducted counselor training revealed that our results are not surprising at all. Psychology-trained volunteers are often given many more counseling tasks than they can handle (e.g., counseling a large number of victims and their family members in a

long day), because they are presumed to have the necessary competence. Unfortunately, not only are the contents of the stories told to these DRVs heart-breaking, the negative emotions evoked are often multiplied by the number of clients seen, which can far exceed a counselor's normal case load. Notwithstanding, as professionals, these volunteers are expected to not react emotionally. Without the necessary emotional support, the experience can generate much pain.

To summarize, the theoretical relationships between certain dispositional characteristics and psychological outcomes among DRVs are now verified in an Asian setting, with a heterogeneous sample dispersed over Sichuan Province (in the vicinity of the disaster zone), other parts of mainland China, and Hong Kong. Furthermore, we demonstrated that most of the proposed links between the two dispositional characteristics and service outcomes are significant for those DRVs who arrived more than two weeks after the disaster, but less so for those who were among the "first responders."

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In the earlier parts of this chapter, we described what is currently known about the DRVs' experience, and called for more systematic ways to select DRVs, to avoid putting them and the people they serve at unnecessary risk. A preliminary instrument was presented as an illustration of how this can be done. In the process, we identified some gaps in our knowledge and some areas for improvement. Here, we briefly describe them for consideration by practitioners and researchers.

Assessment Issues

A disaster zone is a unique workplace. During disaster relief and recovery, there are constant changes in both the physical environment and the social environment. These changes demand not only the ability to adapt to changing situations, but also specific competencies that vary for each of these unique work settings. While it would be unrealistic to expect a DRV to possess all or most of these competencies (such as having construction, medical, and communication skills at the same time), researchers need to find the best way to characterize a DRV. We are nowhere near the finishing line. The development of the DRV Screener described in the preceding

section is only a small part of what needs to be done to serve a world constantly struck by disasters and catastrophes. Notably, the knowledge derived from this work is potentially transportable across cultures, and work on the assessment for DRV selection can possibly expand in several directions.

With regard to DRV screening, more competencies than resilience and adaptability should be examined. There are at least four other constructs to explore: (1) Self-efficacy. Some people may know that they are sufficiently tough to withstand unfavorable conditions. People high on self-efficacy may feel a personal responsibility to help (Michel, 2007). They are more likely to possess the relevant KSAOs. Consequently, they may be more likely to complete tasks assigned to them. (2) Ability to collaborate with strangers in group settings. It partially ties in to agreeableness and openness to experience. It is an important personality characteristic because of the need for DRVs to constantly form ad hoc teams to perform tasks. Even those who arrive at the site as part of a formally organized group may see it quickly disbanded, and its members regrouped with others, to meet the ever-changing needs of the situation. Thus, assessments should be developed to gauge how well volunteers can work with strangers in groups, especially those with fluid membership. (3) Cross-cultural competency. As we can see from most of the recent disaster scenes, volunteers from distant regions and even foreign countries participate in the disaster relief effort. Cultural differences in values can be a daunting challenge to those DRVs who cross cultural boundaries, as well as to the local responders who work with them. Obviously, being able to quickly understand and adapt to the local culture is a critical prerequisite for international DRVs to provide effective assistance (MacLachlan & Carr, 1999). (4) Leadership, which encompasses a range of other competencies. Although the above discussion has focused primarily on the front-line workers, this is not to downplay the important role of team leaders. We have argued elsewhere (Ng et al.) that much care should be taken to select suitable leaders. Future selection instruments should include components that will enable decision-makers to determine if a volunteer can take up a leadership role.

On a more macro-scale, NGOs should consider pooling their resources to develop a common assessment system. This recommendation is valid, despite the indispensability of indigenous instruments in view of the sociocultural diversity of volunteers. From the long-term perspective of the relief agencies, a common assessment system would be more cost-effective to develop and administer than individual organizations developing and administering their own instruments. If needed, this

common assessment system could be used as a basic template to construct customized instruments for specific roles unique to each organization, geographical location, and type of humanitarian work.

Furthermore, the present DRV Screener and future instruments could be used as recruitment tools. That is, government departments (such as Citizen Corps) and NGOs engaged in relief, rehabilitation, and rebuilding work can routinely assess individuals in the community, and use the results to follow up with those who seem to be the most promising DRVs. With this approach, disaster preparedness organizations (especially those mid-sized ones that in the past could not afford a sophisticated selection system) can begin to build a register of people who have the skills and psychological competencies to take up the responsibility of relief work as soon as a disaster hits. Armed with this instrument when making task assignments, these organizations can reduce the chance of exposing DRVs to unnecessary harm. The instrument may also be applied for the selection of salaried aid workers who are placed in similar working conditions.

Research Issues

Consequences of DRV Competence

There is ample research showing that workers with high self-efficacy are more likely to be resilient and to perform adequately despite difficulties (Gillespie, Chaboyer, Wallis, & Grimbeek, 2007; Gruber, et al., 2009; Wadsworth, DeCarlo Santiago, & Einhorn, 2009). Applying the same logic to a disaster relief context, it is possible to specify that DRVs with higher self-efficacy may experience less burnout and be more effective than those with lower self-efficacy. Similarly, many propositions can be made with respect to the effects of other DRV attributes, such as the ability to collaborate, cross-cultural competency, and leadership. However, empirical work testing these propositions is scarce.

Furthermore, to our knowledge, there is very little work on how DRVs' characteristics are related to outcomes other than satisfaction and burnout. One outcome variable that deserves more attention is psychosomatic symptoms. Compared to others, responders to disasters are at a higher risk of developing depression, substance abuse, and anxiety disorder (Duckworth, 1986). However, resilient individuals are less likely to suffer the negative consequences of being exposed to stressors (see literature reviews such as Agaibi & Wilson, 2005). The proposition that resilience is a protective factor against psychosomatic symptoms among people who respond to disasters should be empirically tested in future studies.

Given that burnout is correlated with job performance and voluntary turnover among paid employees (Swider & Zimmerman, 2010), would resilient and adaptable DRVs likewise perform better in their assignment, and be more likely to volunteer for a second tour of service? How would certain DRV characteristics influence the clients' satisfaction with the service, and the DRVs' future identification with and financial support for the commissioning NGOs? More research in this area is needed.

Dimensions of Predictors

Five out of the eight dimensions of adaptive performance proposed by Pulakos et al. (2000) are of particular relevance to the DRVs' work. They are: (1) handling emergencies or crisis situations; (2) handling work stress; (3) demonstrating interpersonal adaptability; (4) dealing effectively with unpredictable or changing work situations; and (5) demonstrating physically oriented adaptability. However, in the present chapter and in the DRV Screener, adaptability is operationalized as a unidimensional construct. To expand our understanding, future research should investigate how different adaptability dimensions may influence volunteer experiences and outcomes.

Resilience as a predictor also deserves further investigation. The five dimensions of resilience, as measured by the RSA, may have distinctive or even conflicting effects on the same outcome variable. For instance, we observed that the relationship between resilience and outcomes could be contingent upon the context of the volunteer work. Family coherence (a component of resilience) can help volunteers who serve in their hometown to rebound from distress. However, for relief workers volunteering in places far from home, a strong sense of family coherence can be a liability rather than an asset, as they may feel overly homesick. If this speculation is valid, certain aspects of resilience can be beneficial or harmful, depending on where the person is experiencing the stressors. As resilience is not a unitary construct, future research should look deeper into the specific effects of its many components, and not simply aggregate the component scores into a composite score.

Placement of DRVs

The placement of volunteers is also a fruitful area for research. Perrin et al. (2007) found that among those who took part in the 9/11 rescue and recovery efforts, the unaffiliated volunteers sustained the highest rate of

PTSD (21.2%), compared to those affiliated with a volunteer organization (7.2%) or the police (6.2%). We observed a similar pattern among DRVs working at the earthquake site in Sichuan. Volunteers who went to the disaster zone alone were more likely to experience burnout and low satisfaction than those who went with a team. Volunteers who went alone reported lower personal accomplishment and volunteer satisfaction than those who volunteered as a team. They were also slightly higher in emotional exhaustion, although the difference was not statistically significant. The lack of peer support and other forms of organizational support are possible explanations for the high prevalence of negative outcomes among the DRVs who did not go with a team. Future work with a larger sample is needed to examine the underlying mechanism.

Measurement of Performance

Future research in this area should explore innovative approaches to measure DRV effectiveness and facilitate criterion-related validation of selection methodologies. We briefly discussed above some potential difficulties associated with measuring DRV work performance. However, this issue turned out to be even more challenging than we initially expected. In our sample, some DRVs were not part of formal disaster relief teams; instead, while in the field, they worked on different tasks with different people at different times according to the changing needs of the situation. It was therefore nearly impossible to locate each DRV's colleagues for peer ratings of performance. Even if a colleague could be found, the peer ratings were at best an evaluation of a subset of task activities. There was not a single, common benchmark against which all DRVs' work performance could be measured and compared. We urge researchers to propose methods or new criterion measures to overcome this difficulty.

Timing Issues

There are still unresolved questions on how the timing of the humanitarian response might interact with the volunteers' personal characteristics. The preliminary results from our study, reported in the previous section, suggest that most of the personality-outcome relationships tend to be stronger for people who served during the relief phase than for those who served during the rescue phase. One possible explanation is that the unique conditions encountered during different response phases moderate the influence that dispositional characteristics can have on volunteer outcomes.

Future researchers should use larger samples to explore differences in personality-outcome relationships in the rescue phase and the relief phase. Furthermore, there is a need to understand what would mitigate the stress reactions experienced by the "first response" volunteers. Another empirical question for further investigation pertains to whether the severity of the disaster affects the degree to which the strength of predictors varies between phases.

Practical Implications

Screening of Prospective DRVs

Compared with the individuals who had initially said they would go to the disaster zone but who ended up not going, the DRVs were significantly higher in three out of four KSAs measured. That people who scored lower in the required KSAs of psychological counseling, medical care, and mass communication decided not to go implies the presence of some self-screening among prospective DRVs. This self-screening indirectly protected some people from secondary traumatization. It also preserved a high skill density among those in the field. However, compared to those who decided to stay home, those who volunteered were not any more resilient or adaptable.

This finding is a cause for concern as it may imply that the organizers of the disaster relief work did not perform adequate psychological screening. It is also possible that people did not consider their resilience and adaptability when making the decision to volunteer. Perhaps the DRVs were not even aware of some of their own traits. We speculate that when making a decision on whether to volunteer for relief work, people tend to focus more on their tangible abilities and skills, which are easily assessable and salient at the time, rather than on complex psychological characteristics, which the prospective volunteers may not be able to accurately self-assess. Compared to professional qualification and technical experience, self-assessment on psychological qualities is more susceptible to self-serving distortion. Potential volunteers' inattention to (or inability to know) whether they lack the psychological capital is worrisome, in view of our finding that low resilience and low adaptability are a disadvantage. This problem can only be avoided by greater emphasis on screening.

Our findings also imply that potential DRVs who may have a strong determination to volunteer despite knowledge of their own psychological

inadequacies should be handled carefully. As there is no real selection and rejection of DRVs such as what we can find in conventional HR settings, the final decision lies at least partially in the potential volunteers. This is because no organization has the absolute authority or power to decide who should go and who should not. Under this circumstance, what the relief organization can do is to evaluate the volunteer applications using the screener or some other methods of similar purpose, give adequate advice and recommendations according to the assessment results, and help applicants make the correct decisions.

Placement of DRVs

If further research supports the previous observation that people who go to the disaster zone alone are more likely to report negative outcomes such as more burnout and lower satisfaction, then in future disasters, governments and relief agencies should encourage ordinary citizens to do relief work only in groups. Better yet, governments and NGOs should act proactively before disasters occur, to organize in advance teams that can be deployed whenever a disaster hits. This is one small act of disaster preparedness that can protect those who have good intentions toward others.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter serves as an initial attempt to apply I-O psychology for the greater good and, more specifically, to help build effective disaster relief forces. Two critical KSAOs were identified for DRVs; their relationships with key volunteer outcomes were proposed and examined. The Sichuan Earthquake disaster relief work provided a unique context for us to empirically evaluate the predictive validity of resilience and adaptability, and to gain more insights into the DRVs' experiences. Some of our findings echo the challenges in staffing and managing volunteers mentioned in Schmidtke and Cummings' chapter. They also point to the need for screening and socializing future volunteers, based on relevant KSAOs. In sum, this research on DRVs can contribute to building a fruitful volunteer effort within society and help enrich the field of humanitarian work psychology.

NOTES

1. Xiao Zhang is currently at the Hong Kong Institute of Education.
2. Jinyan Fan is currently at Auburn University.
3. We thank Ms. Tira Aswitama of MSF in Hong Kong for providing information on selection details and procedures.
4. After a series of exploratory factor analyses (EFA) and confirmatory factors analyses (CFA), we were satisfied that the following four KSA measures met the requirement for internal consistency: psychological counseling (α = .87), medical care (α = .85), mass communication (α = .75), and administration/management (α = .76).
5. Caution needs to be exercised when interpreting differential results associated with the rescue and relief subsamples, as the former had a much larger sample size than the latter.

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15

Using I-O Psychology to Improve the Plight of Women in Developing Countries: A Research Agenda[1]

Virginia E. Schein

Almost 70% of the world's poor are women (Martin, 2008). Women are more likely than men to be in low-paid and vulnerable jobs worldwide (ILO, 2008). In Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, for example, 80% of women workers are considered to be in vulnerable employment, with global economic changes taking a huge toll on their livelihood (UN Women, 2011). The inequality between women and men is most severe in developing countries, specifically with regard to health, life expectancy at birth, quality of life, workload, education, legal rights, and economic mobility (Bryan & Varat, 2008; Dollar & Gatti, 1999; Klasen, 2000; Park, 2007; Witwer, 1997; World Conference on Women, 1995; among others).

Improving the plight of women in developing countries is a vitally important global endeavor. Promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women is one of the eight anti-poverty Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the United Nations. Another MDG, that of eradicating extreme poverty, targets productive employment and decent work for women. Consideration of women and work issues in developing countries is an opportunity for I-O psychology to participate in this global effort and contribute to humanitarian objectives and societal well-being.

To date, the work issues of women affected by poverty in developing countries have received limited attention from I-O psychologists. Is there a role that I-O psychology researchers can play? Can the field of I-O psychology pose research questions that are relevant and meaningful to issues of women and work in developing countries? For I-O psychologists interested in bridging this research void, where do they start?

The first step for I-O researchers and practitioners is to expand their perspective to encompass what I have termed the "global community of

workers" (Schein et al., 2011). This community includes the working poor in developing countries, often women, who sew garments in sweatshops, sell firewood on the street, work as market traders, make silicon chips, or pick coffee on the mountain side. While such workers are far removed from those working in corporate offices, they, too, are participants in the economic development of their countries.

As shown by the research of Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen, enhancing the agency of poor women in developing countries can be a vital contributing factor in improving the economic and social conditions of these societies. Sen (1999) found that factors relating to women's agency, such as literacy, paid employment, and education, not only improve the lives of the women, but also are related to a reduction in the mortality rates of children, a decline in fertility rates, greater equity in food distribution, and improvements in women's health. According to Sen (1999), "The economic participation of women is, thus, both a reward on its own . . . and a major influence for social change in general" (p. 201).

Working within this broader perspective of a global community of workers, the next step is to create an I-O research agenda relevant to the issues of women and work. But here, too, the development of such an agenda takes us far from the traditional domain of I-O psychology. For many, it is unfamiliar territory and, as such, relevant questions may be hard to devise. Research that is meaningful and applicable to women in developing countries needs to be based on an understanding of the women's experiences and the day-to-day realities of living and working in difficult and unstable economic conditions. What is needed is an in-depth understanding of work situations involving women affected by poverty in developing countries so that we, as a field, can then pose research questions emanating from work situations grounded in the realities of the lives of the women.

In the late 1990s, I visited Nicaragua to begin to gain some understanding of the issues of women and work in developing countries. Based on that visit, I proposed a research agenda for I-O psychology that challenged the field to expand its focus and give serious attention to the issues of women and work in developing countries (Schein, 1999). In the early 2000s, I conducted research in Nicaragua stemming from that proposed agenda (Schein, 2003). The purpose of this chapter is to review, revisit, and expand on these earlier studies, as well as those of others, as a basis for considering ways in which I-O research can make a significant contribution to the understanding of the issues of women and work in developing counties. The first section presents three Nicaraguan work situations and poses

questions emanating from these worksite descriptions. The second section takes a closer look at my research study of women and work groups in Nicaragua.

THREE NICARAGUAN WORK SITUATIONS: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Nicaragua is one of the poorest countries in the western hemisphere, with almost half of its population living below the poverty line. As in many developing countries, poverty is concentrated among women. More than one million women, out of three million in the country, suffer extreme poverty. Female heads of households, of which there are large numbers, are particularly hard hit. As single mothers, as heads of households in which the mate cannot find employment, or as part of a struggling family, the women of Nicaragua work outside and inside the home to provide food, shelter, and the basics of life for their families (Finca, 2010; Global Movement for Children, 2010; Poncela, 1996).

In January of 1997, I went to Nicaragua, during which time I lived and worked with two rural families affected by poverty, visited and interviewed women living in poverty, and met with women representing various women's groups, such as a women's labor committee, a women's agricultural cooperative, a domestic violence women's network, and a microenterprise development program. To understand the reality of the lives of the women, three different situations involving women and work in Nicaragua were examined. The worksites were: a microenterprise development program, garment assembly factories, and a coffee plantation. Research questions emanating from each work situation were presented, encouraging the field to examine issues of women and work in developing countries. What follows are worksite descriptions taken from Schein (1999). Research questions are then posed that review and expand on the questions in Schein (1999) as part of the development of a research agenda for I-O psychology in this new area.

Microenterprise Development Programs

Assisting women in developing countries through microenterprise loan programs is becoming increasingly popular. A Micro-Credit Summit, held in 1997, launched a global campaign for reaching 100 million of the world's

poorest families, especially women, with credit for self-employment by the year 2005. Major institutions worldwide participated in this campaign (Kalteneuser, 1997). In 2005, 100 million people received a micro-loan and, in 2007, 100 million of the world's poorest families received a micro-loan (Daley-Harris, 2009). Microenterprise development is touted by many (Berger & Buvinic, 1989; Counts, 1996; Otero & Rhyne, 1994; among others) as the way to help women affected by poverty improve their conditions and, through entrepreneurial activities, maintain a sense of dignity in work.

Worksite Description

I interviewed two senior officials of Programas Para La Mujer—Programs for the Woman—in León, Nicaragua. Pro Mujer, as it is called, is a microenterprise development program originally launched in Bolivia and spread to León, Nicaragua in 1996. It provides small loans to woman living in poverty and helps them use these funds to develop or expand a small business, such as a street stall selling foods or an at-home sewing business. The program teaches women basic business skills, such as marketing and how to do a business plan, as well as life skills, such as health care and child development.

The program is aimed at helping "the poorest of women," single mothers, most of whom are illiterate. Program officials go directly into the barrios and recruit women into the program. Prior to receiving their loan, the women attend workshops twice a week for two hours each for seven weeks. After receiving their loan, they attend half-hour workshops once a week for 16 weeks.

The lending process adopted in Pro Mujer is based on the peer lending or solidarity group approach, used successfully by the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, the Working Women's Forum in India, and ACCION International in Latin America, among others (Otero, 1989). In the solidarity group approach, members collectively guarantee loan repayment and access to subsequent loans is dependent on successful repayment by all members. Pro Mujer first forms a group of 25 to 30 women, called the association. Within the association, solidarity groups of four to eight women are then formed. Each solidarity group has a representative in the association. The solidarity groups meet once a week for 16 weeks to repay their loans. After the first cycle, if all the funds are repaid, the women are eligible to start a second 16-week cycle in which they can get twice as much credit.

According to the two officials, the solidarity groups work well and the group provides "a sense of sisterhood and self-esteem." The women help each other out and discuss their problems as well as credit issues at their meetings. The officials indicated that before the program, the women were often victimized by loan sharks, offering loans at 50% interest. In the program, they learn how to market their goods, how to develop a business plan, and how to save. "Life becomes better for the women," they said.

Research Questions

Research on the efficacy of the micro-credit approach has been primarily economic in nature, looking at outcome and performance variables (see Berger & Buvinic, 1989; Otero & Rhyne, 1994). Thus far, limited attention has been paid to the psychological processes within the solidarity groups and the attitudinal and behavioral changes of the women participating in the groups. Studies outside of psychology point to the positive effects of group participation on the attitudes and behaviors of the women participants in developing countries. For example, Creevey (1996) examined the impact of the training in group organization and self-awareness on the attitudes of women participants in business projects in Peru, Honduras, Guatemala, India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Ghana, and Tanzania. Her qualitative research revealed that "projects which emphasize group solidarity, training, and awareness, as well as economic objectives, do empower the recipients and may lead to major changes in their political and social patterns . . ." (Creevey, 1996, p. 212). For example, in India, group participation helped the women to see their own worth and gave them power for political action. In Ghana and Honduras, the participation provided the women with personal and social support.

Amin, Becker, and Bayles (1998) explored the relationship between participation in micro-credit programs and empowerment among women affected by poverty in rural Bangladesh. They found that micro-credit group members, compared to non-members, had higher scores on all three of the empowerment indices used: interspousal consultation, family decision-making authority, and individual autonomy. Focus group sessions fleshed out these questionnaire outcomes, revealing that members felt more confident, assertive, and conscious of their rights as a result of the group program participation.

Pitt, Khandker, and Cartwright (2003), also in rural Bangladesh, found that women's participation in micro-credit programs increased women's empowerment. Credit program participation led to women taking a greater

role in decision-making, having greater access to financial resources, having greater frequency of contact with friends, having greater bargaining power compared with their husbands, and having greater freedom of mobility.

The impact of the group on its members has long been a focus of psychological research. As observed by Cartwright and Zander (1968), "Groups mobilize powerful forces that produce effects of utmost importance to individuals" (p. 23). Forsyth (1990), for example, outlines five needs a group can meet for its members: survival needs; psychological needs, such as affection and power; informational needs, such as social comparison; interpersonal needs, such as social support; and collective needs and group goals.

Jean Baker Miller's psychological theory of women's development further underscores the value of these groups for women. According to Miller (1976, 1986), the development of self in relation to others is integral to women's personal growth and maturity. Surrey (1991) likens the process to the mother-daughter relationship in which the mother listens, responds, and mirrors the daughter's response. As an example, the women members of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India, a trade union for low-income self-employed workers, term their groups "a second home" or "a family" (Rose, 1992).

Research on the psychological impact of participation in the solidarity groups in microenterprise development programs falls well within the purview of I-O psychology. A whole host of research questions emanate from the psychological perspective. For example, what types of learnings within the groups contribute to the success or failure of the business enterprises? What is the impact of participation in these solidarity groups on the women's self-esteem, confidence, and sense of agency? Does participation in the groups affect their attitudes toward children and roles in the family, community, and society at large? Are there changes in behaviors, such as in the relationship with the mate, involvement in the community, or political participation? Examination of the contextual factors that influence the effects of the solidarity groups is also important. The presence and attitude of a mate, the nature of the business, and the business setting are examples of such moderating variables.

The design of the Pro Mujer lending process, which is similar to that of other micro-credit organizations worldwide (Otero, 1989), lends itself to a pre-post research design, with the ability to collect data at various points in time over the process. Both individual and group measures can be taken and a multitude of comparisons, within and across groups, can be made. This research approach is similar to that which I-O psychologists use when

examining and evaluating the effects of a work training program. Increasing attention is being paid to microenterprise loan programs for women as a way of alleviating poverty. I-O psychology has an opportunity to make a substantial contribution to evaluating and enhancing these efforts.

Garment Assembly Factories

Garment assembly factories, "maquilas" in Spanish, are factories in which workers assemble products, usually clothing. At the time of my visit, there were 18 factories in Nicaragua's Free Zone, established in 1991, and they employed over 10,000 workers, 80% of whom were women. The base salary in most factories, before overtime or bonuses, is very low. At the time, it was the equivalent of US$18/week.

Worksite Description

In León, I met with researchers from Witness for Peace who had recently interviewed women in the Nicaraguan maquilas (Morton & Raphaelidis, 1996). I also interviewed two labor representatives from the Women's Division of the Sandinista Worker Center and the director of the Women Against Violence Network in León.

According to the Witness for Peace researchers, the factories are vast warehouses, with row after row of sewing machines filling up most of the floor space. Workers get a half hour for lunch and in some places they also get a 15-minute mid-morning break. Permission is required for bathroom breaks and no more than two such breaks per day are permitted.

The work moves at a relentless pace. Supervisors set stringent goals and workers only get overtime after they meet these targets. Often workers work 10 hours a day before any "overtime" is given. Many workers continue with additional hours to get the overtime pay and often work seven days a week. One worker said she could make up to US$33/week, if "I kill myself working" (Morton & Raphaelidis, 1996, p. 3). Even that pay is just barely enough to meet basic living costs. Similar descriptions of working conditions and earnings among the garments assembly workers in Nicaragua can be found in Schein (2011).

Efforts to organize workers in the Free Zone have been largely unsuccessful. According to the labor representative, when a group of female factory workers attempted to form a union in a Taiwan-owned factory, they were subjected to physical violence, forced to retreat, and had to continue their organizing work secretly. Most fear being fired if they are

suspected of organizing. One group of workers overcame management and government opposition to form a union at the Fortex factory, at the time the only union recognized in the Free Zone (Witness for Peace Team, 1997).

Despite harsh working conditions, the women interviewed were glad to have the jobs. One said, "We work like slaves, but at least we have jobs and are earning money" (Morton & Raphaelidis, 1996, p. 3). Said another, "We are not against foreign investment in Nicaragua. But we are against exploitation" (Morton & Raphaelidis, 1996, p. 5). Another woman, a single mother with two children, said, "Neither I nor anyone else wants the maquilas to leave. What we want more than anything . . . is that they [the maquilas owners] respect our rights as workers and as human beings" (Morton & Raphaelidis, 1996, p. 3).

The coordinator of the Women Against Violence Network added another dimension to the picture of exploitation of the women in the factories. Most of the women in the factories are single mothers. Women in abusive situations often find themselves with only two choices if they want to feed and clothe their families. They can stay with the abusive husband, who might support them, or they can leave and work in the factories, where they might be exploited and abused. "Both [situations]," she said, "are forms of exploitation of women. The latter has become a new [form of] dependency for women because there are so few other work sources for them in Nicaragua."

Garment assembly factories continue to proliferate globally, often moving from one country to another to capture the lowest wage standards. An estimated 40 million workers, most of them women, are employed in the global garment industry (Hale & Wills, 2005).

Research Questions

At first glance, traditional I-O psychological research, with its focus on the effectiveness and efficiency of organizational functioning, would seem directly applicable to women and work issues in the garment assembly factories. Research on the effects of the working conditions on various outcome measures, such as productivity and satisfaction, is and has always been at the foundation of I-O psychology efforts (e.g. Ryan & Smith, 1954). This type of research, coupled with the existing body of research on the effects of improving working conditions on productivity and satisfaction, could be used to encourage management to better the conditions in the factories.

However, given that most garment assembly factories tend to seek out cheap and exploitable workforces, concerns for the worker are likely to fall on deaf ears. Or, research done only within a narrow focus of improving daily outputs might even worsen the conditions for the women in the factories. Alternatively, I-O psychology can employ its traditional approaches and methodologies in the service of the many international groups seeking to improve the working conditions in the factories. Doing research in conjunction with the United Nations, national and international unions, human rights groups, and consumer groups may be the best way to exert influence over the owners to improve working conditions.

As observed by Sloan and Schroder (1989), international worker (and consumer) solidarity are essential to the solutions of problems brought about by the internationalization of production. Many such partnership groups have formed. In 1997, a United States Presidential Task Force that included human rights groups, labor unions, and apparel industry giants such as Nike Inc., Reebok International Ltd., Phillips-Van Heusen Corporation, and L.L. Bean reached a groundbreaking agreement that created a code of conduct on wages and working conditions for apparel factories that U.S. companies use around the world (Apparel Industry Group, 1997). That group is now the Fair Labor Association.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC) have formed a partnership, Better Work, that helps raise labor standards in the garment industry in developing countries (ILO News, 2009). The Better Work global program has initiatives in the garment industries of Jordon, Vietnam, and Haiti, among others. Other groups, such as United Students Against Sweatshops and Sweatfree Communities, also actively support worker empowerment and improved worker conditions (Esbenshade, 2008).

A key element in the success of these efforts is having the research data on the working conditions and the effects of these conditions on the women in the factories. I-O psychology is the scientific study of the workplace (www.siop.org) and, as such, is ideally suited to conduct such investigations. Studies of the effects of the working conditions on variables such as job satisfaction, stress, alienation, sense of efficacy, self-esteem, and empowerment (and loss thereof), and work-family conflicts would be useful. So, too, would investigations on the incidence of and effects of sexual harassment, sexual and physical abuse, and extreme worker control on the physical and mental health of the women.

Khaleque (1992), in one of the few studies of this nature, evaluated the quality and quantity of food intake, fatigue, health, job satisfaction, and

quality of life of 102 female garment workers from five factories in Bangladesh. Among the measuring instruments were the Brayfield-Rothe Job Satisfaction Scale and the Job Facets and Life Satisfaction Questionnaire. He found that those with longer job experience had significantly greater job dissatisfaction, poorer quality of life, and more health problems than those with shorter job experience. Khaleque also found that the average quality and quantity of food intake of each worker was so poor that the energy and nutrients she gets from daily food intake are less than the minimum rate required for an adult person in Bangladesh.

Research that demonstrates the adverse effects of "sweatshop" conditions on workers' lives can be a significant factor in effecting change. The outcomes of I-O research can be used by advocacy groups to help key decision-makers better understand the need for improvement of these working conditions. I-O research could be an important part of the efforts of human rights and consumer groups to influence multinational corporations to implement international standards of humane working conditions and living wages.

I-O psychology is also well positioned to examine the positive effects of more socially responsible production models on workers' lives. One such recent start-up is the Alta Gracia factory in the Dominican Republic (Kline, 2010). The factory, as observed by Greenhouse (2010), is "a high minded experiment" that presents an alternative approach to the "sweat shop" model used by most of the garment assembly factories around the world. At Alta Gracia, the workers are paid a living wage, in this case three times the average pay of the country's apparel workers, and are allowed to join a union without a fight. The workplace improvements include proper ventilation, ergonomic chairs for the sewing machine operators, and the use of team leaders among the workers to coordinate production. The team-based modular production encourages common achievement rather than placing constant pressure on individuals for increased output (Kline, 2010).

Factories such as Alta Gracia that introduce more humane labor conditions can be undercut by others who can make the clothing more cheaply. Then the factory is forced to close and the worker's job is lost. Alta Gracia, however, may be the start of a successful challenge to the apparel industry's global race to the bottom. Currently, more than 450 colleges and universities, such as Duke , NYU, and Cornell, distribute Alta Gracia's clothing lines (http://altagraciaapparel.com) and the company is expanding to social justice groups, environmental groups, and others (Dreier, 2011). This activity is fueled by the power of a brand with a

socially responsible message. As observed by Dreier (2011), the success of companies such as Alta Gracia will "prove that conscientious consumers can have an impact on humanizing the forces of global capitalism" (p. 20).

An I-O psychological assessment of the effects of this new factory model on worker attitudes and quality of production, as well as on family and community life, could be a solid base for fostering similar start-ups elsewhere. Moreover, scientific assessments of the positive impacts of socially responsible working conditions can heighten the value added to the consumer, and be part of the marketing of "sweat free" products. As observed by Kline (2010), "Alta Gracia's success could even encourage a competitive 'race to the top' in labor standards that would most benefit people now mired in poverty at the bottom" (pp. 39–40). I-O research could be a significant factor in facilitating this outcome.

I-O research can also contribute to the efforts of national unions seeking to organize the women workers in the assembly factories. I-O psychologists might pursue research questions such as: Under what conditions are women able to form unions within these Free Zone areas? What types of people are most prone to join? What are the individual factors and group conditions that facilitate engagement with unions and union formation? The ongoing, although furtive, efforts to organize unions within Nicaragua and other developing countries is a fertile research ground for answering these questions.

The issues of the garment assembly workers in these Free Zones present an opportunity for I-O psychologists to use their research approaches and tools in ways that give power to worker interests and encourage higher standards of working conditions internationally. The scientific credibility that I-O psychologists bring to bear on this work might well be what international groups need to facilitate change. Solid research-based demonstrations of the adverse effects of "sweat shop" conditions, as well as data-based demonstrations of positive effects of socially responsible production systems, have the potential to influence key decision-makers. The outcomes of I-O research in this area can be an integral part of developing and implementing corporate and government policies that promote global standards of humane working conditions.

A Coffee Plantation

I lived for five days with a host family in a coffee cooperative near La Reima, in the mountains outside of Matagalpa.

Worksite Description

The host family consisted of Dona Emelda, her five children, ages 3 to 18, and an uncle. The home consisted of two enclosed rooms—a sleeping room and a living room. In the living room, there was a small table, which held a television, and a broken chair. Food was cooked on an open fire in an attached kitchen area and bathroom facilities were outside. There was running water from a spigot outside of the house.

By living and working with Dona Emelda, I was able to observe her daily schedule, at least during picking season. She arises at 4:30 a.m. and washes clothes and prepares meals for the family. At around 7:30 a.m., she and the uncle leave to pick coffee. It is about a 15-minute walk to the coffee washing and sorting center and then a 20-minute hike up a narrow path into the mountains, where the coffee plants are. They pick the coffee for five hours, with a brief rest for lunch. On the walk down the mountain, Dona Emelda and the uncle carry the huge sacks of picked coffee beans on their backs. At the washing and sorting center, they separate the "berries," ripe from unripe. After that, Dona Emelda, alongside members of other families, watches over the washing of the beans. This takes until around 3:00 p.m. Until early evening, she sorts her washed beans, a tedious process of picking out, one by one, the cracked and poor quality beans from the ones to be sold. At night, she makes dinner, tends to the children, and then watches television from 8:00 to 10:00 p.m., before retiring.

Research Questions

Living and working with Dona Emelda and observing her daily work routine points out how much can be learned by being an intimate observer, if even for a few days. For example, her situation brings to the forefront the issue of the isolation of women in poverty. Her work routine leaves her little time to communicate with those outside of her family and she remains isolated even when surrounded by others at the sorting station. Consideration of the conditions that promote isolation, implications of such isolation, and ways to overcome it are research questions suggested by the in-depth look at her work and life circumstances.

The case of Dona Emelda highlights the value of research approaches that fall within a phenomenological orientation, one that attempts to see the world from another person's point of view (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). This orientation calls for a wide array of less traditional I-O research approaches that allow the researcher to capture the realities of the women's lives. As noted by Irwin (1987), "Human behavior and social existence is

a subjective and willful construction and requires drawing close to the subjects in their natural contexts and understanding the fundamental human process" (p. 41). This perspective is akin to the call by I-O psychologists Weiss and Rupp (2011) for a person-centric work psychology, one that "will look at the world through the eyes of the worker" (p. 95) and focus, for example, on the "lived-through experience of working" (p. 87). Attention by I-O psychology to such a person-centric perspective would complement a research agenda for women and work in developing countries.

In addition to observation, two other ways to tap into the realities of the women's work experiences are in-depth interviewing and story gathering. The value and effectiveness of these approaches are illustrated by the work of Schein (1995) and Wicker (1996). In my study of low-income women in the United States, I used an in-depth interviewing approach to examine the role of work within the context of the women's lives. The women told their "stories," enabling the researcher to learn about poverty from their perspective and give value and voice to their experiences (Schein, 1995). The research findings were presented through the "voices" of the women and the outcomes became a vehicle for influencing policymakers to consider ways to improve the work and life conditions of the women (Schein, 2012).

Wicker (1996) gathered work narratives from female and male Ghanaian workers and expatriates living and working in Ghana. The female workers included a cocoa farmer, yam seller, and traditional healer. In the stories, the workers tell what they do in their jobs, and what their work means to them and their families. His approach, termed substantive theorizing, illustrates the viability of naturalistic inquiry as a means of theorizing about the person-environment relationship and as a way to come "to know" the participants in the research (Wicker & August, 2000).

Using these approaches as a way of learning from women in poverty about their work experiences can greatly enhance the relevancy of a research agenda for women and work in developing countries. As I have observed (Schein, 2012), the further away the investigatory problem is from our own experiences, the greater the need for qualitative approaches. It is a way to at least get close to the reality of those under study and begin to generate research ideas that are relevant and meaningful. Qualitative research methods, as idea-generating approaches, become the tools of necessity in this new research terrain. These approaches can help flesh out new research questions and ensure that meaningful avenues of inquiry are pursued.

Researching Women and Work Issues in Developing Countries

The three Nicaraguan work situations generate questions, grounded in the reality of the women's lives, which form the basis of an I-O research agenda for women and work in developing countries. The worksite descriptions and the concomitant research questions are the first steps in this new research undertaking for I-O psychology. Next steps include similar worksite analyses in other developing countries and regions of the world, so as to obtain a cross-cultural and cross-national look at the plight of women in these countries. Many women in developing countries work in similar situations. Micro-credit loan programs are growing rapidly in Sub-Sahara Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and the Middle East and North Africa (Daley-Harris, 2009; Yunus, 2007). Garment assembly plants employing cheap and exploitable labor are found throughout South East Asia and Latin America, among other areas (Hale & Wills, 2005). Women make up over half of the agricultural labor force in developing countries in Africa and Asia (Kelkar, 2009). While some of the questions posed here may be specific to Nicaragua and the Latin American region, others may generalize across countries and regions. New questions may emerge from analyses of similar work situations in other developing countries and regions of the world, as well as from examinations of other types of work situations. The outcomes of all of these efforts offer the promise of a full and meaningful research agenda designed to play a significant part in improving the plight of women in developing countries.

WOMEN AND WORK GROUPS IN NICARAGUA: A CLOSER LOOK

Following my first visit to Nicaragua, I returned a few years later to conduct research on the role of work-related groups for women (see Schein, 2003). The purpose of the 2003 research project was to take an exploratory look at the psychological functions of participation in work-related groups for poor women in developing countries. The research examined the attitudes of the women toward various aspects of group membership and the self-reported attitudinal and behavioral changes that occurred as a result of participation in the group.

The research approach was that of group interviews with women members of the work-related groups. On-site arrangements for the

interviews were made by the director of a community organization in León, Nicaragua who also served as the translator for all the sessions. Each group interview session ranged in duration from two to three hours.

The project also served to demonstrate that I-O research could be carried out with some of the most marginalized members of the global community of workers, such as factory workers, street vendors, rural farmers, and prostitutes. Without such demonstrations, a proposed research agenda for women and work issues in developing counties might receive nods of interest, but be ignored as untenable by traditional I-O psychologists.

The Work-Related Groups

Eight work-related groups agreed to participate. These included two union groups, two workers' cooperatives, one income-generating farm group, one community development group, one microenterprise development group, and one group of garment assembly factory workers. Although these groups are described elsewhere (Schein, 2003; Schein et al., 2011), they are also presented here to provide further background as to the realities of the women's working lives in developing countries.

A total of 57 women from the eight different work-related groups participated in the group interviews. The work-related groups were as follows:

Union of Various Occupations

The union is open to women who work as domestics, secretaries, and salespersons, among other occupations. The women in the group washed and ironed clothes for a living, prepared tortillas at home, or sold plants or lottery tickets.

Union of Sex Workers

The union consists of women who earn their living as prostitutes. The members meet on a regular basis and go to a clinic for health examinations.

Women's Chicken and Pig Project

The women formed a group so as to receive small loans to raise chickens or pigs for income.

John 23 Group

The group is an independently run women's income-generating community development group that has initiated a variety of projects, including sewing workshops, a soap-making enterprise, and housing reconstruction.

Women's Agricultural Cooperative

The cooperative provides workshops, technical assistance, and credit to women farmers. The women farm individually, often with their husbands and families, but sell cooperatively.

Women's Weaving Cooperative

The cooperative is owned and operated by 10 women. They weave cotton bedspreads, blankets, and tablecloths and sell directly to Nicaraguans and tourists who visit the cooperative.

Microenterprise Development Groups

Pro Mujer, described earlier, is a microenterprise development organization that provides small loans to women. All of the women had received one or more loans from Pro Mujer. Some of the women sold one of the following types of items: lingerie, notebooks, cosmetics, firewood, coffee, clothes, candies, cosmetics, or chemical products. Others made and sold grain drinks, cakes, beans, ketchup, bread, or churros. The women sold their wares on the street, by going directly to the customer, or from a store in their home.

Garment Assembly Workers

The women were all employed in the factories in the Free Zone similar to the ones described earlier. Most of the women in the group were union members.

Research Project Outcomes

Overall, the results revealed that participation in work-related groups has meaning and value to the women beyond that of economic improvements. Five categories emerged as reflective of the meaning of work-related group participation for the women: no longer marginalized; social and emotional

support; group and organizing skills; technical skills; and rights awareness and protection. Attitudinal and behavioral changes were evident in four areas: personal; interpersonal; community; and organizational and economic. Complete descriptions and illustrations of these categories, using the words of the women, can be found in Schein (2003).

Additional Research Questions for an I-O Research Agenda

The results suggest some further questions for an I-O research agenda relevant to the issues of women and work in developing countries. For example, two of the group membership outcomes, that of being *no longer marginalized* and developing *group and organizing skills*, taken together, point to a way in which group participation may be especially valuable to low-income women in the male-dominated society of Nicaragua. For those married or with partners, the relationship within the home is a hierarchical one, the male being in charge. Even women living alone are treated, on a day-to-day basis, in a way reflective of their second-class status. (Babb, 1996; Ellsberg, Caldera, Herrera, Winkvist, & Kullgren, 1999). Once out of the home, and *no longer marginalized*, a self-concept can emerge that is based on the woman's working relationship with the other group members. The women meet with each other as peers and work collectively toward specific objectives. In the process of developing *group and organizing skills*, they are given an opportunity to interact with others as equals. In essence, the group seems to provide a mini laboratory in which the women can acquire and practice peer-level relationship skills. More explicit research is needed to explore this learning process and its extension to similar marginalized women in other male-dominated societies. A significant outcome of group participation for low-income women in developing countries may be the acquisition of interpersonal skills that enhance their ability to work in groups and in society as equals.

Another research focus suggested by the study outcomes is in the area of women's agency and community involvement. According to the results, the women's enhanced sense of personal efficacy and ability to improve their life conditions seemed to spill over into wanting to help others and improve the conditions within their own communities. Some indirect support for a community involvement spillover effect is found in Basher's (2007) survey of 125 Bangladeshi female participants in Grameen Bank's micro-credit program. According to the author, the longer the association with the program, the greater the likelihood of voluntary participation in national elections. Further research is needed to examine the possible

spillover effect of group participation outcomes onto the community and society as a whole. If confirmed by further research, investments in work-related groups for women in developing countries could have a significant impact on people beyond that of the group members and their families, reflecting Sen's (1999) view that enhancing women's agency mediates economic and social change.

Applications relevant to I-O psychology and corporate social responsibility are also suggested by the outcomes. For example, professional and social women's groups in developed countries could be linked with women's work-related groups in developing countries in the form of "Adopt a Group" programs. If these programs were corporate-sponsored, it would be a way to apply the material and intellectual resources of corporate entities to meeting the needs of those in developing countries. Involvement with groups in developing countries would open up new avenues for corporate volunteer programs and provide for educational and cultural exchanges. The positive outcomes of group participation for the women suggest that providing financial and social assistance to work-related groups might be an important way to help women in developing countries.

These research considerations, as with the questions posed in the first section, emanate from work in the developing country of Nicaragua. As such, the suggestions and tentative conclusions may be circumscribed by the specific situations and regional groups encountered. Hence, it is not only important to pursue these questions further, but to do so in other developing countries and regions of the world.

Research Feasibility

The feasibility of conducting research on work issues of women living in poverty in developing countries is a key concern. Engaging in such a research process is quite different from leading focus groups in corporate cafeterias, conducting interviews with participants familiar with such techniques, or administering questionnaires in an office setting. As evidenced by this study, participants tend to be located outside of organizational settings and not well acquainted with research techniques. Questions arise, such as: How accessible are the people, given the remote locations and possibly hazardous road conditions? Can standard research techniques, such as interviews, be used when working in non-traditional settings? Can language differences be overcome?

The Project Experience

Most of the meetings with the women were held in locations related to their work or work groups. While some of the meetings were in traditional settings, such as a union meeting hall, others were in less traditional places, such as on a grassy plot under a tree. Getting to some of the locations was often a challenge. For example, to meet with the group of chicken and pig farmers, I had to crawl under a barbed wire fence to get to their small farm. The community development group was on the other side of a river normally crossable by jeep. However, as the river was swollen by heavy rain the night before, I had to ride a mule to cross the river to meet with the group. With the help and support of my translator and guide, as well as many local Nicaraguans, it was possible to successfully get to all locations, even those in remote areas.

Participating in group interviews of this nature was a new experience for all of the women. No problems were encountered with the process, except initially with the weaving cooperative members. Their meeting was conducted at the work site. At first, the women were reluctant to answer the questions, and remained silent or whispered some responses. I pointed to some cotton yarn and to the looms, indicating with gestures that I wanted to know how they did their work. Suddenly, the women brightened up and began demonstrating various aspects of the weaving process. After that, the interview session flowed smoothly with animated participation.

The translation process also flowed smoothly in all of the group interviews. Language barriers fell as the trained translator created an almost seamless interview process, moving the conversation from English to Spanish and back again, with comparative ease. I felt as if I were speaking directly with the participants. Overall, my experiences in Nicaragua demonstrated that researching work-related issues of the marginalized members of the global community of workers is not only possible, but can be a rewarding learning opportunity for the researcher.

Research done by or in collaboration with local I-O psychologists can minimize the language and cultural communication issues. Moreover, research of this nature would benefit from the use of multicultural research teams, thereby enhancing the substance of the research and the cross-cultural transfer of the research knowledge. Nonetheless, the study of materially impoverished groups, especially in remote locations, is still a relatively untapped research area for I-O psychology in general. As such, the demonstration of the feasibility of research on women, work, and poverty issues can encourage further efforts within I-O psychology globally.

Other I-O Psychology Projects

The feasibility of conducting I-O research in non-traditional settings in developing countries is also confirmed by other I-O psychology projects. The work of Michael Frese and his colleagues, described in this volume, is an example of a large-scale I-O research project focusing on work issues in developing countries. For example, Frese et al. (2007) sampled small business owners in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia and used teams of trained interviewers to conduct structured interviews. One sampling procedure was to conduct a "random" walk in industrial areas, requesting participation from small businesses such as scrap metal merchants, bottle stores, welders, and soap manufacturers.

On a smaller scale, a recent evaluation study in Lesotho, Africa illustrates the transferability of I-O psychological evaluation approaches to non-organizational settings. Judy Kuriansky, a clinical psychologist, and Mary O'Neil Berry, an organizational psychologist (Kuriansky & Berry, 2010), evaluated a psycho-social camp for orphans and vulnerable children. The camp focused on HIV/AIDS prevention, nutrition, income-generating activities, and legal issues for women.

The evaluation protocol, including quantitative and qualitative items, was administered to the participants, 40 girls aged 18 to 22 years, before and after the camp. The evaluation instruments were administered in group settings, with coaches offering assistance, such as translation, where needed. The overall evaluation of the research team was that the camp was a significant success as reflected by increases in self-esteem, a high rating on camp satisfaction, and a high proportion of camp attendees at a subsequent workshop agreeing to be tested for HIV/AIDS, among other outcomes.

Although the setting and situation were unusual for I-O psychology, the procedures were similar in approach to the evaluation of a work group training program in an organizational setting. These research projects, as well as my own, illustrate the viability and value of conducting large- and small-scale I-O psychology studies in non-traditional settings in developing countries.

A RESEARCH AGENDA FOR WOMEN AND WORK IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: I-O PSYCHOLOGY WITHOUT BOUNDARIES

Research questions emanating from the three Nicaraguan work situations—a microenterprise development program, garment assembly factories, and

a coffee plantation—as well as those that emerged from the research on work-related groups in Nicaragua, form the basis of an I-O research agenda for understanding the issues of women and work in developing countries. By pursuing these research questions, I-O psychology has the potential to contribute significantly to the global endeavor of improving the lives of women affected by poverty in developing countries.

In all cases, the research agenda seeks to be applicable and relevant to the work experiences of women living in poverty in developing countries. As such, it responds to the call by Sinha (1990) and Sloan (1990), among others, for psychological research in developing countries that is applied to real-world concerns. For I-O psychologists, the application of psychology to real-world problems is a familiar and valued perspective. Bringing the psychological perspective to bear on improving the effectiveness of microenterprise development programs for low-income women, for example, falls easily within I-O psychology's objectives.

But relevancy is more than applicability. According to Moghaddam (1990), research also needs to address the significant social and economic conditions of the people in developing countries in a way that can lead to changes in these conditions. Moghaddam (1990), Sinha (1990), and Sloan (1990) see research that seeks to change existing systems as most relevant to issues in developing countries. Many aspects of the agenda fall within this change-oriented perspective. For example, I-O research on the working conditions in the garment assembly factories, in conjunction with the advocacy efforts of international groups, can facilitate changes in international production systems.

Research that is applicable and relevant to the work-related concerns of women in developing countries can be part of worldwide efforts to improve their situation. In 2011, the United Nations officially launched UN Women, the largest single UN body ever charged with advancing gender equality. The proposed research agenda fits well into this global endeavor.

The research agenda also meshes well with the theme of this volume, that of using I-O psychology for the greater good. In demonstrating the important prosocial role I-O research and practice can play, many of the contributors look beyond the corporate sector, the traditional arena for I-O psychology efforts. They examine I-O research and applications in the nonprofit sector, service learning projects, and disaster relief volunteering, among other non-traditional areas. This chapter goes even further and calls upon I-O psychology to expand its focus and consider the global community of workers within its research and applications domain. This broader perspective speaks to one of this volume's themes

as it envisions an *I-O psychology without boundaries*. By considering all those who work, whether inside or outside of organizations, I-O research and its applications can more readily address humanitarian and social issues. An *I-O psychology without boundaries* goes to the people, whether street vendors or executives, and brings its arsenal of expertise and research methodologies to bear on promoting human welfare. The proposed I-O research agenda challenges the field to broaden its focus and give serious attention to the marginalized members of the global community of workers. By employing an *I-O psychology without boundaries* perspective, the field has an opportunity to contribute to improving the plight of women in developing countries.

NOTE

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16

Aiding International Development: Some Fresh Perspectives from Industrial-Organizational Psychology

Stuart C. Carr, Shahla Eltayeb, Malcolm MacLachlan, Leo Marai, Eilish McAuliffe, and Ishbel McWha

INTRODUCTION

Mutu umodzi susenza denga (one head does not carry the roof)
Mlendo ndi mame (visitors are dew)
Chichewa proverbs from Malawi

Industrial-organizational psychology has been criticized in the past for being a servant of power rather than promoting equal opportunity and fairness for all (Baritz, 1960; Brief, 2000; Lefkowitz, 2012). There could be moral and social value, however, in serving relatively disenfranchised groups; for example, in work that is focused on aid, development, and poverty reduction (Carr et al., 2008). Humanitarian work psychology is a response to such concerns (Berry et al., 2011; www.humworkpsy.org). One of the central features of humanitarian work is international aid and development. Most research on work in the international context (both in aid and international business settings) has, nonetheless, focused on "*expatriate* assignments," and "*expatriate* well-being"; for example, the reduction of culture shock (Furnham, 2010a, 2010b). Absent in much of the literature is the perspective and well-being of the expatriates' colleagues (i.e., the host nationals).

In retrospect, it seems at least conceivable that much of this research may reflect the fact that its researchers have themselves mostly been expatriates, working for an international agency, group, or organization. The epigraphs at the start of this chapter are reminders that international

projects are by definition about teamwork, and ultimately depend on host national workers for their sustainability. International projects involve multiple stakeholders, which logically necessitates a stakeholder approach (Lindgreen & Swaen, 2010). This chapter addresses the relative imbalance in our discipline's research to date. It highlights the perspectives of host national workers, including the relationships they may have with expatriate colleagues; their economic differences; and the power dynamics that sometimes accompany their work; for example, when expatriates represent powerful multilateral funding agencies (who may control project funding) or economically powerful multinational corporations (who may control project investment).

Conceptually, the chapter has three vertices representing new theoretical frontiers. First, the relationships host workers may have are conceptualized as questions of identity in general and social identity in particular. Second, the economic differences between host workers and their expatriate colleagues are linked to theories of work justice. Third, the power dynamics between host workers and their expatriate colleagues are conceptualized in terms of social dominance theory, and especially the dynamics of oppression. Examples of all three of these differences can be seen in wide pay and compensation differentials between international and local workers in both aid and international business settings. Thus, we draw on compensation differences to support our discussion throughout this chapter.

Economically, the chapter is focused more on social than financial capital. Specifically, previous research on international projects and assignments has tended to focus on for-profit rather than nonprofit sectors. Several studies have examined, for instance, the role of expatriate individual differences for business success (Caligiuri, 2000; Jordan & Cartwright, 1998; Ones & Visweswaran, 1999). Also featuring centrally has been expatriates' coping mechanisms in situations of culture shock (Berry, 1997; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Being business-driven, much of the research is understandably geared toward maximizing financial gain and minimizing costs (e.g., by preventing costly early return of expatriates). This chapter challenges and inverts that focus: it focuses instead more on *nonprofit* organizations operating within the international arena; although for-profit organizations, such as multinational enterprises, international joint ventures, and poverty reduction through corporate social responsibility, are not excluded. For example, dual-salary systems (discrepant wages and benefits packages for expatriate versus host national workers) are found in both public and private sectors, and have the potential in both to undermine "decent work" by lowering local wages below the poverty

line. The term "dual" in dual salaries is a simplification, because there are actually many different salaries in aid and business sectors, including expatriate, host national, consultant, and third country national, to name a handful. However, the gap between host national and expatriate packages is usually by far the largest, creating a point of meta-comparison/contrast (Turner, 1991).

Nonprofit organizations have proliferated globally since the end of World War II; for example, the number of international non-governmental organizations has risen from nearly 1,000 in 1956 to over 20,000 in 2008 (Werker & Ahmed, 2008), with foreign aid from official sources such as bilateral (e.g., USAID) and multilateral (such as the United Nations) agencies amounting to $103.6 billion in 2006 and over $2.3 trillion since 1958 (Easterly & Pfutze, 2008). By its very nature, the work of nonprofits builds toward, and rests upon, other forms of social and human—rather than economic—capital, and multiple stakeholder groups (Carr & Rugimbana, 2009). Nonprofit organizations emphasize social relationships, social gain, and identity in the place of profit. This is not to say that for-profit groups cannot generate these same benefits. The bottom line for civil society organizations is social gain, presumably facilitated by financial sustainability, while the bottom line in for-profit organizations is profit; though this may also be facilitated by social responsibility. The motivations for joining these different types of organizations may, in many cases, be quite different (MacLachlan & Carr, 1999). Hence, one might expect the impact of work on an individual employee's identity to be different in these different organizational settings.

Much of the research on international assignments has located itself in the sphere of culture, highlighting the role of culture, and cultural diversity (Carr, 2004). This emphasis permeates models of international assignments that are cross-cultural (Javidan, Lowe, Dorfman, Janges, & De Luque, 2006), occupational/sector-based (Schein, 1996), organizational-level (Schein, 1990), and focused on individual differences (Probst, Carnevale, & Triandis, 1999). Important and central though culture is, significantly less attention has been paid to *other* forms of difference; for example, socio-*economic* disparities (MacLachlan, 2006; MacLachlan, Carr, & McAuliffe, 2010). Our experience is that in international work settings, socio-economic differences are at least as salient as cultural differences, at least for the stakeholder groups and individuals who are committed to intercultural contact. Many companies and aid agencies locate themselves in resource-poor locations for cheaper labor (in the for-profit sector); or because aid is needed there (in nonprofit work). These motives in themselves create

an inherent potential for individual and group differences across poverty-wealth continua—a workplace injustice. According to MacLachlan et al. (2010), in fact, focusing on socio-cultural differences alone represents a major oversight, a "cultural attribution error," which omits those differences other than the obvious cultural ones that may exist. This chapter goes further. It argues that at a deeper level, the cultural attribution error functions to justify and enable, rather than disable, economic injustice.

Finally, with economic differences come power differentials, socio-*political* diversity, and frequent marginalization of disempowered groups. Power dynamics are often visible in cross-cultural training for expatriates embarking on international work. Cross-cultural training can focus on a range of cultural competencies, including awareness, knowledge, and skill, or any combination of these that are related to the job description (Littrell, Hess, Paley, & Riedel, 2006). Although training is relevant for all forms of work, including at individual, group, and societal levels (Aguinis & Kraiger, 2009), cross-cultural training, and subsequent research on it, originally grew in popularity as a result of failed job selection practices in the United States' Peace Corps (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Harris, 1973). Within the nonprofit sector, cross-cultural training retained a focus on international volunteers, and largely ignored host national employees (Pastor, 1997). In the new millennium, cross-cultural training (and the research on it) has migrated to the for-profit sector, although it has stayed focused on the expatriate; for example, in coping with culture shock and related stress (Furnham, 2010a). This chapter partially redresses that imbalance, by considering in more detail potential training processes that address cross-cultural challenges for both expatriates *and* host national workers, independently of sector.

IDENTITY (IN RELATIONSHIPS AT WORK)

Numerous social and organizational theories provide avenues for understanding how and why individuals tend to socialize and identify with some of their colleagues in the workplace and outside of it (e.g., by socializing with work colleagues or not during leisure time), while differentiating themselves from others, resulting in the creation of both formal and informal groups. These theories include: culture shock and the adversity-affiliation it promotes (Furnham, 2010a); familiarity attraction (Carr, 2003); similarity-attraction (Schneider, 2000); social comparison (Festinger,

1950); social positioning (Davies & Harre, 1990); social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001); inter-group differentiation (Tajfel, 1978); and social categorization and meta-contrast (Turner, 1991). Within the context of the international assignment, individual workers are often labelled according to membership of "informal job categories" (e.g., "expat," "volunteer," or "local"; McWha, 2011). They often socialize and identify with others from the same category, while differentiating their own category from other categories around them. Research suggests that expatriates often associate with other "expats" as a means of obtaining social support for coping with and adjusting to the new environment (Johnson, Kristof-Brown, Van Vianen, De Pater, & Klein, 2003; Kealey, 1989; Toh & DeNisi, 2007). Viewed through the lens of Berry's (2010a, 2010b) acculturation theory, this kind of approach arguably reflects a particular style of acculturation—separation. Such strategies can reduce contact with the host national culture, thereby inhibiting or delaying relationship-building and potentially reinforcing divisions between groups of workers. Ultimately, common coping strategies may actually therefore be undermining longer-term coping and efficacy at work in the new setting. The negative aspects of seeking in-group support may at times outweigh the benefits, by resulting in a lack of integration with host national colleagues (Toh & DeNisi, 2007).

Separation strategies such as the above may create barriers to effective transfer of skills from expatriates to their national hosts, and vice versa. In his early work with Canadian Technical Advisors posted to low-income countries, Kealey (1989) found that those expatriates most effective at skills transfer, as rated by their (Canadian and national) peers and supervisors, were those unconcerned with upward mobility (i.e. career promotion); those assessed by their host national peers as caring, active, and not self-centred; and those with knowledge of, and who participated in, the host national culture. Some research into the social experiences of business expatriates suggests that expatriates with a large number of diverse relationships, both with other expatriates and with host country nationals, tend to be more supported and to adjust better to the new culture (Farh, Bartol, Shapiro, & Shin, 2010; Johnson et al., 2003; Liu & Shaffer, 2005; Wang & Kanungo, 2004). Expatriate-host national relationships, therefore, begin to emerge as a potentially important element in international assignment success in general.

Most research to date, however, whether with aid agencies or international business assignments, has focused, naïvely perhaps, on the selection and training of sojourners travelling to new cultures, with little

consideration given to the impact their arrival may have on host national staff, and the adjustments they may need to make. The high financial cost to parent organizations of expatriate failure is one obvious reason for this focus (Farh et al., 2010; Shaffer & Harrison, 1998). However, focusing on the money and costs to the "parent" organization rather than host national workforce or community, overlooks the important roles that host national staff play in their success. One notable exception to this relatively unilateral approach can be found in the ideas of Toh and DeNisi (2003, 2005, 2007). These leading theorists have called for an exploration of the role of host country nationals in the success of international assignments (e.g., through their ability to act as agents of workplace (sojourner) socialization).

Interestingly, in their analysis, Toh and DeNisi (2007) have used social identity theory to argue that national identities, and in particular a tendency to see expatriates as out-group members, may reduce the likelihood that host national counterparts will display socializing behaviors toward expatriate newcomers. In particular, they have argued for the provision of cross-cultural training for host national staff to facilitate expatriate adjustment (Toh & DeNisi, 2007; see Dominance section below). Toh and DeNisi (2007) have further called for empirical exploration of the potential negative impact of the considerable compensation disparities between host national and expatriate staff (Toh & DeNisi, 2003, 2005; see Justice section below).

We would like to applaud these researchers for extending the discussion around international assignments to include the role of host national workers. However, we feel that the discussion can, and should, go further. The discussion in Toh and DeNisi (2003, 2005, 2007) retains a focus on the importance of relationships with host national counterparts not for any intrinsic or social value, but largely for the success of the expatriate's international assignment. Implicitly perhaps, the analysis overlooks what we contend is equally important, and arguably even more critical if focusing on aid organizations—successful outcomes for host national staff and communities, both during the expatriate assignment as well as once the expatriate has left. Of course, one might argue that successful outcomes for host national staff and communities *are* addressed by considerations of the success of the expatriate's international assignment. However, national staff may still have much to offer, and must be open to accepting what the expatriate has to offer. Host country nationals are not merely "human resources." Arguably, they are the key stakeholders, both directly and indirectly, through the services that they perform, and the communities they represent, not least after the expatriate has left. If poverty reduction

is about capacity development, then it could be argued that enabling host national workers to develop their own competencies is paramount.

Within the international aid sector, workplace relationships have been identified as important for the success of aid initiatives (Eyben, 2006), in terms of relationships between government, United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations, and communities (e.g., Pasteur & Scott-Villiers, 2006), as well as between donor and recipient (Eyben, 2005). Interviews with aid workers themselves have identified relationship-building as a perceived key factor in the success of capacity development initiatives (Girgis, 2007; McWha, 2011). Capacity development is viewed by many development specialists as the ultimate goal of the aid process, whereby expatriates build the capacity of their host national counterparts, with the ultimate goal being management of their own affairs (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2006).

While the importance of relationships has been discussed in the literature, there has been little exploration of environmental factors that may enable their formation and development; for example, in terms of fostering organizational learning and teamwork (Carr, 2007). One obvious environmental factor is the often disparate salaries and benefits the workers receive. Disparate remuneration can create an invisible, but concrete, barrier between workers, whereby host national workers may feel disgruntled because of their lower salaries, particularly if the gap is so large that it could never be earned by hard work alone. The barrier can be further reinforced given that host national workers often know more about the local context than expatriate workers; for example, about their own local customs and norms.

Recent thematic analyses of interviews with aid workers in Cambodia suggested that aid workers are categorized by themselves and others into informal but pervasive job categories, including "expatriate," "local," "volunteer," and "consultant" (McWha, 2011). The categories fall within a hierarchy underpinned by power, and informed by differences in salary, whereby expatriates are at the top of the hierarchy, above (expatriate) consultants, and host nationals are at the bottom of the hierarchy, below (or at a similar level to expatriate) volunteers (for more on salary differences, see Justice section below).

The mere existence of pay differences, then, may be inhibiting, rather than enabling, host national capacity by reinforcing group differences and creating barriers to capacity development. What impact might such pay differences have on worker identity?

In exploring the different job categories, McWha and MacLachlan (in press) developed the Aid Relationships Quality Scale. The assessments made using this measure uncovered a basic distinction between relationships with expatriate workers and relationships with host national ("local") workers. The difference is important because it highlights the salience of group-based distinctions, and inter-group identities that can exist between expatriate and host national workers. Specifically, the two relationship constructs identified by McWha and MacLachlan (2011) (i.e. "relationships with expatriates" and "relationships with locals") were found to be linked with different work-related outcomes.

First, regardless of whether a worker rated himself or herself as an "expatriate" or as a "local," good relationships with *expatriate* workers tended to be linked with reduced comparison of pay with those around them, higher feelings of justice around pay, and lower reported de-motivation about pay differences than those workers who reported having poorer relationships with expatriates. Maintaining positive working relationships with expatriates were, to that extent, linked to not thinking about income disparities between host national and expatriate workers, or at least to not being too bothered by them (greater tolerance of inequity). Some readers might reason that perhaps sensitivity to salary differences is the problem, maintaining that there are legitimate reasons why individuals from locations with high living costs might need to be paid more than individuals from locations with low living costs. What these data suggest, however, is that the system itself may be producing the sensitivities, in a context that is characterized precisely by low incomes.

Second, good relationships with host national ("local") workers were linked with stronger feelings of self-assessed ability, and with job satisfaction. Again, this relationship held regardless of whether the worker was host national or expatriate. Very importantly, therefore, good relationships with host national workers, in direct contrast to relationships with expatriate workers, were consistently associated with a greater sense of capacity and self-competency. Of course, we cannot assert a causative relationship here, because job satisfaction can be both the cause and effect of ability. Capability theory (Sen, 1999) suggests it is both. Prominent in development economics, capabilities resemble competencies, and are enabled by supportive environments in general, and supportive social environments in particular. Hence, relationships with host national workers are important for enabling work-related competencies, and vice versa; for example, through cross-cultural and social competencies (Toh & DeNisi, 2007).

Third, enjoying a good relationship with host national workers was also linked with *lower* feelings of justice around pay. To that extent, perceived workplace injustice may foster solidarity—perhaps even a shared sense of identification—among and with host national workers. Meta-contrasts such as this have upsides (solidarity) and downsides (further differentiation from expatriates). Put another way, informal job categories such as "expatriate" and "local" may have the potential to position workers for inter-group conflict, rather than forming cohesive workplace teams.

In a multi-level model, with organization controlled at level 2, both relationships with expatriates and relationships with "locals" were found to fully mediate linkages between job category and: (1) job satisfaction; (2) work engagement; and (3) learning from others at work (McWha, 2011). This mediation finding suggests that relationships with *both* categories of worker, expatriate *and* host national, are necessary for satisfaction and learning. The finding also resonates with the culture shock literature (i.e., that wider networks of relationships facilitate successful acculturation and adjustment; Berry, 2010a, 2010b; Farh et al., 2010; Furnham, 2010a, 2010b; Johnson et al., 2003; Liu & Shaffer, 2005; Wang & Kanungo, 2004).

To sum up, a clear picture is beginning to emerge around the importance of relationships between host national and expatriate workers for the success of international development work. There is a need for further exploration of the social and environmental factors (including pay and benefits, below) which serve to enable or inhibit the development of a common workplace identity that transcends these categorizations.

JUSTICE (IN SALARY SYSTEMS)

Dual-salary systems, where comparable workers are paid different rates, have at least one major manifestation in the global economy today: differences between expatriate and host national workers' incomes (above). The groups in question may be performing equal work, have equal qualifications, and have equivalent work experience. While expatriate workers may have comparatively expensive mortgages to service, hidden relocation costs, and added expenses, it is possible that the differences are still perceived from the host national perspective to be unjust discrepancies, with the potential to impact negatively on worker relations, team performance, and organizational effectiveness in serving customers or communities in need. On a more speculative note, there is also the potential

for prejudices of various kinds to interact and compound each other (Ng & Van Dyne, 2001). For example, a host national consultant who is also a woman may conceivably face both economic and gender barriers to working on an equal footing with expatriate men (Lemieux & Pratto, 2003).

ORGANIZATIONAL SURVEYS

The original study of dual-salary systems was prompted by a positive critical incident with an expatriate colleague at the National University of Malawi, who pointed out the salience (for many local workers in particular) of dual salaries (Table 16.1). Based on work justice theory in general, and social equity theory in particular, a questionnaire was developed and sent to employees at the National University of Malawi (Carr, MacLachlan & Chipande, 1998). At the time, international salaries at the university ranged from 10 to 20 times the host national salary, benefits excluded. Further, internationally salaried lecturers were often entitled to draw an additional host national salary as part of their international package.

This initial survey revealed that host national lecturers felt that the remuneration gap between themselves and their international counterparts was highly unjust and de-motivating. In addition, internationally salaried workers, who were almost exclusively expatriate, reported significantly more guilt about their pay than was detected of them by their host national counterparts. Further, the internationally salaried expatriate workers also perceived themselves to be significantly better at their job than their host national counterparts, a perception that was strongly contested by host national workers themselves (Carr et al., 1998).

MacLachlan and Carr (2005) argued that some of this attribution bias reflected individual/social equity restoration ("I/we must be worth the extra money"). Self-inflation can be a form of de-motivation, because self-inflated input may lead to lowered actual output ("I don't need to work terribly hard"). This would be a classical form of inequity reduction (Adams, 1965). At first glance, it also seems possible that self-inflation might result in higher degrees of self-efficacy, and thereby even higher levels of performance and/or effort. However, this would jar with the reports of the host national respondents themselves, who disagreed quite strongly (and, statistically, significantly differently from the expatriates themselves) that "expatriates are better employees than their local counterparts"

(MacLachlan & Carr, 2005). Combining the two findings of host national withdrawal and expatriate self-inflation, therefore, the survey demonstrated a process of "double de-motivation" (MacLachlan & Carr, 1993).

A case example of dual salaries from a different sector in neighboring Tanzania is reported in Carr, McAuliffe, and MacLachlan (1998). The true case reports how two graduate friends, one Tanzanian and the other Scandinavian, studied together in Scandinavia. The older, more experienced student helped his younger friend with his studies. They graduated and went back home. Years later, the Tanzanian mining engineer was sent to the airport to meet the new general manager of the mine, an expatriate from Scandinavia. It was his old friend. However, their compensation packages were now enormously different. As the case reports, this became a major divider not only between the former friends, but also across the plant as a whole. Conflict and tension set in. Eventually, the Scandinavian manager returned home early. There were numerous local resignations. The friendship was ruined. The company lost profits along with the staff turnover.

In the survey study conducted at the University of Malawi, host national lecturers may have been underestimating the social conscience of their internationally salaried, expatriate counterparts. For example, they tended to disagree significantly more than expatriates themselves that "some expatriates on large salaries feel guilty because they earn more than local workers" (Carr et al., 1998). At the same time, internationally salaried lecturers also failed to perceive how much the same salary differential was hurting their host national colleagues' sense of workplace justice.[2] For example, they disagreed that "local people are de-motivated by the large salaries that some expatriates earn," unlike their host national counterparts who were significantly more likely to strongly agree (Carr et al., 1998). Misperceptions such as these might theoretically interact to produce an escalating communication breakdown. The dynamics of a theoretical vicious circle are presented in Figure 16.1 (MacLachlan et al., 2010).

Figure 16.1 can be either group or individual level. For example, an internationally remunerated individual expatriate aid worker may make a *remunerative comparison* that reveals an *injustice*. This injustice may lead to temporary efforts to boost input in order to justify his or her higher salary (Adams, 1965), but in the medium term may result in *turnover* (early return by *mobility*). No one can sustain a 10- or 20-fold increase in work to match the remuneration differential. If the worker does not turnover but stays in post, then he or she may subjectively enhance his or her own input again in order to justify his or her higher salary ("distortion" of inputs;

TABLE 16.1
Exemplar critical incidents from dual salaries

	Negative critical incident	Positive critical incident
Host national worker perspective	(1) "Australians are coming in with a higher and higher and better lifestyle, making a lot of money . . . what they might get in one week is what Solomon Islanders might live on in a year . . . that's just sure to engender some bitterness eventually" (Solomon Island Church Leader; MacLachlan et al., 2010).	(2) "In the 1950s and 1960s, mission teachers were paid lower than expatriates doing the same job. In 1969, however, all teachers were given the same salaries. Today, the same system [in this particular sector] is in place and working well" (Marai et al., Study II – Papua New Guinea, 2010).
Expatriate worker perspective	(3) "I was introduced to your work recently during a visit to the Solomon Islands, when an [aid agency] employee was talking about her experiences in this location, in particular her guilt regarding the gulf that exists between herself and the host national islanders" (Senior aid agency counsellor, Oceania; MacLachlan et al., 2010). This is negative because it ended with mental health problems.	(4) "Call yourselves organizational psychologists? Look down the corridor at the differences in salaries between your host national and expatriate colleagues, with equal amounts of training, qualifications and experience . . . Go research that!" (1991; see Economic & Social Research Council, 2010).[1] This incident is positive because it ended with research that addressed the issue.

Adams, 1965), by convincing himself or herself, "I am worth the extra money." In the model, this is labeled *ability comparison*. This hypothesized form of equity restoration (*justice?*) could result in reduced outputs (i.e. *(de)motivation*, to the extent that one thinks he or she is better than he or she really is, then he or she may work less hard).

From Figure 16.1, any such drop-off in actual output would fuel the host nationals'—locally remunerated—own sense of *injustice* regarding his or her *local remuneration* (and need), and increase host national colleagues' withdrawal, either literal (international *mobility* and brain drain or more localized *turnover*, if possible) or as *(de)motivation* ("You earn the big salary, you do the work!"). Motivational reactions such as these could be surreptitious over time, and perhaps more implicit than explicit. If so, and following the arrows in the diagram, the attempt to restore equity (*justice?*) would reinforce any nascent internationally remunerated workers' stereotype of host national counterparts ("the local staff are less able than

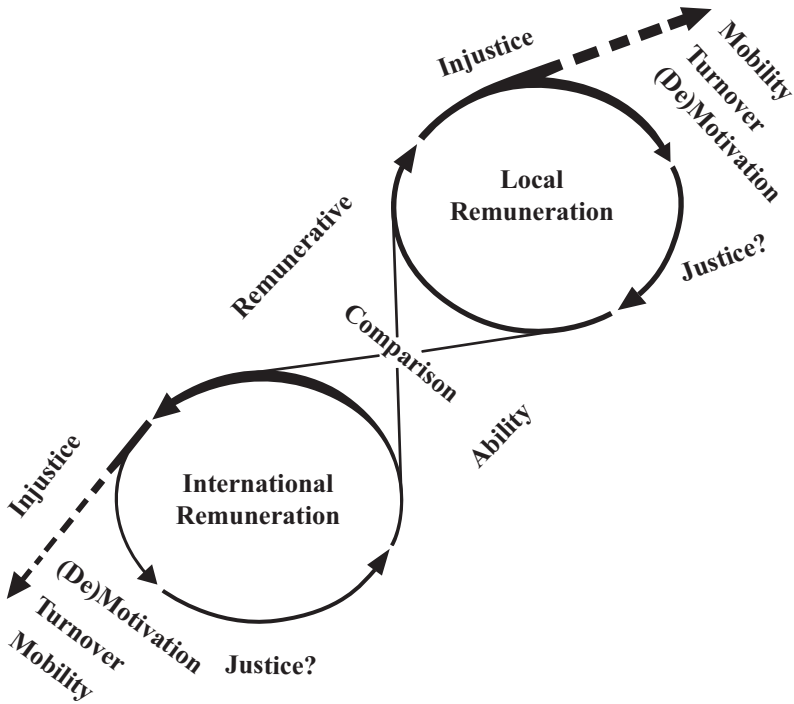

FIGURE 16.1
Double de-motivation and escalating communication breakdown
Source: MacLachlan et al. (2010)

us," their *justice?*). That, in turn, hypothetically fuels, from Figure 16.1, another round of de-motivation, withdrawal, global mobility, and so on. Hence, based on the hypothetical dynamic outlined in Figure 16.1, far from helping to *build* competencies across the collaborative work team, dual salaries could actually be competency-*discouraging* (MacLachlan et al., 2010). Such processes would be anathema to the policies of many humanitarian organizations and businesses engaged in international work.

Which form of social identity was the most salient for the employees, socio-cultural or socio-economic? There was a third pay group at the university who were paid only host national wages, but were also from overseas. When Carr et al. (1998) looked closely at this group, and compared them to the host national lecturers drawing host national remuneration, and expatriate lecturers drawing international remuneration, they fell in-between on a number of measures. For example, the expatriate workers drawing a host national remuneration resembled their internationally remunerated fellow expatriates on the question of perceived expatriate guilt, and they also detected their host nationals' feelings of injustice at being remunerated much less than their international counterparts. To an extent, therefore, the psychology of dual salaries entails both socio-cultural *and* socio-economic identity (MacLachlan & Carr, 2005).

EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

Survey methods tend to focus on attitudes rather than behavior, and for that reason we discuss here a number of experimental studies of dual salaries, with behavior as the criterion. These studies have focused on contextual performance, adapting a paradigm from research on self-determination processes (Deci & Ryan, 1999). Contextual performance is akin to organizational citizenship behavior; it refers to behaviors that support the organizational, social, and psychological environment in which task performance takes place, such as helping others, cooperating with others, taking others' interests into consideration, and volunteering to carry out activities not formally part of the job (Borman & Motowidlo, 1997; van Knippenberg, 2000). Contextual performance is arguably a key part of the job specification in any process of capacity building; for example, through teamwork and social support during culture shock (Furnham, 2010a, 2010b). Self-determination theory predicts that over-payment can

undermine this intrinsic motivation, as measured by observing and timing the amount of work undertaken during a free-choice period, once the pay clock has ostensibly stopped (Deci & Ryan, 1999). Equity theory predicts that under-payment will encourage lower inputs and withdrawal, while higher payment will motivate guilt and avoid discomfort by not volunteering any free time, or by raising effort to match raised outcome relative to other (Adams, 1965). Experimental studies using this paradigm have also enabled identification of causes and effects of individual (Carr, McLoughlin et al., 1996; McLoughlin & Carr, 1997) versus group differences (Carr, Hodgson, Vent, & Purcell, 2005), specifically by varying the pay contract from individual, on the one hand, to group, on the other.

In the individual version of the paradigm, Carr, McLoughlin et al. (1996, Experiment I) found that Australian participants who were paid differently from each other (pay ratio = 2:1), compared to a no-payment control, each worked for less time during the free-choice period; while those paid more worked significantly less. Neither condition knew about the pay diversity. However, when this knowledge was introduced to some participants, contextual performance fell sharply again, for individuals who were both underpaid and overpaid, compared to their counterparts in the overpaid and underpaid conditions-without-knowledge, respectively (Carr, McLoughlin et al., 1996). This double de-motivation effect was replicated in a field experiment in which workers who felt they were individually paid higher than the sector norm, along with workers who were paid lower than the sector norm, were each more ready to quit working, or to change jobs, compared to more equitably paid counterparts working in the same sector (Carr, McLoughlin et al., 1996, Experiment II).

In a later experimental variation, the effects of double de-motivation were exacerbated for individuals who are most equity sensitive (McLoughlin & Carr, 1997). This finding is important because individuals who choose to work in nonprofit sectors, in areas such as poverty reduction, may be especially sensitive to and motivated to address inequity, such as the situation we have described in the double de-motivation processes. Such individuals may be characterized as more "benevolent" in nature, in which case they will likely feel guilt about having more, not less, than others, and to that extent find the work situation more difficult. This would include highly skilled recruits who choose to work in the sector despite more lucrative opportunities in the private sector, a "love factor" (Werker & Ahmed, 2008).

In a further inter-group study, participants were led to believe that they were part of a collective group paid the same rate, which differed from the

rates paid to other groups (Carr et al., 2005). In a first experiment, groups who worked on differential pay contracts displayed significantly less contextual work performance when they were underpaid, compared to no-payment controls and overpaid experimental conditions (Carr et al., 2005, Experiment I). A second experiment moved closer to everyday remuneration reality in international assignments. Contracted pay was embedded in a sliding pay scale (most international assignments have a work environment that is characterized by multiple agencies, from multiple countries, with multiple pay rungs for different agencies; see above, Carr et al., 1998, where ratios ranged from 10 to 20 times). In this heterogeneous pay study, there was a double de-motivation whenever the higher-paid group was not the top-paid group—by definition, a common occurrence (Carr et al., 2005, Experiment II). In other words, even when participants were paid more than other participants, they were de-motivated when they were not the top paid in the experiment, a situation analogous to that of a student with a "distinction" grade being dissatisfied because they became aware of other students with "higher distinction."

CRITICAL INCIDENTS

Project ADDUP (Are Development Discrepancies Undermining Performance; http://poverty.massey.ac.nz/#addup) was developed as a response to a need for a large-scale systematic study that built on the preceding research described above that had been either organization-specific (Carr et al., 1998) or focused on laboratory rather than real-world tasks (Carr et al., 1996; McLoughlin & Carr, 1997). In the initial phase of Project ADDUP, in-country research teams garnered critical incidents surrounding the dual-salary system from a range of country, organizational, and sector settings (Marai et al., 2010; Munthali, Matagi, & Tumwebaze, 2010; Zhou et al., 2010). Widely used in work psychology, critical incidents have been applied in aid work; for example, to assist with cross-cultural training and workplace performance for work in refugee camps, famine relief, and disaster management (MacLachlan & McAuliffe, 2003). Critical incidents are mini-narratives that ask respondents to narrate exemplars of incidents that ended positively (because the worker did the right thing) or negatively (because the worker did the wrong thing). Critical incidents are any event that threatens or enhances successful job performance; for

example, blocking the transfer of learning between international and local employees in a joint venture project or an international aid project that relies on teamwork and mutual learning for sustainable outcomes.

By content-analyzing the ways in which events turn positive versus negative, jobs can be described, training needs assessed, and performance evaluated. The technique is widely used in cross-cultural training, for example, and is particularly useful in collaborative settings generally because it accentuates the positive as well as indicating the negative.

Several exemplar incidents of each type, from differently remunerated work groups, are presented in Table 16.1. Incidents such as these were used to help prepare for a systematic survey of reactions to the dual-salary system in phase two of the project (Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2010). Some longer examples of critical incidents, in the form of case studies, can be found in Carr, McAuliffe, and MacLachlan (1998). Case studies such as this have been used in classroom teaching to introduce students to socio-economic issues in aid and development work and humanitarian work psychology generally (www.humworkpsy.org). The critical incidents in Table 16.1 reflect, for example, guilt and social awkwardness, as well as a potential for dual salaries to facilitate workplace disengagement (*(de)motivation*, in Figure 16.1).

CROSS-LEVEL SURVEY

Based on critical incidents such as those in Table 16.1, phase 2 of Project ADDUP developed an organizational survey form that was distributed through a sample of organizations across landlocked economies (Malawi, Uganda), Island Nations (Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands), and "emerging" economies (India and China). The survey included almost 1,300 professional workers, international and host national, representing over 200 organizations from aid, business, education, government, and health sectors (Carr et al., 2010). Measures included questions about salary, poverty levels, culture shock, cultural values, social desirability, job satisfaction, work engagement, and human capital factors such as highest qualification, years' experience, personality, control variables, age, and gender. Exploratory factor analysis was used to test the structure of these measures and to test for potential confounds such as common method variance or social desirability (both non-significant).

Salaries were converted to a single index variable, namely the World Bank's Purchasing Power Parity (World Bank, 2007). This is an appropriate indicator of salary because it corrects for spending power, enabling all salaries, in whatever currency, to be converted to a single variable. On this common indicator, international salaries were on average more than four times greater than their host national equivalent, although from Table 16.2 this figure varied significantly depending on the type of economy in question.

From Table 16.2, Island Nations had the highest host national-international pay ratio. One reported impact of this ratio was a dramatic increase in host national rental prices, and staple food costs, which has a particularly negative impact on host national workers, and their families, who become less and less able to meet their everyday living costs (Marai et al., 2010). Host national workers generally received host national salaries, while expatriate workers receive international salaries. When asked to consider the pay differences between host national and international workers, both groups reported being able to tolerate differences of between 2:1 and 3:1 (i.e., where international salaries were two to three times that of host national salaries). This threshold was consistently breached by actual pay. Across the whole sample, the majority of host national workers (63%) reported that actual pay left them below the poverty line (defined in this instance as insufficient income to cover their everyday needs), whereas the majority of their expatriate colleagues (76%) were above that particular poverty line. Overall, therefore, dual-salary systems may be keeping people in poverty, both absolute and relative.

A notable observation in the data in Table 16.2 is that where the ratio drops below the respondents' reported tolerance threshold, attitudinal differences tend to become less marked, bordering on non-significant for injustice/justice in China, and becoming non-significant for motivation/de-motivation. This suggests that where salaries are more aligned, double de-motivation may be less prevalent. The question remains whether alignment is best attained by increasing host national salaries or reducing expatriate salaries (or a mixture of both). Increasing wages for local workers could potentially lead to fewer jobs for host country nationals, but lowering wages for expatriates could mean more jobs. The scope of Project ADDUP meant that the implications of these different alternatives (e.g., for attracting talent, both expatriate and host national) could not be tested for their effectiveness, but the value of the research was to highlight the negative links between remunerative disparity and work outcomes, and to stimulate discussion and encourage research into the various alternatives.

A range of attitudinal items assessed the psychology of remuneration as a whole (i.e., pay combined with non-pecuniary benefits). The dataset was nested in country, sector, and organization; however, significant clustering was found only within organizations, not within either country or sector. Salary type (international versus local) was significantly informative for differences in attitude, whereas expatriate versus host background was not. Hence, in Table 16.2, we focus on salary type rather than country of origin. In addition, we have corrected for intra-class correlation (Kenny & LaVoie, 1985), and report comparisons for two of the key variables, justice and motivation (for more details, see Carr et al., 2010).

Table 16.2 indicates that perceptions of justice fell significantly below the mid-point for workers on host national remuneration, compared to workers receiving an international package. Table 16.2 includes statistical controls for human capital factors such as years of experience and highest qualification held, as well as the other control variables from above, such as culture-related values, age, and culture shock. Exploring the trend of pay ratio and justice/motivation from Table 16.2, when the ratio climbed higher (in the Island Nations of Oceania), internationally remunerated workers rated their own abilities higher than their host nationally remunerated counterparts, again suggesting a potentially inflated sense of ability where pay is higher, and to that extent a double de-motivation.

Utilizing multi-level modeling, and regardless of pay group, significant predictors of de-motivation were, using the concepts introduced in Figure 16.1, feelings of remuneration injustice, self-assessed ability (competency), and remuneration comparison. In turn, de-motivation predicted thinking about turnover, while turnover predicted thinking about international mobility (which, for host national workers, means leaving the country to go and work in a higher-income country, where many of the expatriates come from) and for the expatriates might mean going home early or

TABLE 16.2

Mean scores for justice and de-motivation (/5)

Site	Ratio	Injustice/Justice (host national-int'l)		Motivation/De-motivation (host national-int'l)	
Overall	4.1	2.6	3.1	3.1	2.5
Oceania	9.4	2.5	3.0	3.4	2.5
Africa	3.4	2.4	3.1	3.2	2.6
India	2.7	2.8	3.2	2.9	2.4
China	1.9	2.9	3.2	2.5	

moving to a third country. Importantly, organizations moderated the links between injustice and de-motivation; and between de-motivation and turnover. Organizations with higher levels of injustice had more de-motivation, while organizations with higher levels of de-motivation had higher levels of thinking about turnover. On the whole, the variables in Figure 16.1 formed a "quasi-simplex" pattern, in which adjacent variables in the diagram were more closely correlated than variables further apart (Carr et al., 2010). Other than raising awareness about the possibility that dual salaries are widely seen as unfair and de-motivating, it remains to be seen in future research what can be put in their stead. As noted above, for example, it may (or may not) prove difficult to attract overseas workers if salaries are regressed to the mean, or "localized." Such a situation may discourage the "extrinsically motivated" (Kealey, 1989) and oblige organizations to seek out talent locally (Werker & Ahmed, 2008). Whatever the alternatives, the significant moderating role identified for organizations suggests a possible point of intervention, potentially more impactful than either sector or country.

Summarizing the research on dual salaries to date, much of the evidence remains exploratory. However, there are clear indications that dual-salary systems are not helping those who help others (i.e., those who engage in international work). With Project ADDUP, for the first time, dual salaries have been systematically and empirically linked to a process of double de-motivation, across both nonprofit and for-profit sectors, a sectoral division that proved a non-significant clustering variable (Carr et al., 2010).

DEBRIEFING IN BRIEF

Led by country teams, phase 3 of Project ADDUP consisted of a range of in-country workshops at which the findings were fed back to key stakeholders, a mix of host national and expatriate individuals working in organizational and community settings, who, as subject matter experts, provided discussion and clarification of the practical, vocational, organizational, and ethical implications of the findings (McWha, Carr, & MacLachlan, 2011). These locally driven workshops consistently called for the gap to be narrowed. They wanted more structure in the workplace; for example, job analysis, job sizing, job evaluation, performance appraisal, performance management, and career planning on how to break through the concrete ceiling that dual salaries represent (MacLachlan et al., 2010).

These are all stock-in-trade process skills that I-O psychology, provided it is carried out in a context-sensitive manner, can provide.

Over and above these familiar process tasks, there are a number of less familiar issues currently being broached by aid organizations using the Project ADDUP research findings to change their organizational routines and policies. For example, one major international non-governmental organization, which operates in 40 countries worldwide, has used the findings to help make a decision to change from a dual salary to a localized salary system, in which job size (the human capital and effort actually required to do it, measured on a reliable and valid index) more systematically relates to salary within each country in which they operate, based on the wage trend line, for the sector, in that country. The dual-salary system has been replaced in one lower-income country, and will soon be replaced across the other 39 sites in which the organization works. The first country had a relatively low spread of salary differences, meaning that salary reform was not as radical as it will be in future. When the changes are greater, will organizations like this still be able to attract high-caliber employees from the international market (if host national expertise is not yet available)? Will there be new divisions within the host national community, between one aid organization and the next? How do differential tax rates, depending on country of origin, interact with social equity in the host national setting? These are all leading-edge questions for the next stage of this research, which we consider to be a new frontier in industrial-organizational psychology—organizational equity.

ORGANIZATIONAL EQUITY

Mahatma Gandhi advised that we should become the changes we wish to see in the world. Today's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) stress "decent work" (that meets local employees' aspirations for work conditions and remuneration, MDG1b), and policy implementation principles such as "alignment" (of policy and projects with local aspirations). Ideas such as these—from the past and the present alike—imply that equality of opportunity inside aid organizations themselves could help to make poverty reduction work more successful. The term "equality" is used to refer to equal rights as well as equality of opportunity, together with corresponding lack of discrimination in all aspects of human activity. Recognizing that absolute equality is difficult to attain, and may even create perceptions

of injustice because of differing inputs, we focus on organizational equity. This has a more narrow application, and is rather a modest comprisable definition used in organizations.

Somewhat surprisingly, the basic issue of whether more equitable organizations reduce poverty more effectively, mediated by organizational justice, has not yet been empirically tested in aid and development settings. In our combined experience, most of the international aid organizations with whom we have worked still pay "dual salaries" to their expatriate and host national employees; a handful of international organizations are in the process of localizing their remuneration systems. These organizations are attempting to redress economic inequities that happen to run across cross-cultural lines, but their primary concern is to bring their organizations in line with local labor market norms (MacLachlan et al., 2010).

An added equity issue is the controversial issue of aid executive "mega salaries," compared to their rank-and-file colleagues at work (www.expatica.com/nl/news/dutch-news/probe-into-salaries-at-dutch-aid-organizations_92844.html). The consequences of economic inequities of this magnitude, we believe, could usefully be captured by innovating a classical measure of the spread of rewards in and across groups—the Gini Coefficient (Gini, 1912). Such indicators have been widely used to capture country-level income dispersion, which is extensively linked to well-being and health (MacLachlan et al., 2010). However, an organizational-level version of this indicator could, in theory, enable us to explore systematically, and empirically, the effects of inequity for disadvantaged groups at a comparatively neglected aid agency level—an aid Organizational Gini Coefficient (or, the "O-Gini Coefficient," as we have named it). Although the Gini Coefficient is first and foremost an indicator of inequality rather than equity per se, aid workers, regardless of backgrounds, are often similarly qualified and experienced (MacLachlan et al., 2010). This means they bring comparable inputs to the job. Thus, a high O-Gini Coefficient, which indicates unequal rewards, would indicate that dual salaries are inequitable, and in that sense organizationally, socially, and morally unjust.

Using the same logic, when there is no reason to assume unequal distribution of human capital across groups, the O-Gini Coefficient might have other important applications. It could help to capture the extent to which any particular group (e.g. host nationals, women etc.) are disadvantaged by their employing organizations. One important form of inequity at work is discrimination by gender (Melamed, 1995; Millsap, 1996). Gender inequity is of particular relevance in low-income countries as it tends to reflect a societal problem for poverty reduction. Gender equity

is designated by many international aid agencies as a cross-cutting issue (i.e. an issue that is flagged as something that is important to consider in all of their development work). It is also a major consideration in several of the MDGs (Annan, 2000; United Nations, 2010). For example, it is integral to decent work (MDG1b) and equity in access to basic education (MDG2). The United Nations Millennium Task Force on MDG3 gender equality offers an operational framework: capabilities, which refers to basic human competencies as measured by education, health, and nutrition; the issue of security and the vulnerability of women and girls to violence; and access to resources and opportunities, including decent work and fair pay once in the job (United Nations Millennium Project, 2005). The World Health Organization (WHO) defines gender equity as "fairness and justice in the distribution of benefits and responsibilities between women and men" (World Health Organization, 2001). Closing gender gaps, therefore, at work as much as anywhere else, is integral to human development (e.g., Woroniuk, 2001).

Organizations with more women employed at executive levels tend to have better governance; for example, less corruption and more distributive and procedural justice (Adams & Ferreira, 2009). Governance is particularly important to international aid (Easterly & Pfutze, 2008; Grindle, 1997; Werker & Ahmed, 2008). International project work in general, however, is less accessible for women compared to men (Adler, 1984; Tharenou, 2010). The publication Global Employment Trends for Women (2009) reported that women suffer multiple disadvantages in terms of basic *access* to international assignments. Many multinational organizations are increasingly identifying the importance of sending employees on international assignments, yet this is often not translating into action for female employees (Graf, 2004; KPMG, 2008). This imbalance in male-female representation for international assignments may have critical implications for organizational success, as well as for women's careers. If women are not sent on international assignments as often as men, their chances of moving up the organizational ladder are limited, thus contributing to the glass ceiling.

In response to the need for gender equality in international assignments, the United Nations' program called TOKTEN seeks the Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals. As the name suggests, TOKTEN arranges for skilled workers, in this case women from lower-income countries, who are part of their country's international diaspora, to temporarily return home to work on development projects for which they are eminently qualified and competent (www.toktenlebanon.org/

about/undp.php). Selection and placement are often done on a partial volunteering basis and on the basis that no one will understand the traditions and gender inequities of the host national populace, as well as one of the host nationals themselves.

Going beyond access per se, toward equitable remuneration, a recent TOKTEN report from Sudan indicated that among the experts sent overseas, a majority were women, and that payment scales are the same per assignment irrelevant of one's gender. One Sudanese female medical doctor was recruited by the International Organization for Migration to return to Sudan for a one-year assignment as a gynecologist. The payment she received in Sudan was half her salary in Euros, but was three times the salary of host national Sudanese gynecologists. What is important, she said, is "the contribution I make to my fellow Sudanese women, this compensates for any financial losses. If I wanted the money I wouldn't have enlisted in the program in the first place."

This example illustrates both the resilience and the redundancy of dual salaries. On one hand, they remain in the form of local–local inequity; on the other, a moderated version *may* attract highly competent employees (Zhou et al., 2010), help to counteract brain drain from the host country (by diaspora engagement), and foster gender equity. Concerted political action, backed by empirical evaluations of projects such as TOKTEN, may be required in order to balance the pros and cons optimally for poverty reduction and joint venture success (Delios, 2010).

DOMINANCE

Dual salaries and gender inequity frequently reflect the exertion of power, and the influence of structural forces related to socio-political differences. Dominance is a much-neglected structural factor within I-O psychology (Baritz, 1960; Brief, 2000). Yet, it has an inherent potential to be relevant in the international assignment: the *raisons d'être* for such assignments include but are not restricted to (for nonprofits) an averred organizational mission of helping others, and (for some for-profit business organizations) the prospect of cheaper labor costs. Of course, there are multiple reasons why for-profit organizations may choose to use such assignments (e.g., expanding operations and distributions, even improving cross-cultural understanding within the organization). However, the key point is that dominance is often neglected in I-O psychology, an oversight that is

especially relevant to I-O psychology as applied to humanitarian/prosocial work because such work is meant to combat social inequity.

Social dominance theory predicts that people inherit a tendency to implicitly position the world, including both groups and individuals, into hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). The theory divides groups, for example, into non-arbitrary and arbitrary sets, comprising gender and age groups in the former (although there is some debate in the literature that gender is arbitrary, we are merely parsing the theory here), and everything else in the latter. This entails organizations, which can be either hierarchy-attenuating (e.g., army, police) or hierarchy-attenuating (e.g., non-governmental organizations and aid agencies, which often seek to foster social equity). Major criticisms of aid organizations have centered around their oftentimes rigidly hierarchical nature, hence there may be value in examining the theory of dominance in this chapter, as it relates to both the for-profit and nonprofit sectors.

Attenuation is, by definition, not perfect assuagement. In the private and public service sectors, for instance, social dominance beliefs have been linked to job selection bias, against candidates from "Third World" countries (Coates & Carr, 2005). According to MacLachlan et al. (2010), even in the nonprofit sector, there will be a tendency, against which organizations will need to work, to "lord it" over the poor—for instance, by creating "development indexes," calling some countries "developed" and others "developing" (but, hopefully all countries are developing!), and using terms such as "expat" and "host national," which assume, however implicitly and unintentionally, a whiff of hierarchy; an expatocracy. This, of course, is a somewhat contentious thesis. An alternative perspective would emphasize that the business of aid is genuinely committed to putting itself out of business; disempowering its own agency. Our point, however, is that neither possibility can be ruled out at this stage.

One area where the dynamics of such hierarchies might yet remain unrecognized—and yet particularly consequential for workplace effectiveness—is in preparatory training (Aguinis & Kraiger, 2009). Expatriate failure (early return) rates in for-profit organizations continue to command attention, with rates being reported anywhere from 16% to 50% (Graf, 2004; Littrell et al., 2006; Ones & Viswesvaran, 1999). Part of the reason for these rates is perhaps that cross-cultural training is reportedly only provided by 30% of multinational corporations (Littrell et al., 2006). Costs for early returns are nonetheless high, for the individual, community, and organizations, with the latter, for instance, ranging from US$200,000 to US$1.2 million dollars per individual leaving early (Graf, 2004). Clearly,

therefore, intercultural training has the potential to complement job selection practices, and shape individual aptitudes and attributes, such as openness to new experience (Caligiuri, 2000; Hudson & Inkson, 2007).

According to meta-analytic research, this potential has largely not been realized. Even when it is provided, cross-cultural training does not appear to have been particularly effective at improving worker adjustment (meta-effect size = .13) or performance (.26), nor is it yet clear about "what" works, or "why" (respectively, Morris & Robie, 2001; Littrell et al., 2006, p. 385). Evidential and theoretical shortfalls such as this may be due, in part, to there being many different forms of cross-cultural moderators. Types of training alone, for example, range from awareness, cognitive behavior therapy, and attributions to language, interaction, and experiential (Littrell et al., 2006).

As well, part of the reason for the low effect sizes is that there may be some basic *systems failures* in the training theory itself (Carr, 2004). For example, cross-cultural training usually focuses on only one of the parties involved in the intercultural encounter—the expatriate worker—and overlooks the other—their host national counterpart, who has to deal with just as much cross-cultural diversity. Perhaps the status quo with regard to one-sided training is driven by an assumption that the expatriate has the primary responsibility of assimilating himself or herself in the host culture. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the hosts, and to argue for a moment by analogy, would one ever plan for a merger by training only one party? Certainly the other party/parties would feel overlooked, and possibly discriminated against. This may be particularly so in any project, business, or aid that talks the talk of empowerment, capacity, or equality as matters of principle and policy. This is partly perhaps why some advocates for some host national labor communities have deplored the selective and arguably quite discriminatory manner in which cross-cultural training is normally reserved for "expats" (Pastor, 1997). By implication, major omissions such as this imply that expatriate workers are a relatively privileged, and naturally dominant, expatocracy (MacLachlan et al., 2010).

PROCESS SKILLS

In their argument for recognizing the human dynamics of international aid, MacLachlan and McAuliffe (2003) present a range of training techniques designed and equipped to help surface any implicit bias. That surfacing can be achieved, they argue, by fostering and facilitating specific "process skills."

Incremental Improvements

In aid and development work, a number of commentators have noted a tendency for outside agencies to want to promote large leaps in development terms rather than incremental improvements that may, potentially, be more sustainable (MacLachlan & McAuliffe, 2003). Larger-scale expenditures, such as building hospitals or computer laboratories, and the purchase of equipment such as four-wheel drive vehicles, often take precedence over smaller ones, such as local clinics, mobile phones, and bicycles (Cassen, 1994), even though the latter may be more sustainable than the former (Porter, Allen, & Thompson, 1991). The reasons for sustainability are both practical (e.g., foreign exchange rate fluctuations for servicing equipment) as well as theoretical; for example, social psychology theories dating from Lewin (1952) and Wiek (1984) that arguably point to a principle that that "the more you change, the less you sustain" (MacLachlan & McAuliffe, 2003).

Recently, within the health sector, the arguments for incremental improvement have been extended to include occupations that have shorter and more focused training than "conventionally" trained high-income country clinicians. There is now good evidence, particularly in the area of emergency obstetric care, that "mid-level cadres" are both clinically efficacious and offer improved value for money, in terms of training costs and outcomes in low-income countries (McCord, Mbaruku, Pereira, Nzabuhakwa, & Bergstrom, 2009). A crucial challenge now is to recruit, retain, and support these cadres to build the capacity of health *systems*. I-O psychology has been applied to motivation, supervision, and performance of these workers across a number of African countries (see, e.g., McAuliffe et al., 2009a, 2010; McAuliffe, Manafa, Maseko, Bowie, & White, 2009b) and it has been argued that I-O psychology principles should be incorporated into the development of a new cadre for community-based rehabilitation (MacLachlan, Mannan, & McAuliffe, 2011). Similar arguments have been advanced with respect to education, and the use of paraprofessional teachers to assist with meeting key educational targets in the MDGs (Annan, 2000; Carr et al., 2011).

In terms of training, what an incremental improvement model suggests is that working on international projects can benefit from training in mutual *perspective taking* (Nickerson, 1999). As Nickerson (1999) points out, outside experts are frequently unable to see the innovations they propose through the eyes of end-users—they become skillfully unaware of host national perspectives and host national realities. The analysis above

suggests that we can add social dominance to that risk, but counteract it with perspective-taking training; for instance, through awareness of alternative perspectives using diagrams such as Figure 16.1 to facilitate attribution training, role plays, modeling, and the use of critical incidents.

Critical Incidents

In the same way that host national women may know more about gender prejudice at work than foreign men (or women), refugees may be better placed than foreign workers to appreciate the perspective of fellow refugees on the acceptability of health and well-being services (Kanyangale & MacLachlan, 1995). Critical incidents are a promising vehicle to capture these perspectives in narrative form, which can then be used as work sample tests to help train future refugee counsellors, and for other workforce elements that are crucial to helping those who work with others. The same critical incidents, of course, can also be used to train international workers, when and where they are required. In the case of famine relief, for example, they have proved to be useful in helping expatriate trainees to recognize potential sources of their own bias, before they are placed in actual field settings.

To give one example, a critical incident may deal with respecting versus not respecting customs that prioritize assistance to those most in need, including a mother who removed the gastro-nasal feeding tube from her six-month old baby (who subsequently died) to enable the survival of older siblings—who, in the mother's experienced estimate, had a more realistic chance of surviving (Raymond-McKay & MacLachlan, 2000). Critical incidents such as these can perform valuable awareness-raising functions about suspending judgment, and what that can mean for workplace performance as well as professional development (MacLachlan & McAuliffe, 2003). In each case, a gap between one person's perspective and the next person's perspective is being: (1) analyzed so that it can be (2) narrowed.

GAP ANALYSES

Inverse Resonance

Counter-intuitively, smaller gaps in familiarity between one work group and another are not necessarily easier to manage (Selmer, 2010). As Selmer

(2010) suggests, relative cultural familiarity may lead to complacency, and smaller gaps may be inherently less detectable, even though they are no less salient. Theories in social psychology; for example, about social identity, suggest that inter-group similarity is a spur to cognitive differentiation, which in turn can fuel rather than cool inter-group rivalry and competition, including social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). A metaphor from applied mechanics, "inverse resonance," implies that waves of a similar frequency sometimes resonate negatively with each other, chiming awkwardly to prime social dominance motives (Carr, Ehiobuche, Rugimbana, & Munro, 1996). These, in turn, can spill over into job selection, training, and placement decisions; for example, when workers from higher-status (and higher-income) economies are rated above their peers who hail from lower-status countries but who are equally well qualified (Carr, Rugimbana, Walkom, & Bolitho, 2001; Coates & Carr, 2005). In this way, and counter-intuitively perhaps, smaller gaps (or greater similarity) can sometimes, surprisingly, carry greater dominance risks.

Organizational Learning

Counteracting the risks of cross-cultural misunderstanding requires training in mindfulness and vigilance (Selmer, 2010). Perhaps the most apposite theory in this domain is organizational learning (Abernathy & Argyris, 1999). Central to Argyris' theory is the concept of single versus double loop learning. These distinguish between classical forms of learning, which are locked into classical stimulus-response associations, versus more self-reflective forms of learning, in which the thinker questions their own implicit assumptions (Senge, 2001). Within the work of international assignments, the training of double loop learning has been advocated as a means of counteracting social dominance in aid and development projects (MacLachlan et al., 2010).

One way of conceptualizing "how" to implement these ideas in a training environment is operationally defined in Selmer (2010). The definition has been applied successfully in a range of training settings, including those that might feature inverse resonance. The training focuses on the attribution of cultural values, though in principle it could be extended to a range of other attributes and behaviors, from awareness-raising to experiential exercises and role plays. In phase one, expatriates normally estimate the values held by their hosts, who self-report their own, using psychometrically sound multi-item measures (Selmer, 1996). The profiles are then compared,

and gaps identified, enabling them to be addressed by specific training content.

So far, this process entails the views of host national workers, but is only partially aligned (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008). In order to be fully aligned, phase 2 is needed, in which the future hosts are given the opportunity to estimate the values of the prospective guests, who in turn self-report their own values to create a second profile match, against which a *mutual* process of gap analysis, and process skills for overcoming them, can be implemented. In this way, no one group is privileged above the other, and each party is positioned to better understand the perspective of the partner group. The content of these perspectives can then be used to structure role play exercises, work sample tests, and so on (Selmer, 2010).

A second way to conceptualize how to train for double loop learning is contained in Figure 16.1. Quite literally, double loop learning is appreciating the perspective of the other party. In dual salaries, for example, from Figure 16.1, training can, in theory, focus on raising *awareness* about the existence of the loop (e.g., presenting the figure to correct misperceptions about each others' guilt and level of engagement/motivation or demotivation). Training can also, in theory, furnish *knowledge* about the content of those gaps; and how, in theory, they might be closed (e.g., by providing more structure in job analysis, description, specification, and evaluation). Finally, training can include *skills* (e.g., practicing how to implement host nationalisation policies fairly during selection itself), as well as designing performance management plans, goal-setting processes, and so on in a way that fosters alignment, harmonization, ownership, and accountability (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008). Each of these principles has the potential to enhance the prospect of decent work, and thereby reduce poverty and genuinely help workers who help others. What remains is for the theory to be empirically tested in practice.

A final principle in the Accra Agenda for Action (2008) is that development practice should be data-driven and based on evidence. In all of the above, we have seen how evidence from research can be usefully employed to raise awareness, build greater knowledge, and enhance skills. In the final analysis, therefore, we conclude that generating impact by helping those who help others is fundamentally about evidence-based practice. Research is not above the principles of the Accra Agenda itself, and in that sense we must become advocates for change, using evidence and methodology to foster those improvements.

IDENTITY-JUSTICE-DOMINANCE: A SYNTHESIS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Figure 16.2 is an integration of the processes discussed in this chapter. It synthesizes a range of theories from psychology, including on the left social conversion and work group innovation theories (Nemeth, 1997; Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Besceme, & Blackstone, 1994), on the right acculturation theory (Berry, 2010a, 2010b), and social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1991). It depicts how the dynamics of dominance, justice, and identity interact to form a systems gestalt.

In the model, motivation toward inclusion on the part of host national workers is often met with implicit exclusion—dominance. This can be facilitated; for example, by being completely passed over for any cross-cultural training, even though you too have to deal with diversity at work. Next in the model is a predicted reactance by the disadvantaged group; for example, not extending the hand of friendship during a sojourner's culture shock as a form of justice restoration. A similar reactance may happen against the concrete ceiling in dual-salary systems, as it positions one group above the other even though they often have equivalent qualifications, experience, and human capital. Reactance, as we saw, can take the form of withdrawal, cohesion against the out-group, turnover, or mobility. The reactance itself is a reminder that the expatriate group needs to surface some of its own bias, to externalise and thereby convert implicit bias into less discriminatory actions. This is where policy reform, for example around dual-salary systems, can create a more enabling work environment; as indeed could perspective-sharing training. If conversion occurs, this can, in turn, enable workplace relationships, and pride in identity, to prosper, both in-group and shared, with the out-group, through a shared, superordinate goal. This psychosocial relational strengthening is, we believe, at the root of genuine capacity building, which, both directly and through its facilitation of greater capability sets, constitutes "development."

Future research that tests this synthesized model is critical. Research should be longitudinal, large-scale, and multi-country. It should also be multi-level, reflecting the Project ADDUP discovery that organizations, unlike country and sector, moderated both the magnitude of, and the linkages between, attitudes, and intentions relating to dual salaries. It should be extended to cover organizational behavior, at individual and group levels. Multi-level measures of environmental (workplace climate, culture, resource availability, remuneration) as well as individual

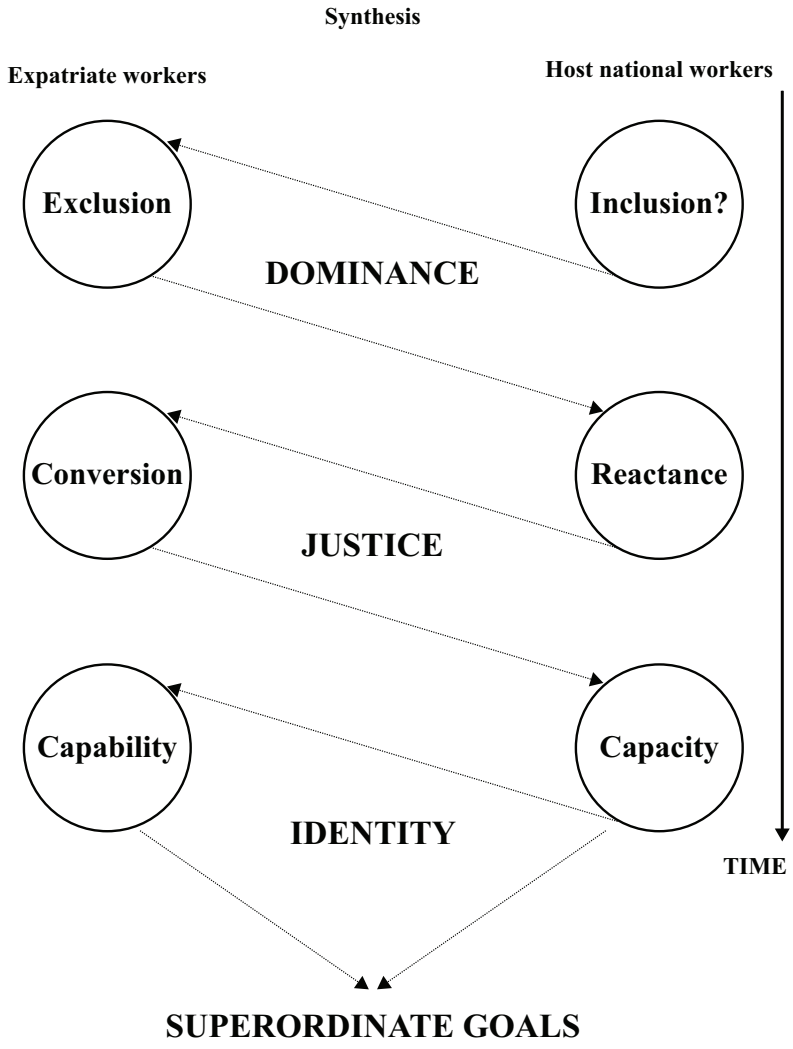

FIGURE 16.2
The dynamics of dominance, justice, and identity in the international assignment
Source: Adapted from MacLachlan et al. (2010)

(motivation, job satisfaction, organizational commitment) factors are required to gain a better understanding of the causal relationships and the mediating factors that lead to productive, capacity-enhancing organizations. As a starting point, research is underway by an increasing number of people engaged in the theory, research, and practice of humanitarian work psychology (www.humworkpsy.org), and this includes testing the

predictive power of dominance, justice, and identity for host workers' sense of empowerment.

In addition to attitudinal research, there is scope for more experimental research that builds on the work cited in this chapter; in particular, research that ethically manipulates remuneration alternatives to develop optimum models for different organizations and environments. Action research and operational research that involves organizations who are willing to innovate in order to optimize the performance of their workforces could also add significantly to our understanding of what works well, and in which contexts. One example of such research, as introduced throughout the chapter, is consideration of potential alternatives to dual salaries, and the impact these may have on organizational outcomes such as recruitment, talent management, and competitiveness.

The research and ideas presented in this chapter constitute new frontiers because they challenge the frequent assumption that work and organizational psychologists are "servants of power" (Baritz, 1960; to Brief, 2000). Quite the contrary; as the examples cited in this chapter indicate, I-O psychologists are already challenging the dominance, injustice, and threats to identity that aid and business sectors may unintentionally pose. Raising awareness, knowledge, and skill about how to negotiate these three key human factors is about fostering political, economic, and cultural competency, and enabling international collaboration to become more equitable and successful. In redefining our frontiers—or "questioning the box" in the reflexive learning sense—we argue that the discipline of I-O psychology has the capability to make much more of a difference to poverty reduction. By applying our skills to this sector, we can make an important double loop contribution to "doing good" well.

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NOTES

1. Available online from: www.esrc.ac.uk/_images/Discrepancies_in_aid_workers_salaries_tcm8-3364.pdf.

2. One should note that international experts are not necessary foreigners. Recently, the United Nations Development Program Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals and the International Organization for Migration have developed programs that recruit national experts working in international organizations to return to their homeland countries for short-term assignments as experts. How those host national-international experts are perceived, paid, and adjusting are important issues for future research.

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17

Mobilizing Action Through Professional Societies

Tracey E. Rizzuto and Vicki V. Vandaveer

The Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS) has reported steady increases in volunteerism in the United States in the past six years even though the demographic profile of who volunteers, what is contributed, and the civic avenues for disseminating charitable resources have changed little in this time (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2010). Fundraising is still the most common contribution, and most documented volunteer efforts are conducted through religious institutions (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2010). So, what accounts for the recent uptick in volunteering activities? A number of explanations have been posited. CNCS Chief Executive Patrick Corvington suggests linkages to the economy, in that volunteering may help the jobless gain valuable work experience, and that empathy for disadvantaged populations might swell during economic downturns such as the one experienced in the US in the latter half of the decade (Blum, 2011). Another explanation is that high profile Internet-based initiatives, such as United We Serve and the Serve.gov website, make volunteering easy and accessible. In fact, the Internet has been credited with raising the awareness of civic engagement, and with organizing and increasing access to volunteer opportunities (Jennings & Zeitner, 2003; Koch, 2008). So, while profiles of *who* volunteers and *what* is contributed remain relatively unchanged, *how* people volunteer is becoming more centralized and efficient.

It is our position that professional associations may contribute to these trends in volunteering by drawing on structural features and strengths that make them adept at organizing and mobilizing collective voluntary action. Our goal is to describe the instrumental capacity and moral obligation that professional associations have to encourage their members toward pro bono service. By providing a vehicle to motivate and facilitate service contributions, professional associations stand to make significant improvements in

the lives and well-being of recipient individuals, businesses, and communities. The goal of this chapter is to identify the niche that professional associations hold in the voluntary sector, the steps they can take to serve the greater good, and the role scientists and practitioners play in strengthening the impact of those services.

This chapter unfolds in four sections. First, it defines collective voluntary action and the advantages professional associations have for being able to sustain occupation-based volunteer efforts. Next, a few examples of successful outreach sponsored by professional associations are highlighted to illustrate the variety of outreach contexts and missions that can be served. Finally, we stress the importance of scientist and practitioner collaborations in the implementation, evaluation, and reflection on professional voluntary outreach efforts, and propose lines of inquiry that may strengthen the charitable impacts of professional associations.

COLLECTIVE VOLUNTARY ACTION FOR THE CIVICALLY ENGAGED PROFESSIONAL

Civic engagement is defined as action designed to identify and address issues of public concern that embody a sense of openness, respect for individual dignity, recognition of the needs among those at the margins, and the advancement of social equality (Broaderick, 2002; Connolly, 2001). Volunteering is a form of civic engagement that is commonly viewed as an individual act of altruism. But voluntarism can take many forms, such as groups of individuals becoming involved in community problem-solving or electoral democracy. This chapter focuses on the collective forms of voluntary action wherein individuals of a given professional occupation and/or affiliation work together to promote the interests of marginalized individuals, businesses, and communities.

Interest in collective voluntary action is on the rise. Over the past 10 years, the types of memberships and associations to which Americans affiliate have been changing, with more people gravitating to social support, professional civic, and advocacy groups (Paxton, 1999; Ray, 2002; Rotolo, 1999; Skocpol, 2003). This trend has been described as a shift from individual participation to a focus on collective action events (Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe, & Weffer-Elizondo, 2005). According to Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997), the force behind this trend is "collective efficacy," the shared expectation for achieving common good among a

working trust of individuals. People believe that greater good can be accomplished in greater numbers. Moreover, scholars contend that collective efficacy is best observed under "conditions of challenge" (Sampson et al., 2005, p. 676). For this reason, noteworthy examples of collective voluntary action often emerge in response to social injustices (e.g., racial segregation) and community hardships (e.g., natural disasters).

It is our view that professional associations can and should encourage civically engaged professionals toward collective voluntary efforts. They are distinctively capable of forming mutually beneficial partnerships that optimally employ the expertise of their members. This capacity makes professional associations excellent vehicles for organizing and mobilizing charitable outreach. Successful outreach efforts also require infrastructure to recruit, place, and manage prospective volunteers, and depend on organizing bodies to manage complex coordination, planning, partnerships, and financial sponsorships (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2010). In the past decade, many private, nonprofit, and non-governmental organizations have begun to leverage principles in organization management to overcome these logistical challenges and build partnerships between volunteers and recipient entities (i.e., individuals, organizations, and communities that receive volunteer services). For example, organizations such as the CNCS and the National Voluntary Organizations Active in Disaster (NVOAD) connect individual volunteers to existing service teams and task forces. The National Donations Management Network links donors to worthy causes, and the American Logistics Aid Network puts affected and disadvantaged communities in touch with resource advocates and responders.

Professional associations already possess the infrastructural resources needed to manage the logistical demands associated with outreach efforts. When strategically adapted to a charitable mission, these resources can be used to encourage members toward collective voluntary action in service to the greater good. All professional disciplines are capable of making valuable social contributions to community interests and advocacy, youth education, and career mentorship, but it is the position of the authors that societies of organizational psychology and management professionals have unique opportunities to contribute to the greater good. Not only can their professional expertise serve marginalized recipients, but they can also help other professional groups to mobilize and engage their own memberships. Principles of organizational structure and logistics, behavioral management, and human and organizational development are central to many human service needs. These same principles can also be applied to the management

of volunteer efforts themselves. They are the substantive domains of organizational science and practice, and the analytic tools and methods of the profession enables systematic behavioral measurement that can be used to assess the impacts of collective voluntary action in the voluntary sector. These tools can provide answers to the question: Did this volunteering effort help its recipients? They can expose process limitations and development opportunities by inquiring: How can service delivery be improved for greater impact? Therefore, not only can associations help civically minded professionals employ their talents in ways that benefit society, but organizational scientists and practitioners can apply their expertise to improve the processes and outcomes associated with collective voluntary action.

CLOSING A NEEDS-GAP IN COLLECTIVE VOLUNTARY ACTION

According to the report "Capitalizing on Volunteers' Skills: Volunteering by Occupation in America," the Corporation for National and Community Service (2008) indicates that volunteers rarely perform activities that draw on their professional or occupational skills, even though they report greater fulfillment and commitment to volunteer service when they do so. Nationally representative data on volunteering behaviors across occupational groups demonstrates linkages between occupation-based volunteering and longer-term volunteer commitments. For example, management professionals who perform occupation-based volunteer activities (e.g., consulting or committee service in their fields, etc.) are more likely to volunteer each year, yielding a retention rate of 82% annually compared to management professionals who contribute in other capacities (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2010). Moreover, poor fit between the expertise of volunteers and the needs of recipients can detrimentally affect volunteers and the recipients they support. As discussed in Chapter 14 of this volume, volunteers who lack relevant training, background, and skill can put themselves at risk for physical and psychological harm (Perrin et al., 2007) and unintentionally burden private and governmental response units (You, Chen, & Yao, 2009), particularly when the volunteer activities occur in disaster contexts.

Although the exact prevalence is unknown, the practice of strategically matching occupation-based skill to recipients' needs is thought to be rare

(Corporation for National and Community Service, 2008; Dolce & Riccardi, 2007, for an exception). Little more than 5% of volunteers have specialized knowledge and skill in the field or context where they strive to make an impact (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2010). In 2009, of the 63 million volunteers contributing approximately 8 billion hours of service, only 27% dedicted occupation-based services (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2010). That same year, data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010) Current Population Survey (CPS) indicated that 40% of management professionals reported volunteer activities. Roughly one quarter (27%) of them contributed occupation-based skill; most donated money or assisted in the selling of items to raise money (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). Although financial capital is greatly needed, valuable human capital is under-utilized.

The wisdom in occupation-based volunteering can be easily appreciated. Marginalized recipients may avoid adverse consequences and realize greater benefits from strategic volunteer-to-recipient partnerships that optimally employ professional skills through pro bono services. Herein lies a needs-gap that all professional societies can help to address. By becoming actively involved in the creation of occupation-based volunteer-to-recipient partnerships and inter-organizational collaborations, professional associations can build sustainable outreach efforts that service marginalized entities. Toward this end, expertise in personnel recruitment, selection, and talent management make associations of organizational psychologists and management experts particularly well-suited to forming these partnerships. In what follows, we discuss the niche that professional associations hold for service delivery in the voluntary sector, and the unique ways organizational scientists and practitioners can contribute.

THE NICHE FOR PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES IN THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

The voluntary sector is comprised of organizations and societies of different types, some of which adopt charitable action as a part of their mission. By regulation and legal authority, the organizational demands of outreach efforts sponsored by voluntary organizations and professional associations differ in meaningful ways that give professional associations some advantages for carrying out collective voluntary action. First, we discuss these distinctions between voluntary organizations and professional

associations, and then provide an overview of the strengths professional associations have for sustaining charitable outreach.

Growth in the voluntary sector is evident worldwide as more nations conceive of it as a functional intermediary between business and government sectors (Nagabhushanam, 2010). In the US, there are approximately 15 million voluntary sector organizations (National Center for Charitable Statistics, 2011). Among them, "voluntary organizations" exist for the primary purpose of making charitable strides toward societal interests, including health, religion, recreation, advocacy, literacy, education, community development, and animal welfare, as well as newer considerations such as the management of renewable resources and crisis prevention (Nagabhushanam, 2010). In the US, groups that exist for this purpose are typically categorized by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS) as 501(c)(3) charitable and religious organizations and 501(c)(4) social welfare groups.

In contrast, "professional associations" are typically nonprofit organizations comprised of people in a learned occupation who are entrusted with: (a) maintaining control or oversight of the legitimate practice of the occupation; (b) acting "to safeguard the public interest"; and/or (c) representing the interests of the professional practitioners (Harvey & Mason, 1995). The IRS categorizes these groups as 501(c)(6) trade and professional associations. Although these groups exist primarily for the duties outlined above, a secondary focus may convene around a particular social issue(s). Professional associations may encourage or require membership activity devoted to these causes, conflicts, or needs either as a temporary focus of an administrative term or codified to reflect a longer-term vision for the society. The American Society of Association Executives estimates that there are approximately 85,000 501(c)(6) trade and professional associations in the US (Platzer & Fisher, 2007). Based on publicly available data from the National Center for Charitable Statistics (2011), only 103 professional associations in the US report charitable outreach.

According to Connolly (2001), voluntary organizations and professional associations have traditionally been divided by "an unbridgeable chasm" (p. 86), with little cooperation between the two groups. However, the last decade has seen that chasm shrink thanks to societal shifts and statutory authorities, such as the European Union and the United Nations Office of Partnerships, that openly promote inter-sector collaborations around charitable outreach (e.g., United Nations, n.d.). Nations around the globe are considering how to foster partnerships among voluntary, professional, and statutory authorities, and to develop guidelines for financing, implementing, and evaluating their outreach efforts (Connolly, 2001).

In 2000, the Republic of Ireland was one of the first nations to respond to this imperative by releasing "A Framework for Supporting Voluntary Activity and for Developing the Relationship between the State and the Community and Voluntary Sector," reviewed by Broaderick (2002). Numerous practical and logistical challenges were raised in response to the proposed framework (Broaderick, 2002; Meade, 2005), and have been echoed more broadly across the literature (e.g., Nagabhushanam, 2010; Rizzuto, 2008). The central criticism is that interdependent partnerships between voluntary, professional, and statutory authorities introduce organizational complexities that challenge partner relations and the sustainability of service delivery. As we will discuss in the following section, these complexities are not easily resolved and are somewhat idiosyncratic to specific organizational contexts and missions. Nonetheless, professional associations have many assets for overcoming these obstacles and sustaining collective voluntary action.

OVERCOMING OBSTACLES TO COLLECTIVE VOLUNTARY ACTION

The impediments to formalizing partnerships among communities, professional groups, and government entities for collective voluntary action can be summarized as the confusion and conflict about three basic outreach components: (a) the identification of charitable roles and resources; (b) the formalization of practices and structures; and (c) the evaluation and monitoring practices. Lack of clarity in these regards threatens outreach partnerships and sustainability. It is problematic for establishing trust and accurate expectations within volunteer-to-recipient relationships, role clarity about inter-organizational responsibilities, and momentum to mobilize volunteers over time. However, professional associations have many strengths that help them to overcome these obstacles and to achieve four forms of sustainability that are defining of outreach success: benefit, organizational, financial, and community sustainability (Nagabhushanam, 2010).

Benefit Sustainability

Benefit sustainability describes the extent to which sufficient motivation is present to ensure that volunteer behaviors are properly reinforcing for

the sponsoring organization and its members (Nagabhushanam, 2010). As noted earlier, many individual-level factors make occupation-based volunteering mutually reinforcing to volunteers and recipients. Professional associations that encourage this form of outreach appeal to the desires many people have to advocate for social change, find personal meaning, express social identify, contribute to the well-being of others, and develop human and social capital (Bekkers, 2005; Clary et al., 1998; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). In these ways, outreach efforts sponsored by professional associations should "[enhance] the capacity of individuals to improve their own lives and [faciliatate] social change to the advantage of disadvantaged and marginalized groups" (Nagabhushanam, 2010, p. 151).

By extension, outreach efforts should also generate organization-level incentives. Professional associations that sponsor occupation-based outreach are able to achieve benefit sustainability through the relative advantage of membership composition and professional development. First, it has been noted that the homogenizing forces of resource and political constraints promote similarity (or isomorphism) in structure and composition among organizations within given industries and sectors (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Minkoff, Aisenbrey, & Agnone, 2008). Occupational experience, interests, training, and, in some cases, paradigmatic views may strengthen those forces to the extent that members naturally coalesce around common concerns and perspectives. These similarities could make it easy for associations to identify outreach goals and partnerships that have broad appeal to their members.

In addition, occupation-based volunteering creates an opportunity for valuable professional development that may stregthen the association. Okun and Shultz (2003) identify career advancement and networking opportunities among the primary reasons people choose to volunteer. Research suggests that social support associated with professional networking and mentorship provide psychological, social, and occupational benefits across career stages (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004), and are professional development incentives that drive volunteers to serve (Clary, 1987).

As the average workforce age increases around the globe[1] (Geipel, 2003), professional memberships are likely to age as well, giving rise to cohorts of late-career professionals seeking alternative and meaningful ways to apply their occupational expertise (Caro, 2002; Chambré, 1993). According to Keiffer (1986), professional associations and private employers can assist in matching late-career volunteers to organizations that need temporary assistance, and by brokering pro bono bridge employment opportunities

that allow late-career individuals to remain connected to their professions when they are not yet ready to transition out of the workforce entirely (Keiffer, 1986). On the other end of the tenure continuum, occupation-based volunteer activities may help early-career professionals cultivate job-relevant skills and mentoring relationships with senior colleagues (Clary, 1987). In this way, prospects for career development through outreach may help to attract and retain members at all career stages and contribute to the growth of the association.

Organizational Sustainability

Organizational sustainability is the degree to which an organization that sponsors collective voluntary action is able to sustain and continuously develop its operational functions over time (Nagabhushanam, 2010). The most basic example of a professional association's advantage in this regard is its clear delineation between the mission of "serving the greater good" and "building the organization." According to Edwards and Fowler's (2003) review of regulatory management in non-governmental organizations, the weight of these two organizational priorities can unbalance voluntary organizations when charitable drive comes at the cost of preserving basic infrastructure, practices, and hierarchies essential to the organization's survival (Nagabhushanam, 2010). Unlike voluntary organizations, professional associations inherently view collective voluntary action as a secondary mission. Executive roles and administrative structures are established, first and foremost, to preserve the professional identity. The clear directives that protect this central mission also indirectly sustain collective voluntary action, which would not exist without the association's survival.

Another organizational sustainability advantage is that professional associations have pre-existing organizational infrastructure, policies, and practices. Unlike voluntary organizations that must originate these structures, professional associations are able to adapt existing features to support their outreach efforts. One example lies in the human infrastructure (i.e., the volunteers) to carry out charitable service. For professional associations, volunteers are affiliated members. They possess a relatively well-defined set of expert knowledge, skills, and ability related to their professional occupations, and are often geographically dispersed providing some advantages to outreach delivery. For example, many associations have regional affiliates that are structural microcosms. They execute the business of the association on a smaller scale, appeal to localized interests, and draw

on regional populations for membership. Such geographic dispersion greatly benefits outreach efforts that target regionally specific needs (e.g., disaster response in isolated communities). It aids the development of localized partnerships, and can ease implementation challenges when conducting outreach on a national or multinational scale (e.g., food drives to combat hunger) (Rizzuto, 2008).

Also, unlike volunteer organizations, for whom a primary objective is to recruit volunteers into the organization to donate time, services, and resources (Nagabhushanam, 2010), associations' memberships (i.e., prospective volunteers) are already identified and energized around shared concerns and/or professional interests. Therefore, the mobilization of volunteers involves converting active members into outreach volunteers, with their association commitment acting as a "foot in the door" to future behavioral commitments (i.e., commitment to outreach) (Cialdini et al., 1975). To motivate this conversion, some associations implement conduct codes to encourage members toward charitable service. For example, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the American Bar Association (ABA) requires its members conduct pro bono service. Similarly, some professional associations challenge private firms to participate in outreach as well. For example, the Association for Public Architecture urges all architectural firms to pledge at least 1% of their billable hours to pro bono service, and finds many firms annually exceed this mark (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2008). Formalized and codified structures that facilitate and reinforce outreach help professional associations, and the firms they inspire, to engage timely reactions to social needs and to enjoy continuity in service delivery (Rizzuto, 2008). In this sense, the ability to adapt pre-existing organizational infrastructure promotes sustainability for collective voluntary action sponsored by professional associations.

Financial Sustainability

According to Nagabhushanam (2010), the greatest mobilization obstacle facing voluntary organizations is the evaluation and monitoring of outreach activities, most notably fundraising and financial reporting, the basic tenets of *financial sustainability*. Unlike many advocacy organizations comprised of "paper memberships" (e.g., letter/petition writing campaigns) who have little or no avenues for accountability to their members (Skocpol, 2003), professional associations draw on pre-existing organizational structures for financial management and reporting (e.g., communications, accounting,

legal, and technological). Not only do these structural resources help to instill stakeholder trust, but they enable cost-sharing for resources that have dual function. For example, the same technical staff, computer systems, and servers that host a professional association website might also support a web presence devoted to the outreach effort at minimal additional cost.

On the other end of the accountability continuum, voluntary organizations have rigorous and complex standards for financial management, whereas professional associations enjoy relatively lax regulation. With the charitable sector generating $1.5 trillion in annual revenue and in light of the sector's history speckled with fraud, the need for fiscal regulation, transparency, and monitoring is apparent (Berger, 2009). High-profile fraud scandals in the early 1990s involving United Way of America and Toys for Tots, along with an array of smaller scandals over the last decade (for review, see Gibelman & Gelman, 2000), have jeopardized national opinions of these charitable organizations and the public's contributions to them (Miller, 1995; Staff, 1995). As a result, the voluntary sector has become heavily regulated to involve complex accountability checks to multiple stakeholders, all with different needs for information and performance measurement tools (Edwards & Fowler, 2003). Creating organizational structures to satisfy these complex monitoring and reporting standards can be costly and time-consuming. Because outreach sponsored by professional associations is a secondary mission, and therefore conducted on a smaller scale than most public charity outreach, professional associations have much simpler demands for oversight. They determine their own benchmarks for success and appoint their own personnel (members and leaders) to monitor service delivery and finanical reporting. The fact that professional associations can meet financial regulatory requirements for outreach with relatively little oversight affords simple and streamlined financial management practices.

Financial sustainability may also be quantified in terms of the market value of pro bono services contributed to recipient individuals, businesses, or communities. The Corporation for National and Community Service (2010) estimates that management professions contribute in hours served a dollar value of over $36 billion each year, based on the market value of their occupation-based skill at $46.22 an hour. However, CNCS also reports that most management professionals donate money (or sell items to raise money) instead of their occupational skills. But it is conceivable that marginalized businesses might benefit more from 40 hours of pro bono management consulting than a 40-hour commitment to a bake sale or silent

auction. Demonstrating this point, management experts from the Harvard Business School Community Partners teamed up with Goodwill Industries of San Francisco to evaluate business practices and revenue opportunities. The success of this partnership led the CNCS to recommend nonprofit organizations involve volunteers from the business planning, human resources and organizational development, information technology, logistics, and communication communities. Likewise, associations that engage the high-valued occupational expertise of their members help society capitalize on the greater "return on investment" of the time devoted by professionals (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2008).

Finally, most associations have foundations and donor bases that financially back special interests and operations within them. These resources may be leveraged for high-profile outreach efforts and events, particularly when association members may be unable to provide pro bono service but still wish to make a charitable contribution toward an outreach effort. In this way, professional associations' foundations and donor bases may help to secure financial sustainability for outreach efforts over the long term (Nagabhushanam, 2010).

Community Sustainability

Nagabhushanam (2010) describes the final criteria for collective voluntary action as *community sustainability*, the ability to contribute to the continuous development of communities and commerce. Partnerships with recipient entities, the voluntary sector, statutory authorities, and other professional groups to support collective voluntary action are connective ties that link communities. One advantage professional associations have in maintaining community sustainability is their ability to capitalize on "branding" that fosters trusting partnerships with individuals, businesses, and communities. The professional identity of an association increases its visibility and perceived legitimacy (Nagabhushanam, 2010). By inspiring the social consciousness of its members, associations benefit from a reputation of strong civic engagement while working to make communities healthier and more sustainable. Together, all of these aspects give professional associations a niche opportunity for collective voluntary action in the voluntary sector.

EXAMPLES OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS ENGAGED IN COLLECTIVE VOLUNTARY ACTION

Based on the many advantages professional associations have for sustaining collective voluntary action, we endorse the position that associations "can do much to establish skills-based services in a field as a norm and encourage pro bono and skills-based growth" (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2008, p. 8). In fact, a number of examples provide evidence to this point. We reflect on a few success stories to better articulate the unique capacities and strategies professional associations advance when engaging civically minded professionals in outreach that serves the greater good.

The American Bar Association (ABA)

One profession stands above the others in its ability to mobilize collective voluntary action among its members. The legal profession reports the highest volunteer rate among all professional occupations (47%), and is a leading example of putting professional skills to servicable use, with 36% of its volunteers engaged in activities directly related to the legal profession (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2008, 2010). The advancement of occupation-based volunteering is attributed in large part to the leadership of the ABA. In 1963, the ABA created the Fund for Justice and Education to allow the association to solicit and accept gifts and grants to support public service and educational programs. The fund currently provides over $50 million annually to support 200 service programs in the areas of child and family rights, public education, professionalism, and international justice (American Bar Association, 2010). Today, ABA President Stephen N. Zacks describes pro bono work as "fundamental to being a lawyer" (American Bar Association, 2010). Showing dedicated commitment to this cause, the ABA has codified a decree that "a lawyer should aspire to render at least (50) hours of pro bono public legal services per year" (American Bar Association, 2010). Reinforcing this service, ABA holds a National Pro Bono Celebration event annually to recruit volunteers, raise community awareness of these services, and recognize the pro bono efforts contributed each year. According to Segal and Scudder's (2005) review of pro bono contributions in the legal profession, not only has ABA successfully fostered competition among members and firms in the promotion of outreach, it has encouraged the development of pro bono

support organizations devoted specifically to service. As a result, countless people, businesses, and communities have benefitted from ABA-sponsored outreach.

The example above describes collective voluntary action carried out with long-term foresight and planning. Professional associations have also risen to meet emergent challenges that afford little time for planning and offer few outreach precedents. As noted by Sampson et al. (2005), hardship conditions offer the best opportunities to observe collective efficacy. For this reason, there are several noteworthy examples of outreach sponsored by professional associations and conducted in response to natural and man-made disasters. First, we describe efforts engaged by clinical and counseling psychologists affiliated with the American Psychological Association's (APA) Disaster Response Network (DRN), and then chronicle lessons learned from the Katrina Aid and Relief Effort (KARE), an outreach effort conducted by organizational scientists and practitioners.

American Psychological Association (APA) and the Disaster Response Network (DRN)

Over the years, clinical and counseling psychologists have responded to thousands of disasters in their local communities and across the country, providing services to individuals affected by residential and commercial fires, school shootings, weather events, terrorist acts, and transportation accidents. In 1991, the APA sought to coordinate and formalize these efforts through a collaborative partnership with the American Red Cross. From this, the DRN was formed and now consists of 2,500 licensed and disaster-trained psychologists who offer emotional support and crisis assistance to disaster survivors and Red Cross workers. The professional alliance with ARC and the APA's national membership has allowed the DRN to capitalize on specialized knowledge and skill and a wide range of experience within an extended geographic network. According to the DRN, Congress has recognized the network as the nation's leading disaster relief organization (American Psychological Association, 2009).

The two previous examples illustrate ways professional associations may bridge community partnerships to share professional expertise. The last example that follows demonstrates how associations of organizational psychologists and management experts may engage community, professional, and statutory partnerships for the delivery of charitable service and the advancement of science and practice on the topic.

Organizational Scientists and Practitioners and the Katrina Aid and Relief Effort (KARE)

In the fall of 2005, the SIOP (APA Division 14) and the Society for Counseling Psychology (SCP, APA Division 13) collaborated in the delivery of services to businesses and professionals in the Gulf Coast affected by Hurricane Katrina. KARE delivered pro bono business consulting to aid disaster recovery. The evolution of this outreach effort has already been documented (Rizzuto, 2008, 2009), but a few key points are summarized below.

KARE volunteers contributed four forms of service. First, volunteer consultants used a variety of media sources (television, radio broadcasts, and print articles) to inform business leaders in the Greater New Orleans area of available resources for employee assistance, business management, and workplace recovery. Second, workshops were implemented to disseminate information on a variety of health and work-related topics, including stress management personnel recruitment. Third, consulting teams composed of three to four volunteers were matched with recipients based on the "fit" between the teams' expertise and the businesses' needs. Pro bono consulting services were administered by the teams over a period of one to three years. KARE received commendations from the Louisiana State Senate (Senate Resolution No. 118, Regular Session 2006), the American Society of Association Executives, and the Center for Association Leadership for these efforts.

Finally, KARE volunteers used their organizational management and behavior expertise to reflect on their experiences helping businesses rebuild after the hurricane. This knowledge was disseminated to professional communities of science and practice through conference presentations, peer-reviewed journal articles, and book chapters. In sum, this four-pronged approach to applying organizational science and practice expertise through collective voluntary action has assisted numerous businesses in meeting their restoration goals and contributed to a better understanding of workplace disaster recovery.

These examples demonstrate a variety of ways professional associations organize and sustain collective voluntary action through occupation-based outreach. The latter two examples illustrate how psychology associations, in particular, have used their organizational infrastructure and resources to assist disaster response and recovery efforts. Further, the KARE outreach effort shows how associations of organizational scientists and practitioners

may apply their expertise to analyze, evaluate, and refine collective voluntary action, thereby demonstrating a relatively unique capacity to assist people and organizations who volunteer to help others.

Taking the applications of this capacity a step further, organizational scientists and practitioners could broaden the impact of occupation-based consulting by partnering with other professional groups to develop their own outreach efforts. By applying knowledge of personnel recruitment, selection, and person-environment fit, organizational expertise may be used to guide associations of engineers, educators, and health practitioners in forging strategic occupation-based partnerships that directly draw on the knowledge, skills, and abilities of their members. Moreover, professional knowledge of organizational operations, communication, and performance could be applied to help associations define clear roles, structures, and policies to sustain their outreach efforts. In short, organizational scientists and practitioners who are members of professional groups, such as SIOP, can combine efforts to assist other associations in the mobilization of collective voluntary action. If there is one thing that these professionals know well, it is how to manage complex bureaucracies, complicated logistics, and to implement tools and techniques for helping individuals and organizations actualize their human, social, and technical capacities.

Finally, associations of organizational psychologists and management experts can serve the greater good by incentivizing collaborations among researchers, practitioners, and consultants to establish best practices for pro bono service delivery. Such collaborations are especially important for generating actionable knowledge for developing effective and sustainable outreach models. The triangulation of professional perspectives, tools, and methods can deepen insights into this challenge. The final section of this chapter addresses the state of the scientific literature on occupation-based collective voluntary action, and avenues for organizational scientists and practitioners to extend this body of work.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Despite the fact that education and income are strong predictors of volunteering behavior (Birdwell, 2011; Sherraden, Lough, & McBride, 2008), and the evidence that individuals employed in professional occupations report high levels of charitable contributions (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2008, 2010), most professional

associations have not been actively engaged in the mobilization of occupation-based collective voluntary action. As discussed in this chapter, we view this as an unmet opportunity to actualize a multitude of benefits for the professional associations, their members, and the many individuals, businesses, and communities they stand to serve. Although there are noteworthy examples from which to learn about association-sponsored outreach, more information is needed to understand how best to recruit, organize, and incentivize professional volunteers toward pro bono service delivery. If professional associations wish to encourage members to engage in collective voluntary action, the first questions researchers might consider are those that premise this chapter: Are pro bono outreach efforts organized by professional associations effective and sustainable? Can organizational science and practice improve charitable service delivery? Which practices work best, for whom, to what end, and under what circumstances? The investigative elements of the research variables, populations, contexts, and methods that underlie these research questions are discussed.

Variables of Interest

The organizational science literature has long debated what it means for an organization to be "effective." The complexity of this concern is encapsulated in the term "criterion problem" (Bennis, 1962), the difficulty of assessing a concept that can be defined many ways and by different constituents. The criterion problem for establishing "outreach effectiveness" references the ambiguity about what it means for collective voluntary action to be both effective and sustainable. For instance, an outreach operation may provide tremendous good to a few people or incremental benefit to many people. The relative weight and importance of these outcomes is philosophically entangled with social values. Furthermore, anchoring these measures to increments of time can be even more challenging. One outreach effort may have great short-term impacts that fade over time, while another might do minimal good that is sustained over the long-term.

With increasing demands for accountability and oversight in the voluntary sector (Edwards & Fowler, 2003), there is a need to establish definitions and systematic measures of outreach effectiveness. This is critically important to voluntary organizations who must adhere to strict standards for operational transparency and reporting, particularly when charitable drive threatens organizational sustainability (Nagabhushanam, 2010). The organizational psychology and management literatures have

made significant advancements in the theory and measurement of organization health and effectiveness in for-profit companies (e.g., Herman & Renz, 2008). These concepts may be extended to nonprofit organizations in the voluntary sector. By that token, organizational scientists and practitioners may also help voluntary organizations assess incremental change and relative risk when balancing outreach effectiveness and organizational sustainability (Nagabhushanam, 2010).

Researchers may also explore the philosophical question of whether professional associations *should* be in the business of facilitating charitable activities. We posit that professional associations have a call to serve and advantages for doing so in the voluntary sector. As a testable hypothesis, researchers could compare effectiveness outcomes associated with outreach conducted through the internal structures of professional associations (i.e., outreach efforts centrally coordinated by the association, such as KARE) and through structures external to associations (i.e., incentivized but not coordinated by the association, such as ABA). This comparison might suggest an optimal degree of involvement that professional associations should strive to attain when sponsoring occupation-based collective voluntary action.

Another set of research variables to explore are those that pertain to the role of technology in charitable outreach. Internet and social media sources have revolutionized the way individuals and groups organize, communicate, and express social action (Jennings & Zeitner, 2003), and have made outlets for action globally accessible. For example, Internet-based mentorship programs such as the Infinite Family (www.infinitefamily.org) link high-risk teens with caring mentors through virtual connections worldwide. In this vein, professional associations may employ forms of virtual connectivity to overcome the time, money, and geographic constraints associated with volunteering. In doing so, they may also be able to broaden their outreach to recipient individuals, businesses, and communities. Future lines of research may explore possibilities for designing technology-mediated mechanisms to deliver, implement, and monitor volunteer services. Examples of such innovative technology are already being envisioned, and are excellent opportunities for understanding how outreach can be extended through the use of technology (e.g., SmartAid; Atkins & Thompson, in press).

Although technology might help busy professionals gain access to volunteering opportunities that, in turn, may fulfill humanistic needs and desires (Bekkers, 2005; Clary et al., 1998; Verba et al., 1995), minimal face-to-face communication and de-personalization known to inhibit

computer-mediated relationships may decrease the benefit sustainability of collective voluntary action in the virtual environment (Straus & McGrath, 1994). Researchers should explore factors that motivate civically minded professionals to donate pro bono services, taking into account outreach environments (e.g., virtual versus face-to-face; routine versus crisis) as well as reinforcement conditions (e.g., association-mandated, optional, and/or incentivized). Previous research conducted by social scientists explains the motivational appeal of volunteering. Sociologists emphasize human and social capital incentives that enhance knowledge, skill, and cultural resources valued in society (Coleman, 1988). Psychologists point to personality as a critical predictor of volunteering behaviors (e.g., extraverted and empathic dispositional traits), and political scientists discuss political values and social attitudes as antecedents to advocacy (for a review, see Bekkers, 2005). However, none of this research focuses specifically on professionals. Given the premium placed on formal education and credentialing in industrialized societies (Brown, 2001), it is worth understanding the factors that civically engage the modern intelligentsia. Furthermore, given the practical time constraints on professionals in their prime career-building years, investigations into outreach in virtual environments may open additional avenues for involving professionals in collective voluntary action.

Populations of Interest

Much has been written about the importance of achieving person-to-job and person-to-environment "fit" when matching individuals to employment positions or organizations (for a meta-analytic review, see Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). The degree of compatibility between the work one does and his or her competencies, values, and expectations increases the likelihood of satisfaction, persistence, and performance in the efforts he or she engages. This principle is likely to apply to volunteer-to-recipient matches in the voluntary sector. Good "fit" between volunteer expertise and recipient needs may enhance outreach effectiveness. Future research may test this hypothesis and establish practical guidelines for achieving optimal "fit" for placing professionals who volunteer in the voluntary sector (e.g., Cable & Parsons, 2001).

Along these lines, consideration may also be given to which professional occupations are best suited for collective voluntary action. Skilled labor shortages are well documented by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009) and may point to specific needs for

occupation-based collective voluntary action. For example, expertise shortages in petroleum, biological, and geological engineering are projected to increase in the next decade (Hopkins, 2008; Parry, Davidson, Clark, & Guilford, 2006). EngineerAid is a grassroots group of professionals drawn across trades to provide advice on engineering-related problems. These problem sets and requests are archived via a website database, and then answered, translated, and reviewed by volunteers from the engineering profession who are employed in the public and private sectors around the world (EngineerAid, 2009). This is an example of how collective voluntary action by professionals could help to overcome expertise shortages, which are expected to increase as the Baby Boom generation approaches retirement (Toossi, 2007).

Despite the need for certain skills, some occupational groups are inherently more amenable to pro bono service commitments than others. For example, high-risk occupations with critical concerns and risks associated with error face elements of risk and liability in their mobilization efforts. In some cases, effective service may depend upon the cultivation of a longer-term relationship than a volunteer can commit to at a given time, or may be predicated on access to sensitive and/or confidential information requiring special authorization or clearance. Researchers may find relevant frameworks for considering the suitability of pro bono service assignments in the organizational science literature devoted to job rotation and temporary job assignments (e.g., Jorgensen, Davis, Kotowski, Aedla, & Dunning, 2005). Similar job characteristic constraints have been discussed in this literature as introducing caveats to job enrichment assignments, and may help researchers identify occupational groups most amendable to offering pro bono service.

It would also be constructive to understand the occupational benefits that professionals gain from collective voluntary action. Career advancement and networking opportunities are among the primary reasons people choose to volunteer (Okun & Shultz, 2003). But, the degree to which these activities provide measurable market advantage and capital growth is not well known. Researchers could create taxonomical understandings of the actual and perceptual career advantages associated with volunteering among a variety of professional groups at early, mid, to late career stages.

Finally, despite the fact that collective voluntary action can be a positive and gratifying experience, negative consequences such as elevated stress and compassion fatigue have been shown to affect volunteers (Figley, 1995). These impacts are particularly pronounced for those volunteers who serve in disaster contexts or alongside military, rescue and emergency crews,

and first responders (Douglas, Blanks, Crowther, & Scott, 1988; Kamarck, 2007; McCaslin et al., 2005), as discussed in more detail in Chapter 14 of this volume. However, recent research also suggests that social support mechanisms associated with collective voluntary action can buffer stress, trauma, and fatigue (Dolce & Ricciardi, 2007). Given the intrinsic interest among civically minded individuals to help others in need (Sampson et al., 2005), the research community could contribute greatly to protecting those who help others by determining risk and protective factors that shape the volunteer experience.

Research Contexts and Methodological Issues

For the reasons cited above and many more, research is warranted on how professional associations can assist outreach in disaster contexts, and how organizational scientists and practitioners can aid workplace disaster recovery. Due to the increasing occurrence, severity, and diversity of crises in our society (Schouten, Callahan, & Bryant, 2004), professional associations should play a role in helping individuals, businesses, and communities plan for and respond to disasters (Rizzuto, 2008). Researchers have begun to explore planning, continuity, and recovery strategies to assist disaster-affected businesses (Corey & Deitch, 2011; Quarantelli, 2001; Riebeek, 2005). But, due to difficulties conducting research in disaster contexts, the workplace disaster recovery literature is sparse, fragmented, and largely composed of case studies (Lalonde, 2007). There is a need for sense-making and synthesis across this literature, and practical guidelines for how to engage professional practice through outreach efforts that are conducted in disaster contexts (Rizzuto, 2008, 2009).

From a methodological perspective, research on disaster impacts and workplace recovery is difficult to study (Dynes & Drabek, 1994). Disasters can occur randomly or with little warning to allow baseline or pre-event measures that are critical to understanding how people, places, and events change in response to disaster. The contexts themselves can also be dangerous to access and difficult to observe, which limits the availability of relevant data. And, catastrophic crises that impair multiple social domains (e.g., personal, work, and family lives) and broad geographic spaces (personal property, workplaces, neighborhoods and communities, states, countries, etc.) are complex and demand expertise from multiple disciplines (Rizzuto, 2008, 2009). More research is needed to examine the utility of various methodological designs, measures and approaches in the disaster contexts. For example, common research designs, theories, and

tools for understanding how people and organizations respond to stressful change are based on traditional organizational development practices that pertain to "ordinary" change events (e.g., leadership change) (Babad & Salomon, 1978; Rizzuto, 2009). These practices have not been well-observed or systematically explored in disaster contexts. Future research may seek to validate and explore the utility of common organizational development tools and techniques for use in complex and dynamic post-disaster work environments.

Another methodological concern is the ethical implication of conducting research in combination with pro bono service delivery. Although professional associations and scientific communities might benefit from an action research approach to conducting pro bono service (Greenwood & Levin, 1998), outreach efforts that target marginalized recipients may jeopardize the ability to establish voluntary consent for research participation associated with outreach. Recipients may feel unable to decline participation for fear of losing needed pro bono services they may not otherwise have access to. Such pressure would undermine the APA's ethical guidelines for human subjects research, which ensures participants the right to refuse research without being subject to penalty (American Psychological Association, 1982). Securing consent for the research involvement of marginalized populations may be even more difficult when cultural and language barriers are at play. Associations engaged in outreach should develop research guidelines that adhere to professional ethical standards for human subjects research, educate recipients of their rights, and grant recipients access to volunteer resources independent of their research involvement.

Finally, in many cases, professional occupational practice is both an art and a science in that it is based on scientific methods and value judgments (Brunswik, 1957). Because the need for charitable action sometimes outpaces the scientific understanding of how best to respond to a given issue, professional associations engaged in outreach may encounter professional practice needs with a minimal research foundation. An example of this mentioned earlier is the need for evidence-based knowledge to guide practice in workplace disaster recovery. Although the scientific foundations to support complex decisions and inferences in novel settings are not always comprehensive, the need for service is significant. Despite the gaps in the scientific literature, professional communities still have much to offer in expert insight, intuition, and extrapolation. By sharing accurate information about pertinent knowledge sets, professional communities may help to resolve novel and emergent issues. Moreover, they

might benefit from the opportunity to liberally (and responsibly) extend their expertise and adopt eclectic approaches to experiential learning.

CONCLUSION

In the mid-1960s, the social work profession engaged in a dynamic debate over the role its professionals should play in volunteering social service for the greater good. The simple statement offered by Daniel Thursz (1966) in his article entitled "Social Action As a Professional Responsibility" is that professional associations should provide service because there is "a lot of good to be done" (p. 13). They have a moral imperative to apply expertise toward the betterment of society, and a "test of significance in this age is the ability of [a] profession to involve itself in the major struggles going on to transform society" (Thursz, 1966, p. 13).

Generally speaking, professional associations have the capacity to help individuals, businesses, and communities in ways that extend beyond the typical volunteer commitments of hours or dollars. Strategically applied occupational talents stand to strengthen the broader impacts of collective voluntary action. Through these means not only may organizational scientists and practitioners contribute to *who* volunteers by offering additional helping hands, and *what* is donated by introducing specialized knowledge and skill, they also have the potential to transform *how* professional associations serve the greater good.

NOTE

1. The world population is expected to peak between 2040 and 2050, and then decline into depopulation. The only age groups expected to grow during depopulation are the older cohorts, consisting of the people who have left or soon will leave the active workforce. The rates of aging will vary across countries depending on indigenous demography, immigration, and a variety of policy and wildcard variables described by Geipel (2003).

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Commentary

Adrienne Colella

This volume in the SIOP Frontiers series clearly takes the series title seriously! It expands the science and practice of what has traditionally been thought of as the realm of the field of industrial-organizational psychology in many directions. When one first hears about studying and applying I-O psychology principles as usual outside of the traditional business and military contexts, it is easy to assume that little will change, that we will not learn anything new, and that training will not change—that we are just dealing with different samples. After all, validity is validity. However, the point is made in several instances that to examine the role of I-O psychology in the greater good requires the development of a new field (e.g., Gloss and Foster Thompson on humanitarian work psychology) or a paradigm shift (e.g., Lefkowitz's scientist-practitioner-humanist model) suggesting big changes. So what is new here?

First, by adopting a more humanitarian focus, the ultimate criteria of organizational effectiveness changes. Lefkowitz suggests another meta-criterion, in addition to improving organizational effectiveness, that is, assuring "that those organizations are safe, just, healthy, challenging, and fulfilling places in which to work." This requires the *joint* consideration of both well-being criteria and performance criteria, which is rarely done outside of demonstrating that well-being criteria (e.g., stress) are related to some bottom-line measure. Our research tends to isolate these criteria, either focusing on broadly defined performance-related criteria or focusing on broadly defined well-being criteria. As Bennett and Tetrick point out, I-O psychology tends to focus primarily on how psychosocial factors impact performance and productivity, while ignoring that there are also consequences on employee health and well-being. We need a science that considers multiple criteria together and their interrelatedness.

Second, the chapters in this volume develop our current theories further. A good case in point is in the realm of leadership. What we know about leadership comes mostly from business or military settings. By considering leaders as agents of corporate responsibility (Campbell, Provolt, &

Campbell; Jacobs & Johnson; Lombardo, Schneider, & Koppes Bryan) or in the venue of nonprofit organizations, we are led to think more broadly about the notion of leadership and the applicability of current practice and theory. For example, our leadership literature has been relatively quiet on the issue of leader values; however, as Lombardo et al. point out, further concern must be paid to leaders' values when considering leaders of triple-bottom line organizations. Another issue that comes up in these chapters that has not been given much attention in the leadership literature is the notion of multiple stakeholders. We usually focus on the relationship between leaders and followers or subordinates. Jacobs and Johnson illustrate how leaders of nonprofits must be examined in light of building strategic alliances and handling dual leadership with the board of directors.

Third, the chapters in this volume give us new phenomena to study. Given that business schools are becoming more concerned with nonprofit management issues and that nonprofit organizations are looking to us for guidance, it is important for the field of I-O psychology to have more to say on how we recruit, select, train, socialize, and motivate nonprofit and volunteer workforces. As pointed out by Lopina and Rogelberg, Schmidtke and Cummings, and Hui, Zhou, Chan, Zhang, and Fan, these workforces bring up new challenges. Weiner's chapter addresses an organizational behavior issue that has received barely any attention in our literature—corporate philanthropy. Finally, Gloss and Thompson, writing from a humanitarian work psychology perspective bring up the areas of decent work and poverty reduction as new avenues for research in I-O psychology while describing the pioneering work that is currently being done. Gielnik and Frese expand the field of I-O psychology to address the role of entrepreneurship in poverty reduction. Not only does this focus on a new ultimate criterion (the reduction of poverty), but it also brings I-O psychology to the study of entrepreneurship, an area that has traditionally been in the milieu of other scholars, such as those in business strategy.

Finally, another running theme through these chapters is the need to consider samples that have previously been ignored in our literature. In the work cited above, we see discussions of volunteer and nonprofit workforces, nonprofit leaders, the poor, those in Third World countries, and entrepreneurs. Furthermore, Bradley-Geist and King argue for future work in the diversity and discrimination arena on marginalized groups (e.g., ex-convicts, LGBT workers) that have been relatively ignored.

In summary, this Frontiers volume takes the field of I-O psychology in new directions in terms of the ultimate criteria we consider, developing our current theories further, providing new phenomena for study, and

forcing us to examine new and overlooked sample populations. In doing so, this book has clearly described the impact that I-O psychology has had on the greater good and provides motivation and guidance on how to continue along this path.

Commentary: *Homo Economicus*, Industrial Psychology, and the Greater Good

Milton D. Hakel

Having spent 50 years as a researcher in psychology, I have the chance here to reflect not only on the chapters in this volume, but also on what I have seen over my decades of observation and active involvement in this field in particular, and in science and society more generally. I have always been partial to the big picture and the long view, so allow me to paint some broad strokes that might make these collected chapters stand more distinctly in context—they represent a major enhancement in the scope and reach of our field, and position us better to contribute to the greater good. What you will find here are some reflections about mental models, parsimony, the maturation and vitality of our field (which is more than just the passage of time and mere aging), and the many shades of gray and the many hues and saturations of color that reside between black and white.

MENTAL MODELS

John Muir, the great naturalist and also the founder of the Sierra Club, said, "When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the Universe" (Muir, 1911, p. 111). Muir campaigned relentlessly for the preservation and conservation of natural resources, and was instrumental in the establishment of America's national parks. The worldwide greening of public policy about environmental and ecological issues owes much to Muir and his many successors.

Sometimes, however, his followers ignore Muir's hitched-to-everything-else insight. But they are not the only ones to ignore context. In virtually

every debate, and more generally in every field of intellectual pursuit, it is so easy to lose sight of context. I will take economics as an example, and do so because this volume is about contributing to the greater good, not just the common good, and not just economic productivity.

I have always been impressed with how far economists have been able to leverage clearly deficient and contaminated models of human behavior, here labeled collectively as *homo economicus*.

For non-specialists (and aren't we all, outside of our ecological-intellectual niches), economics begins with the publication of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776. His keen observations about the dynamics of supply and demand laid the conceptual framework for economics. The book opens with Smith's description of specialization in a pin factory, and subsequent chapters lay out a theory of competition and free markets. Rationality became paramount, as epitomized in buying and selling goods and services in markets where prices are set with perfect knowledge among the parties.

Homo economicus models became the guiding ideology of the industrial revolution and modern capitalism. Today, economists have become the scientists most heeded by legislators, politicians, public policy experts, and business leaders. The difficulty is that these models are incomplete. In *Knowledge and the Wealth of Nations*, economics journalist David Warsh (2006) details the historical evolution of economics, with special attention to increasing as opposed to diminishing returns. The way I learned it, diminishing returns are inevitable, and indeed, that concept was a main focus for economic theorists for over two centuries. As Warsh tells the story, however, Smith included the case of increasing returns in the first chapter of *The Wealth of Nations*, but it lay dormant until 1990 and is still not well known today. The story is too long and complex even to summarize here—suffice it to say that network effects and increasing returns (think of the computer and information technology industries) were observed long before they were incorporated into models and theories of economics.

Are today's theories of economics, including the stream of insights coming from behavioral economics, better than those of previous decades and centuries? Undoubtedly, yes. Are they complete? Hardly.

THE CANON OF PARSIMONY

As an undergraduate, I majored in philosophy as well as in psychology, and the philosophy courses were both difficult and helpful. In logic,

I learned that false dilemmas are ubiquitous, and I have been amused ever since by the two types of people in the world—those who divide everything into two types and those who do not.

More to the point of this essay, Loren Baritz (1960) famously critiqued those pursuing industrial psychology as being servants of power. As you see in this volume, his polemic still echoes today.

I suspect that there has always been high demand for simple answers, even when simple answers are inadequate. Are we servants of power? Well, who wants to be a servant of weakness? Or ineptitude? Both "yes" and "no" are inadequate answers, but you already know that "sometimes" and "perhaps" will not attract much of a following, although either of those words is more accurate than a flat affirmation or denial.

In epistemology and philosophy of science courses, I learned that theories are abstract approximations, and that falsification is the basis for improvement of knowledge because theories cannot be proved to be true. I was introduced to Occam's Razor, an epistemological heuristic that asserts a preference for simple over complex explanations. In its most common form, it instructs us as critical thinkers to "not multiply entities beyond necessity," that is, to make explanations as simple as possible, *but not simpler*.

Consider economics as an instance of where theories and models are too simple. Its incompleteness is well exposed in two recent books. Nassim Taleb's *The Black Swan* (2010) is about the occurrence of highly improbable events, and the havoc they wreak (e.g., stock market crashes, 9/11). It is a passionate critique of inductive logic, simplifying assumptions, and academic hubris. The bell curve turns out to be a useful approximation, but not all of the time. Daniel Kahneman's *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (2011) lays out research about how people actually think and make decisions, highlighting the impacts of framing effects, loss aversion, and over-confidence.

There is much to be learned here, and not just by economic theorists, but especially by us as applied scientists. How we frame our purposes and our discipline matters immensely.

ABOUT THE MATURATION OF WIO PSYCHOLOGY

A century ago, Hugo Munsterberg published *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency*. It marks the beginning of industrial psychology, and it situated

the field clearly in the mainstream of the industrial revolution. He wrote, "It is well known that the modern psychologists only slowly and very reluctantly approached the apparently natural task of rendering useful service to practical life" (Munsterberg, 1913, 2010, p. 14). The boundaries of "practical life" are not so strongly delineated as in Munsterberg's time, nor for that matter are the current boundaries of our field. In the header at the start of this section above, I label us as "WIO" psychology, as shorthand for "Work, Industrial, and Organizational," thus recognizing both our diverse names around the world and also to note the evolution of the naming of the field—what will it be next?

The three sections of Munsterberg's book covered workers, the work itself, and outcomes (in the parlance of the times, "the best possible worker," "the best possible work," and "the best possible effect"). He sketched the outlines of a "new science which is to intermediate between the modern laboratory psychology and the problems of economics: the psychological experiment is systematically to be placed at the service of commerce and industry." This was, of course, controversial. The excesses of capitalism provided clear and easy targets for many critics. I will skip Karl Marx and Frederich Engels, Lincoln Steffens, and Upton Sinclair, to keep this focused on industrial psychology—a frame for the field had clearly been put into place.

When I entered industrial psychology, it was strongly focused to the point of being preoccupied with employee selection in all of its many technological and ethical facets. The field was pragmatic, empirical, and atheoretical. The leaders of the field at that time saw the need for change. In his presidential address to Division 14, Rains Wallace (1964) said, "If there ever was a time in which we require conceptual foundations for what we are currently doing and what we hope to do in the future, it is now" (p. 411). The first presidential address I heard in person was entitled "Quo Vadis?," Latin for "Where Are We Going?," by Brent Baxter. Baxter (1965) discussed our lack of theory and the need for it: "With our lack of emphasis on a fundamental and broad psychological approach, we have drifted towards becoming technicians and not scientists. We are better known for our techniques than for fundamental insights." Baxter (1965) noted that we produce a seemingly endless stream of fragments leading nowhere and that our publications do not reflect fundamental advances but more often a multiplicity of minor tinkerings in a wide variety of settings. Does this seem to be current? For a fuller picture of the times, see Dunnette (1966).

There are many stories along the path from then to now, but I will tell only one of them, to illustrate that concerns about the greater good and

the ability of WIO psychology to impact it have been present all along. Ann Lavee Hussain, a newly minted Ph.D. from Ohio State, introduced a resolution from the floor at the 1970 Division 14 Business Meeting in Washington, DC. It called for the Division of Industrial and Organizational Psychology (the name had been enlarged by adding "and Organizational" the previous year) to become engaged in matters of public policy and social issues. This was controversial (some thought "revolutionary" and "seditious," while others thought it was "overdue" and "a no brainer"). After debate and a straw vote, the matter was referred to an ad hoc committee, which recommended a bylaws amendment to create a standing Public Policy and Social Issues Committee. The committee was created the following year (Porter, 1971), and eventually it conducted a pro bono technical assistance demonstration project for the National Association of Secondary School Principals. The original demonstration project was designed and conducted by Joel Moses, Tom Jeswald, George Henderson, Hal Hendrick, and other committee members. By 1984, there were Assessment Centers in over 20 states, and over 2,000 candidates for school administrative positions had been assessed. In 1985, there were projects in all 50 states covering 1,000 school districts. Most projects were collaborative, multi-district or state-wide efforts, and follow-up research affirmed the validity of the program (Schmitt, Noe, Meritt, & Fitzgerald, 1984).

In the past five decades, the field has expanded greatly and has embraced multiple topical foci. Thousands of professionals have been active in expanding the breadth and depth of the field not just in private and governmental organizations, but also throughout the world of work. What is shown in the many chapters of this volume is that the worker, work, and its outcomes are embedded in complex social networks, as it were, hitched to everything else in the universe. The Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations and micro-credit banking (Yunus, 2007) in the majority world are as much a part of our brief as anyone else's.

BEYOND BLACK AND WHITE INTO THE COLORFUL WORLD OF WORK

Back to economics one more time. Wassily Leontief received the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1973. In 1982, he editorialized in *Science*:

> Year after year economic theorists continue to produce scores of mathematical models and to explore in great detail their formal properties;

> and the econometricians fit algebraic functions of all possible shapes to essentially the same sets of data without being able to advance, in any perceptible way, a systematic understanding of the structure and the operations of a real economic system.
>
> (p. 107)

Now here is what I find to be sobering: it is a simple matter to substitute "psychology," "psychometrician," and "psychological" into Leontief's statement, and it still rings true. Read it again, making the given substitutions.

We are just beginning to scratch the surface of organizational science. There is so much still to be learned about all of the topics in our field. Clearly, work is multidimensional, and the world in which it is embedded is even more so ("colorful," to use the metaphor in the heading). Yet, to make things comprehensible within our current frameworks, we simplify and oversimplify. We make assumptions, some of which turn out to be unwarranted. We look at phenomena as though they were unidimensional, and we tend to see outcomes as dichotomies—significant or n.s., true or false, black or white, good or bad. Our research designs are often static and cross-sectional. We collect observations and look for regularities and patterns, we conjecture about how the observations came to be as they are, and we create and test models and theories.

The point in all our earnest effort is to find explanations; indeed, to find explanations that are better than the best of the preceding ones. This volume abounds with better explanations, and it also advances many questions to be investigated next.

I began this essay by quoting John Muir, and you might be wondering about the relevance of "hitched to everything else in the universe," particularly what that means for us in practical and operational terms. I will not attempt to give an answer, other than to commend to you *The Beginning of Infinity: Explanations that Transform the World* by David Deutsch (2011). The book is an audacious tour de force through virtually every fundamental field of science, as well as the history of civilization and the theory of political institutions. How do moral values, beauty, and art enter the realm of knowledge and explanation? Can all this be hitched together? Read Deutsch.

I have no doubt that expanding the domain of organizational science to encompass populations and kinds of work beyond employees in private industry will add substantially to our field, as clearly shown in this volume.

I close with a comment about The Truth, which I found in the letters to the editor column of *Science*. When it appeared, meta-analysis was new and still controversial in WIO psychology, in part because its proponents were vociferous in advocating its virtues ("the situational specificity doctrine is false"), while its opponents were quick to challenge its limitations ("garbage in, garbage out"). Bernard Fine (1990) wrote:

> While meta-analysis may be a step toward an "objective" summarization of the state of the art in a given scientific area, I get the impression that at least some folks think the method somehow will facilitate arriving at scientific "truth." At its very best, meta-analysis cannot determine what is *true*; it only can attempt to measure what *is*. If we constantly keep in mind that, had meta-analysis been around at the time, it would have confirmed that planet Earth was flat and the center of the universe, we'll be all right.
>
> (p. 494)

What should we make of the "servants of power" critique in 2012? Joel Lefkowitz has ably updated the breadth of the scientist-practitioner-humanist model. The things we study no longer seem as simple as they appeared to be back then. Our domain has expanded, and our conceptualizations have expanded as well. It is our calling to be organizational scientists, engineers, and technologists, contributing and refining knowledge that can be applied for the greater good. We are hitched to everything else in the universe.

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Commentary

Kurt Kraiger

In *The Search for God and Guinness: A Biography of the Beer that Changed the World*, author Stephen Mansfield tells the story of Arthur Guinness and his lineage. Arthur, of course, built the Guinness Brewery and created a long-running, successful family business. If there was a rating of "Best Places to Work" in the 1800s, the Guinness Brewery would be near or at the top. Employees not only received higher wages than they could earn at other breweries, but enjoyed paid meals, on-site medical care, and intramural leagues. Guinness became very active in social causes, founding both Sunday schools and hospitals for the poor. The book is interesting to read if for no other reason than to see the lengths the Guinness family went to not only provide great working conditions for its employees, but actively sought to improve the immediate community and the city of Dublin.

Perhaps more interesting is the vocational choices of successive generations of the Guinness family. Within each generation, there was typically one son who aspired to run and develop the company. As Arthur had also believed, the success of the business was principally a means to achieve a higher purpose—the well-being of its workers, the growth of the community, and even the salvation of society. (The Guinness family believed that hard liquor ruined men and families, so providing beer and opening the pubs in which to drink it saved men from themselves.)

However, within each generation, typically there was a second son who rejected commerce and pursued a career in organized (and sometimes unorganized) religion. These were ministers, missionaries, and evangelists. They, too, believed their efforts were a way to achieve a higher purpose—the growth of communities and the salvation of society. The consistency across generations of the purpose for work and the different means by which that purpose was enacted argues both for a nature and nurture explanation of a humanitarian mindset.

It also raises a question addressed implicitly throughout this book: If an I-O psychologist holds a "humanitarian mindset," what is the best avenue to enact the values and aspirations that go with such a perspective?

One approach is business as usual. It is an easy case to make, for example, that by helping organizations identify the best candidates for a position, we are at once "providing return on investment" for the sponsoring organization, we are serving both the selected and unselected applicants by fitting people to jobs they are likely to be effective, and serving society by increasing organizational productivity and lowering turnover and, hence, unemployment. To the question Lefkowitz (this volume) attributes to Kornhauser (1947): Are we solving the problems of the "businessman or of society?," the answer may be both.

But, as in the Guinness family, there are I-O psychologists with a "humanitarian mindset" who choose instead to directly work on the problems of society. There are multiple strong examples in this book of how this may be done. Here is a straightforward example. In 1990, I attended Neal Schmitt's presidential address at the SIOP conference. At one point, Neal asked members in the audience to raise their hand if they had children in school. About half the audience raised their hand. Then, Neil asked them to keep their hands up if they were involved in the parent-teacher organization at their children's school. Only a dozen or hands stayed up. Neal reminded us of the well-documented problems with the U.S. educational system. Then, he asked those whose hands did not stay up: In your communities, who better understands how learning occurs than the I-O psychologist? Who is better equipped to identify competencies in teachers and principals, and who better trained to recommend ways of measuring those competencies than the I-O psychologist? Neal Schmitt's point, and one echoed throughout the book, is that it is by the nature of our competencies and training that we are compelled to consider what serves the greater good.

Having returned to undergraduate teaching for the first time in a number of years, I am impressed with the number of students who are interested in the impact of I-O psychology on the issues of society. Training is interesting, but how can that knowledge be applied to the chronically underemployed? Recruitment and selection can help organizations find high performers, but how can I-O psychologists improve the employability of those who have been out of work for too long? Can principles of organizational change and transformation be applied to communities? If someone is interested in using I-O psychology to improve human welfare, where should they go to learn more?

This volume is a good starting point. Through its 17 chapters, the volume offers multiple examples of ways in which individuals and organizations fulfill a prosocial role, both at a local and global level. Some

of the chapters build on developing theory and research in other domains, such as corporate social responsibility and the healthy workplace. Other chapters draw upon topics common in for-profit organizations (e.g., talent management) and introduce the reader to the similarities and differences of the same systems in the nonprofit sector. Still other chapters introduce topics such as corporate philanthropy, humanitarian work psychology, and supporting individual and business development through inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations.

What can we learn from this volume? First, in terms of both theory and research to date, there is a link between engagement in prosocial activities (by individuals and organizations) and outcomes that matter. Lombardo, Schneider, and Koppes Bryan (this volume) discuss the impact of corporate social responsibility on the "triple-bottom line" of people, profit, and planet. Multiple authors cite a meta-analysis by Orlitzky, Schmidt, and Rynes (2003) that links corporate social performance to a firm's financial performance. Finally, in several chapters, authors document the prosocial activity to economic development of a country (Gielnik & Frese, this volume) or subpopulations within a country (Schein, this volume).

Second, to a great extent, the tools and processes for aiding prosocial behavior mirror those commonly found in I-O practice. At the broadest level, the basic organizational change steps of diagnosis, implementation, and evaluation apply in this domain as well, as do an understanding of human motivation, resistance to change, and dynamic leadership. Many of the tools commonly applied by I-O psychologists in consulting arrangements are evident here, including recruitment, selection, modifying incentives, workplace design, training, and leadership development.

Third, the activities and practices described here are both theory-based and multi-level with respect to the focus of change. To be fair, the theoretical underpinnings are not as clear or as well-articulated as, for example, theories of job performance or individual motivation. However, we are also witnessing the early years of a nascent sub-discipline of psychology. Common to most chapters is a recognition that individuals are both servant and respondent to a broader social context, be it the organization, the community, or the global society. The bi-directional nature of this relationship is rooted in multiple theories, including person-organization fit theory (Kristof, 1996), the attraction-selection-attrition framework (Schneider, 1987), and the theory of work adjustment (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984). Additionally, this bi-directional relationship makes it clear that the forces for change, as well as the outcomes of interventions, can be found at individual, team, organizational, and societal levels of analyses.

The similarities in tools and methodologies suggest that the requisite competencies to "help those who help others" resemble those of the I-O practitioner. However, as someone who knows a good number of the volume's authors, I would suggest that there are competencies found in the prosocial research/practitioner literature that are either more developed or simply not found in most I-O researchers and practitioners. One competency is a keen interest in construct validity. While many of us are aware of the need to examine the construct validity of our measures, we sometimes come up short at the prior stage of specifying the construct. This not only includes defining it, but distinguishing it from other related constructs, and mapping out its relationships to other known constructs. One of the most compelling aspects of much of this volume is the authors' collective attempts to define precisely what we mean by constructs such as corporate social responsibility, volunteerism, philanthropy, and humanitarian work psychology. Other authors addressed the question of whether or not more familiar constructs such as leadership or learning vary when considered in new contexts such as nonprofit organizations or developing nations. Indeed, one of the most fascinating discussions in the book was that of Gloss and Foster Thompson (this volume) who considered what it really meant to be a "developing country."

Second, I suspect that the prosocial research/practitioner is more opportunistic with respect to studying phenomena of interest or facilitating change. The SIOP response to Katrina, cited by Rizzuto and Vandaveer (this volume) is a good example of the rapid mobilization of a diverse and scattered group of professionals given an opportunity to volunteer. The opportunistic nature of these individuals is likely predicated, at times, by the extreme need created by either the rapid onset of some natural event (e.g., a flood) or the prolonged stress of large-scale change (e.g., global recession). Additionally, the nature of organizations, cultures, and countries that are served may be such that the resources available to support change may be more limited than in many comparable activities in more typical for-profit organizations. Thus, the prosocial research/practitioner may need to be particularly inventive as to identifying ways to leverage resources, to link their activities to some broader initiative, and to champion change within a dynamic context.

Finally, I propose that there is such a thing as a "humanitarian mindset." Those with this mindset understand that the support of individual and collective prosocial behavior is not only in the best interest of their client and their organization, but in the best interest in society. They inherently believe what research shows, that there are tangible benefits that result from

supporting volunteerism at the individual level and social responsibility at the organizational level. However, they also believe, as did Arthur Guinness and his offspring, that there is simply a responsibility to help. To paraphrase Gloss and Foster Thompson (this volume), we help because we can.

A sense of calling is likely another characteristic of the humanitarian mindset. Recent research in career counseling validates the notion of calling (Dik & Duffy, 2009), indicating that some individuals are more motivated to seek personal fulfillment through work. Notably, a sense of calling predicts higher job and life satisfaction, as well as greater commitment to one's profession and career (Steger, Pickering, Shin, & Dik, 2010). When we add up the benefits of a prosocial orientation, from personal satisfaction and career commitment to organizational effectiveness to societal development, the idea of using I-O psychology for the greater good becomes increasingly appealing. As I suggest above, the approach and the tools helping those who help others are those with which we are all familiar. Across chapters, there are thorough case studies in multiple contexts of how to add value. Thus, this ground-breaking volume provides a solid foundation for a new emphasis in I-O research and practice, and sets the stage for what will be a fascinating second volume in the years ahead.

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Commentary: Answering the Call: Advancing a Prosocial Organizational Psychology

Douglas H. Reynolds

My wife has a recurring dream wherein she finds a room in our home that she never knew existed before. She tells me the emotion associated with the dream is always positive, akin to what one must feel upon making a discovery—something has been found that has always been there; the cues were present, but they had just never been recognized before.

It was at the annual conference of the SIOP several years ago when I experienced a similar feeling for myself, when I ventured into a session on humanitarian work psychology. As participants in the session shared examples of the projects with which they were involved, and the research that is needed to support practices in humanitarian contexts, the building energy in the room was palpable. It was the energy that was different from other sessions; it reminded me of my wife's dream—something important was being discovered that has been in front of us all along. As the session concluded, a notepad was circulating collecting the names of those who were interested in helping with future efforts.

The application of organizational psychology in prosocial contexts is not new, but the amount of involvement by I-O psychologists appears to have increased. The wonderful chapters in this volume serve as a testament to the wide range of research and practice in the broad arena of prosocial organizational psychology.

A survey of I-O psychologists conducted in the fall of 2011 provides additional support for the perception that prosocial contribution is a substantial component of the collective efforts of the field. The question read: Over the past 24 months, have you participated in I-O projects on a

pro bono basis for charitable, public interest, and/or humanitarian causes? Of the 1,616 respondents, 25% answered affirmatively, and the activities described by those who participate in this arena included engagements such as career counseling for the unemployed, restructuring a health care organization, and CEO selection for nonprofits (Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 2012).

The trend may be, at least in part, demographic. Popular commentary on the work values of the most recent entrants to the workforce, and thus our profession, suggests that social contribution is a strong value for younger employees (e.g., Society of Human Resource Management, 2007). Press reports have suggested that this finding is unique to the "Generation Y" cohort, but research on the issue shows that the last three generations to enter the workforce all tend to rate altruistic contribution as an important aspect of work when they were a similar age (Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010). Thus, prosocial contribution may be an important aspect of work for those who are early in their careers, and professional organizations should encourage and support these efforts as a strategy for engaging younger members. Thomas, Downey, and George (this volume) note the same strategy may have appeal for minorities. This benefit serves as an example of why these projects should be actively supported, not only because prosocial projects have inherent social value, but also because our profession will benefit as well. Many authors contributing to this volume have touched on this reflected benefit.

Throughout this book, there are numerous references to the need for greater involvement by the profession in topics associated with prosocial contribution. These comments move well beyond the usual plea for further research. From Lefkowitz's call to action for a values-based component to our work to Rizzuto and Vandaveer's explication of the critical role of the professional association in prosocial contribution, the directive from these authors is clear: organizational psychologists can be doing more to raise the focus and contribution of our field for prosocial benefit. I will push this argument a bit further and suggest that SIOP itself can facilitate these efforts.

As several authors have noted in this volume (e.g., Henning & Jones; Weiner), prosocial contribution by organizations can support the organization's strategy, and in fact, by aligning prosocial actions with organizational goals, both are advanced. In the context of SIOP, the organization's strategic goals relate to improving the visibility of the field, advocating for the science and practice of I-O psychology, ensuring that SIOP is the organization of choice for professionals in the field, and modeling

the integration of science and practice (McHenry, 2007). Using these areas as examples, it is possible to envision how prosocial action can help to advance SIOP's strategy and foster other benefits for the organization and the profession.

SUPPORTING PROSOCIAL ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Consider the potential benefits of adopting many of the suggestions offered in this book and applying them to our own professional society. SIOP serves as the focus of the following set of possible actions; although SIOP is one vehicle for organizing collective action within the field, it is not the only one. The newly formed Alliance for Organizational Psychology or any of its other member associations could also serve this function.

The impact of prosocial action can be amplified if it is facilitated through the use of social technology. The rise of Internet technologies has altered the manner by which organizations operate, and this truism is also relevant in the context of prosocial activity. Several authors have mentioned the critical role technology can play when connecting participants in prosocial projects across large distances, identifying target partner and recipient organizations, and documenting actions and results for the benefit of future efforts.

The expense and effort required to implement technology platforms for supporting prosocial efforts is difficult for private actors to undertake, but coordinated efforts through professional associations such as SIOP are well within reach. In fact, in the few months preceding the finalization of this book, SIOP had undertaken the implementation of an online collaboration platform that allows for the development and management of groups of members who are oriented toward common goals. On the surface, support for committee work, research collaborations, and alumni groups seem to dominate the growing user base. But the platform could be used to support prosocial efforts as well. Imagine an online hub that has the following elements:

- An introduction to the prosocial application of organizational psychology. An overview of the important role of humanistic values in our work and the contribution of organizational psychology to the healthy and effective functioning of any organization would be

persuasively presented. Lefkowitz's chapter provides an excellent starting point.

- Information about the range and variety of prosocial projects can be described. Examples across a range of engagements could be overviewed, such as those presented in this volume. A call to action would encourage prosocial engagement as a critical component in the career of the organizational psychologist, much as the American Bar Association has done for the legal profession, as described by Rizzuto and Vandaveer.
- A clear path for personal involvement can be designed. The most challenging aspect of a new endeavor can be the first step. Guidance and coaching could be posted that describes how others became involved in prosocial applications of our field, the impact they had, the lessons they learned, and the benefits they experienced. The personal benefits of prosocial engagement could also be described, such as the individual-level outcomes of professional development and network expansion, as described by Henning and Jones.
- Most importantly, current projects can be described, qualifications for involvement can be publicized, and pathways for volunteering can be established. Social media platforms provide an excellent structure for this feature, because they include security features that allow all users to see general content but can also be set to require users "apply" for access to privileged content within a group. Acceptance can be dependent on the criteria set for volunteers on the specific projects that are active. Volunteer selection can be a critical and overlooked process for prosocial efforts, as noted by Hui et al., and the establishment of relevant criteria within projects should be second nature for the many selection specialists in our field.
- Several authors noted the role that social technology can play for facilitating networks of distributed professionals working on a common effort (e.g., Gloss & Thompson). Project websites that evolve within this structure could be designed to have planning tools for project activities, archives of past discussions, wikis for capturing learning, and storage for project documents. These simple technology tools can bring focus and structure to efforts that often become diffused by the entry of new group members. Project orientation materials could also be housed within the project sites as one tool for setting expectations during the socialization period for new volunteers, as Lopina and Rogelberg emphasize.

- Outcomes can be documented and shared. Templates can be provided that allow project leaders to share the impact they have had, the circumstances under which the project was conducted, and the tools and processes that were used. In the prosocial arena, there may be greater latitude to share specific work products and practice procedures without concern for proprietary restrictions. In the ideal case, a sharing community could evolve that allows for materials and insights from one project setting to transfer to others. A series of related projects described by Rogelberg (2012) involves a constellation of project teams focused on volunteer assessment (job satisfaction, commitment, etc.), all of which were spawned from a central effort. This same pattern could be repeated for other types of projects by providing a supporting structure that allows for collaboration, proliferation of the underlying knowledge, and a repeatable project design.
- Research collaborations can also be facilitated within the context of specific projects. As the foundational knowledge grows regarding what works in prosocial settings, what does not, and the factors that intervene, projects where data collection opportunities and research partnerships exist can be publicized. The resulting research can then, in turn, extend the research reported in this book.

STRATEGIC BENEFITS

Returning to the notion that prosocial activities result in benefits for the organizations that support them, how might SIOP and the field of organizational psychology at large benefit if the tools and processes described above were fully implemented and active within the field? Benefits may be hypothesized for each area of SIOP's explicit strategy.

SIOP seeks to model the effective integration of the science and practice of I-O psychology. I-O psychologists tend to work most frequently with other I-O psychologists who work in similar settings. In prosocial settings, teams of volunteers might work toward a common cause. Projects that draw staffing from multiple perspectives may teach us something about how to better integrate research designs into practical applications. Prosocial contexts may allow for more latitude for experimental data collection than paying clients are often willing to tolerate, and those looking for opportunities to put findings from research into practice may have additional contexts from which this goal may be pursued.

SIOP's membership objectives may be advanced as well. Henning and Jones describe the benefits often perceived by volunteers as they generate new contacts for their professional networks and gain experience with different constituent groups. These experiences can add skills and develop careers. Thomas, Downey, and George detail many benefits of learning in a service context, and note the added advantage that service learning may have special appeal for minority communities in particular. Furthermore, the opportunity to have social impact can foster a sense of task significance and build career satisfaction. Organizational benefits are generated as volunteers experience higher levels of organizational pride, and, as Henning and Jones note, these benefits may accrue for members regardless of whether they participate or not.

SIOP advocates for I-O psychology to policymakers and funding agencies. Could prosocial engagement improve our ability to influence others and better advocate for our field? Many organizations with whom we have had only minor contact with in the past may take heightened interest in prosocial activity on the part of organizational psychologists. The United Nations, various development funding agencies, the White House, and a range of cabinet-level departments each have initiatives tied to prosocial action. Our traditional targets of business and the military will likely provide funding as they have in the past, but by expanding the variety of organizations and contexts under which our research and practice is conducted, the range of funding sources may also be expanded. Health care, economic development, entrepreneurship, international aid, and disaster relief are just a few of the wide-ranging contexts mentioned in this book. By demonstrating the impact of our contributions in these settings, we may find our ability to advocate for our research will be enhanced.

SIOP has the responsibility to ensure we are visible to audiences outside of our field. Several years ago, SIOP's Visibility Committee hosted a panel of business writers from well-known publications (*Wall Street Journal*, *Business Week*, *Forbes*, *Newsday*, and *Fast Company*; Reynolds & Jolton, 2007) to discuss how we could better position compelling stories about our field. The reporters mentioned the inherent challenges of rising above the din of corporate PR engines all vying for a coveted piece in the popular press regarding how their management wit has led to superior business performance. As organizational psychologists, we imagine the glory of a solid piece of reporting on the use of research-grounded practice to improve important organizational outcomes. To many business reporters, this proposition holds about as much intrigue as writing about the weather when it is sunny and 72. My speculation is that prosocial contributions

provide high-value content for elevating the visibility of the field. Judging from the media attention attracted by SIOP's KARE project, we have seen at least one case where this linkage has been supported.

Although it is not an explicitly stated goal of SIOP, perhaps the most valuable outcome from an elevation of prosocial contribution in the science and practice of organizational psychology is the evolution of our collective professional identity. Here again, this linkage is hypothesized by many authors in this volume, perhaps most potently by Lefkowitz. If one were to assume our sole *raison d'être* is the improved functioning of for-profit enterprises, our identity as a field would indeed be on shaky ground. Defining one's identity according to the values of those who pay your salary may place unnecessary limits on one's self concept. A broader conceptualization of our contribution recognizes the value of organizational psychology for any organization across a myriad of contexts and for a variety of purposes. The chapters in this volume go some distance toward demonstrating the breadth of our contributions and the range of potential impact. Incorporation of the support for prosocial contribution into the regular operations of our professional society could be a critical step in the evolution of the field.

It is oddly selfish to reflect on the chapters in this book from the perspective of how prosocial action can have benefits for the field, but we may be missing an important reinforcing driver for prosocial action if we ignore this connection. Thinking back to the session in humanitarian work psychology I attended several years ago, perhaps some of the excitement in the room was a manifestation of this reinforcement. It feels good to contribute to broader social goals and to have an impact.

As with my wife's dream of finding a new room in our home, the cues to this new room in our professional home have been present all along. The chapters in this volume testify to the fact that the room is quite real: a prosocial component of our field is already quite active. It is time we move into this new room, furnish it carefully and with excitement, and live in it, as we incorporate these activities into our professional lives.

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