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SUPERVISORY DOWNWARD INFLUENCE AND SUPERVISOR-DIRECTED ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR

Unnikammu Moideenkutty, Sultan Qaboos University

ABSTRACT

Downward influence tactics are supervisory actions intended to change the behavior of subordinates. Researchers have identified seven influence tactics commonly used by supervisors; friendliness, bargaining, reason, assertiveness, sanction, higher authority, and coalition. This paper uses Social Exchange Theory to develop a framework for relating different types of influence tactics used by supervisors to supervisor-directed organizational citizenship behavior. Specifically, the paper argues that the use of soft influence tactics (friendliness, bargaining, and reason) lead to the development of social exchange relationship with the supervisor represented by high quality leader-member exchange. High quality leader-member exchange in turn leads to supervisor-directed organizational citizenship behavior from the employee.

With the increase in competitive pressures and the emphasis on customer service, organizational citizenship behavior is becoming more and more important in organizations. Understanding how influence tactics affect supervisor-directed organizational citizenship behavior can provide guidelines for training supervisors in the use of appropriate influence tactics to increase organizational citizenship behavior in organizations.

INTRODUCTION

An important part of managerial effectiveness is the ability to influence people and to motivate them to contribute beyond expectations (Bolino & Turnley, 2003). In fact, the ability to influence is the very essence of leadership (Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980). A number of researchers have looked at the influence behavior of managers and identified the different influence tactics used by them (Kipnis et al.; Yukl & Falbe, 1990). Research has also focused on how often different influence tactics are used with different targets and for various objectives (Ansari & Kapoor, 1987; Erez & Rim, 1982; Erez, Rim, & Keider, 1986; Kipnis et al.; Schmidt & Kipnis, 1984; Yukl & Falbe, 1990). More recently, there has been an interest in the effects of cultural dimensions on influence behavior (Ralston, Terpstra, Cunniff, & Gustafson, 1995; Rao & Hashimoto, 1996; Rao & Schmidt, 1995; Schmidt & Yeh, 1992). There is also a significant amount of research on the outcomes of using various influence tactics (Falbe & Yukl, 1992; Yukl, Kim, &

Falbe, 1996; Yukl & Tracey, 1992). Outcomes studied include task commitment and manager effectiveness (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). An important potential outcome of influence attempts that has not received much research attention is Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB, Organ, 1988). This paper develops a conceptual framework for relating supervisory influence to OCB directed at the supervisor or supervisor-directed OCB (Masterson, Lewis, Goldman, & Taylor, 2000). Specifically, this paper argues that the use of certain influence tactics lead to social exchange relationships (Blau, 1964) between the supervisor (agent) and the employee (target), represented by high quality Leader-Member Exchange (LMX, Graen & Scandura, 1987). The high quality LMX in turn leads to supervisor-directed OCB.

ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR

Originally, Organ (1988) defined OCB as behavior that is not formally prescribed or officially rewarded by the organization, but at the same time, in the aggregate contributes to organizational effectiveness. More recently, Organ has broadened the definition of OCB as behavior that supports the social and psychological environment in which task performance takes place (Organ, 1997). In organizations there are at least three different beneficiaries of these behaviors; the organization itself, the immediate supervisor, and co-workers (Masterson et al. 2000; Settoon, Bennett, & Liden, 1996; Wayne, Shore & Liden, 1997; Williams & Anderson, 1991). This paper focuses on OCB that benefit the immediate supervisor or supervisor-directed OCB. Examples of supervisor–directed OCB include, accepting extra duties and responsibilities at work, working overtime when needed, and helping supervisors with their work (Masterson et al.).

From the above examples it is clear that supervisor-directed OCB can contribute to organizational performance in many ways. Podsakoff and MacKenzie argue that in general, OCB may enhance organizational performance "by 'lubricating' the social machinery of the organization, reducing friction, and/or increasing efficiency" (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997, 135). OCB may also contribute to organizational success by enhancing co-worker and managerial productivity, promoting better use of scarce resources, improving coordination, strengthening the organization's ability to attract and retain better employees, reducing variability of performance, and enabling better adaptation to environmental changes. Results of several empirical studies indicate that OCB is related to organizational performance (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bacharach, 2000).

SOCIAL EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIP AND LMX

Social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) is the basis for much of the research that attempts to explain OCB (Deluga, 1994; Konovsky & Pugh, 1994; Masterson et al. 2000; Organ, 1988; Settoon et al. 1996; Wayne et al. 1997). Many social associations, including the relationships that develop at work, can be considered as exchange relationships (Blau, 1964). According to Blau (1964),

exchange relationships can be broadly categorized as either economic or social. In economic exchange the terms of exchange are clearly specified, usually through a formal contract. In social exchange, while there is an expectation of some return in the future for any favor rendered, the exact nature and timing of the return is not stipulated in advance. The nature and timing of the return is left to the discretion of the one who makes it. Moreover, in social exchange, in contrast to economic exchange, there is no formal mechanism for ensuring an appropriate return. In the absence of any formal mechanism, parties must trust each other to discharge their mutual obligations. Here the relationship itself develops an intrinsic value beyond the value of whatever is exchanged. Social exchange thus leads to the development of feelings of personal obligation, gratitude and trust. Relationships that develop at work may have elements of both economic and social exchange. Employees are more likely to engage in OCB when these relationships begin to move toward social exchanges. The primary relationships that employees develop at work are with the organizations, the supervisor and co-workers (Masterson et al. 2000; Settoon et al. 1996; Wayne et al.1997; Williams & Anderson, 1991). The focus of this paper is on the relationship that employees develop with their supervisor.

Leader-member exchange or LMX (Graen & Scandura, 1987) is a variable that represents social exchange relationship with the immediate supervisor (Masterson et al. 2000; Wayne et al. 1997). Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) model (Dienesch & Liden, 1986; Liden, Wayne & Stillwell, 1993; Gerstner & Day, 1997) proposes that leaders exhibit very different patterns of behavior toward different members of the work group. These differences lead to the development of basically two types of relationships (exchanges) between leaders and members. One type, the high quality leader-member exchange, is characterized by mutual trust and support, interpersonal attraction, loyalty, bi-directional influence, and extra-contractual behavior exchange (Duchon, Green & Taber, 1986; Deluga, 1994). Employees involved in high quality leader-member exchange are said to constitute the "in-group" (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975). The other type, the low quality leader-member exchange is characterized by unidirectional downward influence based on formal organizational authority and contractual relations (Duchon et al.; Deluga, 1994). Employees involved in the low quality exchange form the "out-group" (Dansereau et al.). High quality LMX (in-group membership) has been associated with a number of positive outcomes including job performance, satisfaction with supervision, overall satisfaction, commitment, low role conflict, role clarity, member competence and low turnover intentions (Gerstner & Day, 1997).

Wayne and Green (1993) suggest that when supervisors engage in behaviors indicating positive regard for employees, employees feel obliged to reciprocate so that the exchange is mutually beneficial. Thus, LMX affects not only the supervisor's behavior toward the subordinate, but also the subordinate's behavior toward the supervisor. Social exchange perspective focuses attention on subordinate's behavior as reciprocation for supervisory behavior. One way in which subordinates can reciprocate the support from the supervisor is through OCB directed at the supervisor. This is because supervisor-directed OCB will make the supervisor's job easier by

preventing minor disruptions and by giving him or her time to focus on major problems. High LMX is a social exchange relationship and OCB is an appropriate currency for exchange because it is not strictly specified, measured, or formally rewarded.

Current research on organizational justice indicates that perceptions of interactional justice are an important input into employees' judgments of the quality of their exchange relationships with their supervisors (Masterson et al. 2000). Interactional justice (Bies, & Moag, 1986) focuses on the employees' perceptions of the quality of interpersonal treatment received from supervisors during the enactment of organizational procedures. Masterson et al. found that LMX mediated the relationship between interactional justice and supervisor-directed OCB. This suggests that the nature of the day-to-day interactions between the supervisor and the subordinate affects the quality of their relationship, which in turn is an important source of influence on the behavior and attitudes of the subordinate. It can be argued that because influence attempts are a common form of interaction between the supervisor and the subordinate, the type of influence tactics used by the supervisor with a subordinate will also affect the quality of their relationship. Since, LMX is related to OCB, supervisor's influence tactics are likely to affect subordinate OCB through LMX.

INFLUENCE TACTICS

Kipnis and Schmidt (1982) identified seven influence tactics used by supervisors with their subordinates. These are friendliness, reason, bargaining, assertiveness, sanctions, higher authority, and coalition. Friendliness tactic is an attempt to influence subordinates by causing them to think well of the supervisor. Reason is the tactic of using data and information to support the influence attempt. Bargaining is attempting to influence subordinates by means of negotiation and the exchange of benefits or favors. Assertiveness is attempting to influence the subordinate by the forceful manner of the supervisor. Sanctions involve the use of power inherent in the organization to back up the influence attempt. Higher authority is a tactic that relies on the chain of command or people higher up in the organization who have power over the subordinate. Finally, coalition is the use of other people in the organization to assist supervisors in influencing their subordinates. Kipnis and Schmidt (1985) suggested that influence tactics could be grouped into three categories: hard tactics, soft tactics, and rational persuasion. However, empirically, rational persuasion merges with soft tactics in a forced two-factor solution (personal communication, S. M. Schmidt, August 14, 2002). Some researchers therefore use just two categories, soft and hard. This paper also follows this classification of influence tactics. The expanded soft tactics category includes friendliness, reason, and bargaining. These tactics are based on personal power and power sharing. Conceptually, soft tactics are tactics that the agent believes will not force the target to comply. The agent believes that the target has the option to refuse. Consequently, complying with the influence attempt is attributed to the volition of the target rather than to lack of choice. Targets and their behaviors are held in higher esteem than if they had no choice but to comply. Thus, soft tactics and

rational persuasion are affiliative rather than challenging behaviors and will tend to improve the relationship (Van Dyne, Cummings, & Parks, 1995). These tactics are likely to lead to high quality LMX.

Hard tactics include assertiveness, sanctions, higher authority, and coalition. These tactics are based on authority and position power and tend to be used in a manipulative or impersonal manner. In this case, the agent believes that targets have no choice but to comply. Target compliance is therefore attributed to the tactic rather than to the volition of the target. Hence, targets and their behavior are held in low esteem. These tactics therefore characterize low quality LMX.

Yukl and colleagues (Falbe & Yukl, 1992; Yukl & Tracey, 1992; Yukl, Kim, & Falbe, 1996) found that soft tactics are positively related to task commitment. They define task commitment as "strong enthusiasm and special effort beyond what is normally expected" (Yukl & Tracey, 1992, 530). The relationship of hard tactics to task commitment was negative or non-significant. However, they did not measure LMX.

One dimension of OCB described by Organ (1988) is conscientiousness. Conscientiousness is described as carrying out role behaviors well beyond minimum required levels. Since task commitment includes special effort beyond what is normally expected, it is similar to conscientiousness. Task commitment on the part of employees is likely to benefit the supervisor. This is because, when employees are committed to their tasks, the supervisor needs to put less effort to motivate them. Moreover, task commitment from employee is likely to lead to higher performance which may reflect positively on the supervisor. Thus the findings of the above research provide indirect support for a positive relationship between soft-influence tactics and supervisor-directed OCB.

The above discussion leads to the following propositions regarding the relationship among influence tactics, LMX, and supervisor-directed OCB.

Proposition 1	Soft tactics (friendliness, reason, and bargaining) will be positively related to high quality LMX and OCB directed toward the supervisor.
Proposition 2	Hard tactics (assertiveness, sanctions, higher authority, and coalition) will be negatively related to high quality LMX and OCB directed toward the supervisor.
Proposition 3	The quality of LMX will mediate the relationship between influence tactics and OCB directed toward the supervisor.

CONCLUSION

This paper used social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) to relate influence tactics and LMX to supervisor-directed OCB. It proposed that the use of soft influence tactics by supervisors in

downward influence attempts leads to social exchange relationships with employees, represented by high quality LMX. High quality LMX relationships (social exchanges) in turn encourage employees to engage in supervisor-directed OCB. The basic logic of the paper is that day to day interactions (including downward influence attempts) between a supervisor and an employee become integrated into the history of experiences with that supervisor for an employee. This history influences the quality of the relationship with that supervisor and the behavior of the employee (Masterson, et al. 2000).

By relating influence tactics to LMX, this paper integrated these two streams of literature in leadership research. Further, this paper extended social exchange theory research by proposing influence tactics as an antecedent of social exchange relationships. Finally, the paper extended OCB research by proposing influence tactics as an antecedent of supervisor-directed OCB. Currently, there is no direct empirical research relating influence tactics to LMX and supervisor-directed OCB. The propositions of this paper can form the bases for empirical research in this area. Ideally, longitudinal designs should be used with data gathered from supervisor-employee dyads. Employees could provide data on influence tactics used by supervisors and on LMX at a point in time. Supervisors could provide data on employee OCB at a later time. This design will provide a relatively strong test of causal relationships.

The propositions developed in this paper, if supported by empirical evidence, have important practical implications. They may provide guidelines for training supervisors in the use of appropriate influence tactics for promoting high quality LMX and supervisor-directed OCB.

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COLLEGIALITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN COLLEGIALITY

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ABSTRACT

Collegiality is becoming the "fourth" criteria in tenure and other faculty evaluations at institutions of higher learning. The "three pillars" of teaching, research, and service have their own ambiguities, but the debate over the appropriateness of adding collegiality is heating up. Courts have generally upheld the right of universities to use collegiality as an evaluation factor. Yet, collegiality has been labeled a "tenure battleground" and the American Association of University Professors recently adopted a statement urging the end of the use of collegiality as an independent performance element. Proliferation set against opposition makes collegiality one of the hot issues in higher education.

If we are going to argue about the appropriateness of collegiality then we need to better understand the concept. There is a lack of agreement on the definition of the term. This conceptual paper attempts to define the nomological net surrounding the concept of "collegiality". This paper identifies three primary dimensions found in the literature. It begins the identification of concepts for convergent and discriminant validity. Further research is called for in this article and an outline for empirical study is proposed.

INTRODUCTION

The three "pillars" of performance for those teaching in higher education seem embedded into the very fabric of academic life for most. Teaching, research, and service have, for years, served as the only specified factors for tenure, promotion, and other academic reviews. However, in 1981 Mayberry v. Dees introduced a fourth factor, "collegiality," into higher education case law as a separate criterion for tenure and other reviews of performance (Connell & Savage, 2001). Mayberry stated that collegiality is "the capacity to relate well and constructively to the comparatively small bank of scholars on whom the fate of the university rests."(Mayberry v. Dees, 633 F.2d at 514). For instance, tenure and promotion candidates must self report on the elements of "teaching, research, professional activity, service, and collegiality" (College of Arts and Sciences, 2004). Courts have upheld the rights of a college or university to consider collegiality as a valid issue in tenure, promotion and termination decisions for years. There has been an increase in cases

and disputes involving collegiality since Mayberry (Lewin, 2002) and there also seems to be a corresponding increase in the use of collegiality as a separate factor in departments, colleges, and universities.

Some think that the addition of a fourth pillar will cause the building of academia to fall down. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) issued a formal statement criticizing the use of collegiality as a "distinct" criterion and characterizing it as dangerous. The AAUP sees an increasing tendency to use collegiality as a fourth factor on the part of administrations, governing boards, department chairs, and members of promotion and tenure committees (AAUP, 1999) and opposes this practice. Other detractors have referred to this fourth factor as a "fourth bucket" which must be filled (Tenure and promotion).

STATUS OR BEHAVIOR?

While some define collegiality as a sum of enumerated (or unenumerated) behaviors, others see it only as a "status" description. This latter argument is that collegiality is not an activity or set of behaviors; "it is (instead) a relationship" (Hartle, 2004). This tautological argument is worth analysis. One dictionary seems, on the surface, to follow this view. Merriam-Webster defines collegiality as "the relationship of colleagues; specifically the participation of bishops in the government of the Roman Catholic Church in collaboration with the Pope" (Merriam-Webster, 2005). First we have the "status" but this is then followed by something more. Another dictionary defines collegiality as "shared power and authority vested among colleagues" and also includes reference to the Roman Catholic Church by giving a second definition: "the doctrine that bishops collectively share collegiate power" (American Heritage Dictionary, 2004). Therefore, one definition refers to "relationship" while the other discusses "shared power".

Here is the "status" argument in a nutshell: two bishops are bishops within the Catholic Church therefore they are collegial. By extension, two professors are in the same college therefore they are collegial. If you belong to a college, you possess collegiality just as you need only to exist to possess existence (Wrighton, 1984)

However, the definitions in both dictionaries move beyond mere status to describe a behavior; that of sharing power. Merriam-Webster enumerates this behavior or activity by defining collegiality as "the participation of bishops in the government… in collaboration…." Participation and collaboration describe something beyond merely having two people on the same list. Participating and collaborating are active behaviors.

If organizations intended to use the status definition then they would simply state that faculty are collegial *a priori*. There would be nothing further to state and no reason to attempt further definition. No one could do anything, other than leave the institution or profession, to be "less" collegial. Therefore, logic must take us beyond this status definition of collegiality in terms of intended organizational use.

Advancing past the status type of definition does not mean that the behavior or activity definition becomes clear. Without some explicit definition, collegiality is likely to be defined by one's individual perception rather than one's contract of employment (Bugeja, 2002). Many organizations are attempting to describe the behaviors or activities expected when one uses the term "collegial". The concept might benefit from trying to identify its factors. This paper suggests three dimensions.

THE CONFLICT MANAGEMENT DIMENSION

Dimension one deals with the conflict management of colleagues. Some of the enumerated behaviors are based on classical conflict management styles (Thomas, 1976). Cooperation, collaboration, and compromise are all used to describe collegiality (Connell & Savage, 2001). One college states "collegiality is a representative and collaborative decision making process..." (Shared leadership model, 2003).Indeed, other conflict management styles from Thomas' model, such as accommodating, competing, and even avoiding, might correlate with the concept of collegiality. It is interesting that the central thrust of sharing power from the dictionary definitions leads to issues of conflict and conflict management styles. Since most academic decisions raise more than one possible decision possibility, resolving inherent conflicts in ideas becomes central to the description of collegiality. Work on curriculum, tenure and promotion, and other areas needs to be accomplished by the "college" (referring to the college within the word colleague). Such work cannot just continue without resolution and therefore conflict management plays an important role in this shared power situation.

It is worth noting that a lack of collegiality on this dimension results in high conflict and high stress departments, colleges, and universities. While some faculty may want to articulate an academic unit as a collection of independent contractors, the shared decision making and shared power elements make this impossible. Faculty responsibilities cannot be carried out successfully if each faculty member acts like a independent contractor and only considers his or her own personal interest (Connell, 2001). Decisions on curriculum and other complex issues demand resolution and some type of agreement. A diversity of viewpoints requires skillful collegial work which balances freedom and diversity with the need to complete academic decisions.

THE SOCIAL BEHAVIOR DIMENSION

Dimension two deals with the social dimensions of collegiality. Social behaviors can also help to describe activities which are collegial. Social constructs such as culture, congeniality, and connection present a different viewpoint on the term collegiality. For instance, talking and listening are valued as means of sharing experiences including emotional content (Nias, 1998). Faculty work outside the classroom requires an increasing amount of collaboration, including talking and

listening. The social relationships among the faculty are an important aspect of collegiality and determining whether they are positive to the individuals and functional to the organization or whether they are negative and dysfunctional. Faculty members, in collaboration with their colleagues, continually negotiate and contest the workplace culture. Collegial practices are activities through which the organizational culture is developed (Jarzabkowski, 2001).

Even humor can play a positive role. Shared engagement in an intrinsically enjoyable activity creates a shared memory and affirms a sense of "groupness" which helps foster an appreciation of "one's peers as whole persons rather than as stereotypical role occupants" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995, p. 115). Employees have sometimes found their workplace to be pleasant primarily because of the relationships they form and the expressive behavior that these relationships allow (Fine, 1998).

Culture can be defined as having elements of both content and form. The content of the faculty culture is the surface elements of what faculty say, do, and think. The form of the faculty culture consists of the patterns of relationships and forms of association between its members (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 166). Hargreaves and others assert that the form element of culture plays a powerful and important role in the life and work of faculty members. From this view, collegiality can contribute to workplace satisfaction and help to create social support. Both of these outcomes help faculty to handle stress and burnout (Maslach & Leiter, 1999).

It may be easier to see how the lack of collegiality on these aspects can drive the opposite individual outcomes of isolation, dissatisfaction, and conflict. Since these last two outcomes in turn drive organizational outcomes of turnover and conflict at universities (Rosser, 2004) the social aspects of inadequate levels of collegiality should be seen as important. An increase in policies and expectations on collegiality in higher education are being made based partially upon an implicit understanding of the dysfunctional and harmful effects of a lack of collegiality in a unit. What faculty member has not either been part of or heard of a unit where a lack of collegiality has driven bickering, insensitivity, lack of respect, harassment, inappropriateness, and isolation?

In Kelly v. Kansas City Community College (1982) two nursing faculty members refused to cooperate with colleagues, made derogatory comments about staff members, and repeatedly challenged the nursing director's authority. They refused to provide helpful and relevant information to their colleagues, including tests. There was constant sniping in staff meetings making meetings tense and uneasy for members. The two also pressured staff to align with them against others. The state board of nursing even considered closing down the program. The two were terminated and their termination was upheld by the board of trustees, the trial court, and the Kansas Supreme Court. The Kansas Supreme Court stated "their efforts consistently undermined the director…caused a serious morale problem within the faculty... (and) there was evidence that both teachers refused to cooperate with the administration or other teachers. (Kelly, 1982)"

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP DIMENSION

Dimension three focuses upon organizational citizenship. Being a good "citizen" among colleagues and doing one's share is considered part of collegiality. Doing one's share has been called "civic virtue". One department offers the following as part of it's definition of collegiality: "pulling one's weight in the department: assuming and carrying out a reasonable and appropriate share of department's business; reliably following through on departmental assignments; taking part in departmental governance and decision making; and advising and providing support and assistance for students" (History Department Personnel Procedures, 2000).

Organ's original conceptualization of organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) identified Civic Virtue, Conscientiousness, Sportsmanship, Courtesy, and Altruism as "extra-role" or discretionary behaviors for which the organization provides no direct or formal reinforcement (Organ 1988). In 1997 Organ recast the extra-role and discretionary element of these five behaviors because so many jobs had been empowered and enriched to the extent that these five behaviors were often considered "in-role" and part of many jobs. Organ redefined OCBs as "contributions to the maintenance and enhancement of the social and psychological context that supports task performance" (Organ, 1997). Faculty members have been empowered and allowed decision making authority over many items on our campuses for many years. This is not to say that administrations and others do not make important decisions. However, there is shared power at some level among every faculty unit over specified issues.

Several of Organ's OCB dimensions can be found explicitly or implicitly as part of definitions of collegiality. As stated above, "civic virtue" has been defined as behavior on the part of individuals indicating that they are doing their share and are responsibly participating in the life of the organization. Courtesy is behavior aimed at preventing work-related problems with others. Sportsmanship is "willingness to tolerate less than ideal circumstances without complaining and to avoid petty grievances, railing against real or imagined slights, and making federal cases out of small potatoes" (Farh, Zhong, & Organ, 2004). Courtesy and Sportsmanship can be seen in the new tenure and promotion policy at Drexel University College of Medicine: "…faculty members are expected to display the collegiality toward colleagues, students and staff that is essential to the harmonious conduct of the College's missions" (Tenure and promotion to tenure, 2004). Harmoniousness is the goal of the collegial behavior at Drexel's College of Medicine.

Respect can also be considered a subdimension within the citizenship dimension. Colleagues are those explicitly united in a common purpose and respecting each other's abilities to work toward that purpose. Thus, the word collegiality can connote respect for another's commitment to the common purpose and ability to work toward it (Wikipedia, 2004). An underlying respect for the other citizens within the organization is part of being a good citizen, and within this dimension of collegiality. The negative and dysfunctional aspects illustrated and discussed above often indicate

a lack of respect of colleagues. An understanding of the focus and effort it takes to become and succeed as a faculty member should create a healthy respect among colleagues.

Respect is an important dimension of collegiality according to the AAUP. It should be pointed out that the AAUP is critical of collegiality based upon its opposition to collegiality becoming a separate element, a "fourth pillar". In the AAUP statement on professional ethics it says that "as colleagues, professors have obligations that derive from common membership in the community of scholars. Professors do not discriminate against or harass colleagues. They respect and defend the free inquiry of associates. In the exchange of criticism and ideas professors show due respect for the opinions of others…Professors accept their share of faculty responsibilities for the governance of their institution" (AAUP, 1987).

It is not the purpose of this paper to suggest that collegiality should or should not become a separate factor for tenure and promotion policies in higher education. Some will think that it should while others will oppose its use. Others object to it's independence as a factor but support it as important within the traditional three pillars of research, teaching, and service. The AAUP takes the latter position when it says few "would deny that collegiality, in the sense of collaboration and constructive cooperation, identifies important aspects of a faculty member's overall performance. A faculty member may legitimately be called upon to participate in the development of curricula and standards for the evaluation of teaching, as well as in peer review of the teaching of colleagues. Much research…is by its nature collaborative and requires teamwork as well as the ability to engage in independent investigation. And committee service…is a logical outgrowth of the Association's view that a faculty member is an "officer" of the college or university in which he or she fulfills professional duties. Understood in this way, collegiality is not a distinct capacity to be assessed independently of the traditional triumvirate..." (AAUP, 1999).

Instead, this paper seeks to explore the definition of collegiality and discuss the construct. This paper can serve as an attempt to define the nomological net in which the construct is found. The nomological net or network was developed as part of an effort for developing standards for psychological testing and refers to defining the construct of interest and its relationship to other constructs (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). Identifying convergent and discriminant validity is useful in proving the content validity of the concept being studied (Benson, 1998).

For instance, what other concepts are similar to collegiality? Several are proposed in this paper. The conflict management styles of cooperation, collaboration, and compromise are identified under the first dimension. The social factors of culture, congeniality, and social connection are identified under the second dimension. Organizational citizenship and the factors of civic virtue, sportsmanship, courtesy, and respect are identified under the third dimension in this paper. These concepts should be related to each other under the theory discussed surrounding the concept of collegiality. Therefore, there should be a convergence or correspondence between these concepts.

What concepts are not related to the construct of collegiality? In the discussion of the AAUP statements on ethics and on collegiality one could argue that teaching, research, and service are

related. However, since other institutions see collegiality as a fourth pillar of faculty performance, we can posit that teaching, research, and service are independent of the concept of collegiality. Therefore, we might look to see if there is discriminant validity between collegiality and these three concepts.

Further study is needed to empirically test hypotheses related to convergent and discriminant validity as discussed above. The exploratory conceptual discussion of the concept of collegiality in this paper might serve as a basis for hypotheses which could further define empirically the nomological net and establish construct validity for this important concept. This definition would be helpful to organizations which might consider adding collegiality as a fourth pillar. This could also prove helpful to those who consider collegiality as lacking independence from teaching, research, and service behaviors. Such research would also be helpful to those charged with the responsibility of discussing and writing about collegiality in faculty policies and procedures.

Other factors which should be within the nomological net need to be identified. There might additional dimensions not identified in this paper. Further, the three dimensions offered in this paper may lack sufficient independence to withstand empirical analysis. The hope is that this paper will provide a starting point for identifying the conceptual definition of collegiality. We need stronger guidance than that offered by dictionaries. We also need a standard better than the old definition of pornography once used by the Supreme Court "I know it when I see it." Vagueness and ambiguity pose weaknesses in any tenure, promotion, termination, or other faculty performance appraisal function. Mistakes in this area can harm careers and lead to misdirection of efforts.

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HAVE BUSINESS COMMUNICATION INSTRUCTORS CHANGED THEIR PERCEPTION OF BUSINESS ETHICS? A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

The major purpose of this study was to determine if business communication instructors in the Southeastern and Southwestern Regions of the Association for Business Communication changed their perceptions of the teaching of business ethics between 1999 and 2004. This study analyzed and compared the current views of business communication instructors with those in the 1999 study. For example, in 1999, 83 percent of the respondents indicated that they taught business ethics topics in their courses. In the 2004 study, this percentage increased to 92 percent.

INTRODUCTION

Interest in business ethics has grown significantly over the last few years. Most organizations still focus on maximizing profits for investors but many also emphasize appropriate and conscientious operational conduct and its effects on employees, investors, customers, and the entire business community. However, as evidenced by recent events, not all companies follow ethical tenets. Furthermore, in some cases, what a company publicly espouses may be vastly different from what is actually practiced.

Business ethics is currently one of the most important topics in business education instruction. "The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of business" (AACSB) has studied this issue and is considering how it should be incorporated into the business curriculum. It is increasingly clear that current and future business graduates need information about acceptable business practices in order to perform effectively in ethical business environments.

PROBLEM

The problem of this study is to determine if business communication instructors in the Southeastern and Southwestern Regions of the Association for Business Communication have

changed their perception of business ethics during the past five years. A questionnaire has been developed and mailed to the business communication instructors in these regions. A similar questionnaire was sent to the same response group in 1999. A comparison of the responses will be made. In light of recent business scandals, it is hypothesized the business communication instructors will be more concerned about ethics instruction now than they were in the past.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this study are to compare the results of the 1999 study with those from the 2004 study. Comparisons will be made for the two years:

1.   to determine if business ethics topics were included in the curriculum
2.   to determine the class hours spent on business ethics
3.   to determine the perceived value of business ethics
4.   to determine how respondents rated undergraduate instruction in business ethics
5.   to determine if the emphasis on business ethics has changed
6   to determine the business ethics topics taught
7   to determine the value of various teaching methods/materials.
8   to determine how the instructors received their education in ethics.

RELATED LITERATURE

Since 2001, business educators have become familiar with Enron, Arthur Andersen, WorldCom, Tyco, and others. How has this affected instructor thinking on ethics and teaching an ethics course in colleges of business?

According to David Callahan, author of *The Cheating Culture*, we seem to be becoming a nation of cheaters. He says, "Executives and workers steal $600 billion from their companies each year compared to the federal deficit total of $560 billion". He blames the "dog eat dog economic climate of the past two decades" and pushes for cultural change (Callahan 2004).

AACSB emphasized in their revised 'Eligibility Procedures and Standards for Business Accreditation' the importance of ethics instruction. One of the standards included is Ethical understanding and reasoning abilities (AACSB, 2004).

In a speech, "Will Our Moral Compass Fail", given to the Athens West Rotary Club, Athens, Georgia in April 2003, Dr. Scherer says "the past two years (2002 and 2003) may be characterized as the most serious period of ethics scandal on the part of business since the 1980s" (Carroll and Scherer p 530). The recent scandals are far worse than previous scandals because so many employees and investors were affected. He lays the blame at the feet of top executives, auditors and accountants, government regulators, and the board of directors. Another serious concern is that few

business schools offer ethics courses. Most professors seem to feel their own subject matter is more important than ethics. Since ethics is not afforded prominence in the business school, the students may also feel it is not as important (Carroll and Scherer, 2003).

Since the executives involved in the scandals attended some of the most prestigious business schools, what went wrong and what can be done for future students? Are we giving our business students provided proper training in ethics?

Certainly we can start with values education in young students. What about college students and the accountants, CEOs and lawyers that are in the workforce (Frohnen and Clarke, 2002).

Since the scandals, business schools have had to rethink their position on ethics courses. In the past, most schools have incorporated ethics in other courses. According to Clarke Thomas, there are stirrings in the business colleges indicating that ethics should be addressed more comprehensively. Perhaps there should be a separate course in ethics. There has been further support for a requirement that business colleges require ethics for AACSB accreditation.

In September 2003, Siva Sankaran, and Tung Bui report on the Relationship between Student Characteristics and Ethics: Implications for Educators.

> *The characteristics studied are competitiveness, personality type, age, gender, and major. A sample of 345 college students was studied. Results showed that ethics is inversely related to competitiveness, ethics improves with age, gender does not impact ethics, and level of ethics differs across majors. Teaching strategies to improve ethics are presented* (p.245).

Sankaran and Bui recommend ethics be a part of every curriculum. Teaching activities should include case studies, role-playing, debates, and internship experience focusing on feeling of those who receive unethical treatment. Educational institutions must enforce a strong code of ethics; instructors should strictly enforce ethics in the classroom. Students should be able to anonymously access the instructor to report unethical practices, and ethical issues related to their discipline should be discussed in class.

Other instructional techniques include the following: the University of Maryland is taking MBA students to a federal prison to talk with executives turned inmate about the consequences of compromising ethical standards. (Carroll et al., 2003) Many business schools have a new ethics course. Harvard requires all new MBA students to take an interdisciplinary ethics course that includes case studies of Enron and WorldCom. Undergraduate business students in Arizona have to sign an "integrity oath" and faculty members use plagiarism-detecting software (Mangan, 2004). In his speech, "Improper Corporate Behavior" Ronald Berenbeim discusses his business ethics course at the Stem School of Business Administration, New York University. He reports on "Enron's Syllabus of Errors because the company is a perfect pedagogical instrument for teaching an entire course in business ethics (p 306).

Students at the University of Arizona analyze case studies and are asked to make ethical decisions on the spot. At Saint Vincent College in Pennsylvania, a capstone course, Ethical

Environment in the Accounting profession will help students better understand the choices accountants have to make today (Nicole, 2002).

The University of St. Thomas's College of Business reported that Enron has become "a teaching moment." Efforts are made to bring ethics into all the professional courses. All students take an introductory course in ethics and end their studies with a capstone that relates ethical responsibility to their individual field of study (Lefevere, 2002). Business school professors need to think about how their classes help prepare students for the business world and the ethical decisions they will have to make.

METHODOLOGY

In the 1999 survey 250 questionnaires were sent to the members of the Southwestern and Southeastern regions of the Association of Business Communication. Of these 65 were returned at a response rate of 26%.Fifty four or 21.6% percent were usable. For the 2004 survey questionnaires were again sent to all members of both organizations. A total of 226 questionnaires were sent and 85 were returned for a response rate of 38%. Seventy two or 32% returned were usable. The same questions were asked in both surveys – questions dealing with the value of ethics to a business curriculum, whether ethics is taught in their courses, how many class room hours are devoted to teaching ethics and how they obtained their training in ethics. In addition the instructors were asked in the 2004 survey whether they had increased the emphasis on the ethics in their courses and if so, for what reason(s).

FINDINGS

In 1999, 45 or 83 % of the respondents indicated that they taught business ethics in their communication classes. By 2004 the percent teaching ethics in the class grew to 92% - 66 of the 72 respondents (See Table 1).

Table 1: Do you teach business ethics topics in your course(s)?				
Response	1999		2004	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	45	83	66	92
No	9	17	6	8
Total	54	100	72	100

In 2004 only 6 of the instructors indicated that they were not teaching ethics compared to 9 in 1999.In 1999, half of those not teaching ethics presently in their course was because the

curriculum contents of their courses were too full – eight out of nine in 1999 and three out of six in 2004 (see Table 2). None of the 6 instructors who do not currently teach ethics plan to introduce ethics topics into their courses in the near future (see Table 3).

Table 2: If "No" why is business ethics not included in the business curriculum?				
Response	1999		2004	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Curriculum too full	8	89	3	50
Not an appropriate topic for my course	2	22	1	17
Inadequate instructional material available	2	22	1	17
Ethics cannot be taught in classroom setting	0	0	0	0
Lack of personal Interest	1	11	0	0
Subject Inappropriate for Business School	0	0	0	0
Other	3	33	1	17

Table 3: Do you anticipate incorporating business ethics into your courses(s) in the near future?				
Response	1999		2004	
	N	%	N	%
YES	2	11	0	0
NO	4	45	4	67
UNDECIDED	3	33	2	33
TOTAL	9	99	6	100

In both the 1999 and the 2004 surveys the respondents who teach ethics in their courses were asked to indicate how valuable ethics instruction is in the business curriculum. The vast majority of the instructors rated ethics instruction in the business program as either "very valuable" or "valuable" in both studies. In the 1999 survey, 56% of the respondents indicated that such instruction is "very valuable" to the business curriculum compared to 2004 where the percent of respondents indicating that ethics instruction is "very valuable" had increased to 70% (see Table 4).

The instructors who teach ethics were asked how many hours they spend covering on ethical topics in their courses. Fifty -seven percent of the current instructors indicated that they spend three or more hours on the study of ethical topics compared to 51% who indicated that they spent this amount of time in 1999. Fifteen percent of the 1999 respondents stated that they spend 5 or more hours on discussing ethical issues compared to 24 percent in the 2004 survey (see Table 5).

Table 4: How Valuable is business ethics Instruction?				
Response	1999		2004	
	N	%	N	%
Very Valuable	25	56	46	70
Valuable	20	44	16	24
Little Value	0	0	2	3
No Value	0	0	0	0
Undecided	0	0	2	3
Total	45	100	66	100

Table 5: How many class hours are spent per semester on business ethics?				
Response	**1999**		**2004**	
	N	%	N	%
Less than One hour	3	7	3	5
One hour to less than Three hours	19	42	25	38
Three hours to less than Four hours	16	36	22	33
Five hours to less than Seven hours	5	11	9	14
Seven hours or more	2	4	7	10
Total	45	100	66	100

The 2004 respondents were asked whether they had increased their emphasis on ethics instructions during the past four years. Seventy-four percent of the respondents answered "yes" (see Table 6). If they responded "yes" to the question of increasing their efforts in ethics they were then asked "why". The vast majority - 71% - indicated that it was due to the recent business scandals. Other causes identified by about one fourth of the respondents were 1) pressure from the AACSB, 2) from college advisory council recommendations and 3) from internal faculty curriculum reviews (see Table 7).

Table 6: Have you increased the emphasis on business ethics in your course(s) in the last four years?		
Response	Number	Percent
Yes	49	74
No	15	23
Undecided	2	3
Total	66	100

Table 7: If "yes" why did you increase the emphasis on teaching business ethics?		
Response	2004	
	N	%
Because of Business Scandals	35	71
Because of AACSB accreditation	14	28
Advisory council recommendations	12	24
Curriculum Reviews	11	22
Demand by corporations that ethics be taught	8	16
Other	10	20

The instructors were queried as to which ethics topics they felt were important to be included in their courses. Twenty six topics were selected based on a review of the literature and previous studies. These topics and the numbers and percentages of respondents selecting them for both surveys are included in Table 8. The first eight topics chosen in 1999 are same as those chosen by the current respondents with only a slight reordering of their ranks. The most selected topic in both surveys, "ethical communication", increased in percentage of respondents selecting it - with 84% choosing this topic in 1999 compared to 92% in 2004. "Ethics and Culture" was the second highest topic chosen in both surveys receiving 73% in each study.

The "definition of ethics, morals and laws was rated 4th in the 1999 survey, but rose to third in the latest study, increasing from 64% to 72% of the respondents selecting it. Five of the remaining six highest selected topics had about the same percentage of respondents choosing them in both surveys - these were "individual values", "attitude towards ethics", "monitoring employee voicemail", "e-mail and telephone usage", and "violation of copyright". "Sexual Harassment" moved from 5th to 7th place with the percentage dropping from 58% to 53%.

There were five factors which increased significantly in percentage of respondents and in rank from the 1999 to the 2004 study. "Reporting ethical violations" rose from 19th in rank to 9th with 31% of the respondents selecting it in 1999 compared to 45% in 2004. "Ethics in foreign markets" went from 15th place to 10th place with 38 % selecting this topic in 1999 compared with 44 % in 2004. "Truth in advertising" increased from 36% to 39% moving it from 17th to the 12th ranked topic. Other topics experiencing an increase in respondents percentage of selections were "dealing with and concern for community" went from 22% to 31% of the respondents selecting it and from 22nd ranked topic to 17th(tie) and "understanding conflict of interest" going from 20% to 31% moving up in rank from 23rd to the 17th (tie).

There were five factors which had a reduction of more than five percentage points in respondent selections between the two surveys. These factors seemed to deal with the workplace environment and with products. Instruction about "bosses requesting compromise in ethical behavior" went from 47% in 1999 to 36% in 2004 and dropped from the 9th to the 14th ranked topic.

"Misrepresentation of product features" and "software piracy" both declined from 40 to 34% dropping from 13th to 15th (tied) in rank. "Legal and regulatory issues" dropped in rank from 15th to 17th (tie) with 31% in 2004 vs. 38% in 1999. Dropping from 43% in 1999 to 28% in 2004 and from 11th position to 21st was "issues dealing with data privacy", while "health and safety concerns" dropped from 29% to 22% falling from 20th to 24th rank on the list (See Table 8).

	Table 8: Important Business Ethics Topics						
	TOPIC	1999			2004		
		N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank
1	Ethical Communication	38	84	(1)	59	92	(1)
2	Ethics and Culture	33	73	(2)	47	73	(2)
3	Definition of Ethics, Morals and Law	29	64	(4)	46	72	(3)
4	Individual Values	30	67	(3)	42	66	(4)
5	Attitude towards Ethics	25	56	(7)	37	58	(5)
6	Monitoring Employee Voice Mail, Email and Telephone Usage	26	58	(5)	35	55	(6)
7	Sexual Harassment	26	58	(5)	34	53	(7)
8	Violation of Copyright	22	49	(8)	31	48	(8)
9	Reporting Ethical Violations	14	31	(19)	29	45	(9)
10	Ethics in foreign Markets	17	38	(15)	28	44	(10)
11	Taking Credit for Work Not Done	21	47	(9)	27	42	(11)
12	Truth in Advertising	16	36	(17)	25	39	(12)
13	Bribery	19	42	(12)	24	38	(13)
14	Boss requests compromise of ethics	21	47	(9)	23	36	(14)
15	Misrepresentation of Product Features and attributes	18	40	(13)	22	34	(15)
16	Software Piracy	18	40	(13)	22	34	(15)
17	Affirmative action	15	33	(18)	20	31	(17)
18	Dealing with and concern for the community	10	22	(22)	20	31	(17)
19	Legal / Regulatory	17	38	(15)	20	31	(17)
20	Understanding conflict of Interest	9	20	(23)	20	31	(17)
21	Data Privacy	34	43	(11)	18	28	(21)
22	Environmental Pollution	11	24	(21)	17	27	(22)
23	Appreciate Business Entertainment Expense	9	20	(23)	14	22	(23)
24	Health and Safety Concerns of the workplace	13	29	(20)	14	22	(24)
25	Accurate Expense Reporting	8	18	(26)	12	19	(25)
26	Reporting time correctly	9	20	(23)	12	19	(26)

Table 9 presents data concerning the use of fourteen methods and materials used to present and teach ethics topics. Respondents were requested to indicate that the method or material was "very valuable", "valuable", "of little value" or of "no value". These responses were scored 4, 3, 2 and 1 respectively.

"Class discussions" dropped from first place in 1999 to 2nd in 2004 dropping from a mean of 3.91 to 3.52. "Case studies" took over first place in 2004 moving up from 2nd in 1999 improving its average score to 3.54 from 3.40. "Current events" remained in place #3, but increased in score from 3.28 to 3.45. Group projects, business simulations and student presentations remained in the top positions, but all increased their mean scores significantly.. "Lectures" slipped from 6th to 11th with almost equal scores of 2.73 and 2.75 for the two periods.

The lowest factors from the 1999 survey - role playing, debates and panel discussion - all moved significantly higher in the 2004 survey scores. Audio visual materials, term papers and text book reading all dropped in position on the list but retained approximately the same mean scores between the two periods investigated.

Table 9: Value of various methods / materials Very valuable = 4, Valuable =3, Little Value =2, No Value = 1 (Weighted Average)					
	TOPIC	1999		2004	
		W	Rank	W	Rank
1	Case Studies	3.40	2	3.54	1
2	Discussion	3.91	1	3.52	2
3	Current Events	3.28	3	3.45	3
4	Guest Speaker	2.75	5	3.42	4
5	Group Project	2.53	7	3.26	5
6	Business Simulations	2.22	10	3.19	6
7	Student Presentations	2.48	8	3.18	7
8	Role Playing	2.15	12	3.07	8
9	Debates	1.85	13	2.98	9
10	Panel Discussion	1.77	14	2.89	10
11	Audio/Visual Materials	2.20	11	2.89	11
11	Lectures	2.73	6	2.75	11
13	Student Term Papers	2.48	8	2.59	13
14	Text Book Reading	2.95	4	2.89	14

The instructors were asked to evaluate their school's undergraduate instruction in ethics. Sixty - three percent of the 2004 respondents evaluated their school's instruction in ethics as "excellent", "very good" or "good" compared to 51 % of the 1999 respondents. In 1999, 11% of the instructors evaluated their program as excellent compared to only 1 percent of the 2004 respondents. However the "very good category" went from 9 % in 1999 to 24 % in 2004 and the "good" category grew to 38% from 33% (see Table 10).

Table 10: How would you rate your college's/school's undergraduate instruction in business ethics?				
Response	1999		2004	
	N	%	N	%
Outstanding	5	11	1	1
Very Good	4	9	16	24
Good	15	33	25	38
Fair	10	22	12	18
Poor	5	11	5	8

Of interest to the researchers was, how the instructors received their educational training to enable them to teach ethics? As in the previous study where 87% of the respondents indicated that they learned on their own, in the 2004 study 85% indicated they prepared themselves to teach ethics. Only 30 percent of the current instructors reported having faculty development opportunities compared to 42% in the 1999 study. In both surveys a minority of respondents indicated that they had had specific training within their educational programs - 7% in 1999 and 10% in 2004 (see Table 11).

Table 11: How did you receive preparation to teach business ethics?				
Response	1999		2004	
	N	%	N	%
Self Taught	39	87	56	85
Faculty Development Opportunities	19	42	16	30
Program Curriculum for my degree	7	16	7	10
Specific Courses taken	3	7	7	10
Other	8	18	10	15

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A survey was conducted of the business communication instructors who are members of the Southeastern and the Southwestern Regions of the Association for Business Communications to determine their views teaching of business ethics. The results of this study were then compared to a similar study conducted in 1999 to determine if any changes had occurred in light of the significant business scandals which occurred early in the new century - Enron, World Com, Global Crossing, Tyco and the case of Martha Stewart.

Seventy percent of the respondents in the current survey stated that ethics instruction in the business curriculum is very important compared to the 56% who responded in this manner in the earlier survey. The most important ethical issues in both surveys were ethical communication, ethics and culture, definition of ethics and individual values. Moving somewhat higher in importance between the two surveys were reporting ethical violations and ethics in foreign markets. Also the understanding of conflict of interest was more important in the latest survey. These factors deal with the individual and his or her values and views on ethics.

Those factors which received lower responses from the first survey seem to deal with the corporation and its products and use of corporate resources. These were: boss' request for a compromise on ethics, misrepresentation of product features, software piracy, data privacy and dealing with concern for the community.

In valuing methods and materials to use in teaching ethics both studies indicated the importance of case studies, discussion groups, analysis of current events and the use of guest speakers in supporting the teaching of ethical issues. Business simulations and student presentations rose significantly in the instructors' evaluation between the two periods. Also moving up quite significantly were role playing, debates and panel discussions. All of these seem to emphasize group efforts and ways to openly present, discuss and debate views on the ethical issues. Moving somewhat lower from the previous survey were the more traditional teaching methods of text reading, lectures, audio visual materials and student term papers.

Almost all (92%) of the instructors report teaching ethics in their classes. The majority in both surveys reported spending three or more class hours in a semester discussing ethics – 51% in 1999 and 55% in the recent survey. More than 80 % of the respondents to both surveys report that they were self taught in the instruction of ethics in their courses.

The majority of the respondents to both surveys felt that their undergraduate instruction in ethics was "good", "very good", or "outstanding". In 1999 the percentage in these categories was 51% compared to 63% for the 2004 study.

Over 70 % of the 2004 survey respondents indicated that there had been an increased emphasis on ethics during the previous four years. Seventy percent of these respondents indicated that the increase in emphasis was due to the recent business scandals. About one fourth of the respondents reported that the AACSB had a role in the increased emphasis. Also cited for the

increased emphasis were recommendations from business advisory councils and the result of internal faculty curriculum reviews.

From the findings of this study it is clear that the recent business scandals have had an impact upon the teaching of ethics by communications instructors in the schools of business included in the survey. More emphasis has been placed upon the teaching of ethics in the past four years. More time is allotted to teaching this subject in the business curriculum. Of concern is the way that teachers have had to train themselves in the teaching of ethics in their courses. More than 80% of both survey respondents indicated that they trained themselves to handle this very important topic. Colleges of business must seek ways and means to provide proper training and development for faculty who will be assigned to teach ethics in the business curriculum in the future.

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PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND VOICE EFFECTS

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ABSTRACT

Granting employees the opportunity to voice their preferences and opinions during the decision making process has been found to benefit the employees, the decision maker and the organization. Voice has been found to increase fairness perceptions of the decision-making procedure, satisfaction with the outcomes, and also results in positive attitudes toward the decision maker.

While the majority of procedural justice studies provide evidence of positive effects of voice, few studies investigate the negative effects of voice. The paucity of studies documenting negative voice effects limits researchers' knowledge and understanding of voice and its impact on procedural justice judgments. An examination of the literature regarding negative voice effects revealed the terms frustration and sham were used interchangeably. Thus, the area of study pertaining to procedural justice and negative voice effects appeared ripe for investigation.

Narrative analysis of the depth interviews revealed emergent themes that identified participants' reactions to three key turning points of a decision making process. The overriding theme that captures participants' general reactions is suspicion of the decision maker's motivations and the extent to which participant input would be considered in the final decision.

This research study makes new contributions to the literature. Findings from this study help disentangle sham and frustration. Frustration occurs when the outcome is known, however, perceptions of sham occur before participants learn the outcome. In addition, a new voice effect, discrepant justice was uncovered. Discrepant justice involves disagreement between procedural and distributive fairness judgments and sheds light on how participants reconcile opposing fairness perceptions. Implications for managers and future research are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Procedural justice research emphasizes that individuals pay particular attention to and place importance on decision-making procedures. Moreover, procedural justice theory predicts organizational participants will make fairness judgments about decision-making procedures, which subsequently affect individuals' attitudes and behavior. Research has consistently shown that granting individuals the opportunity to voice their preferences and opinions during the decision-

making process increases fairness judgments. The present research is devoted to the study and development of procedural justice with special emphasis on voice effects.

The procedural justice literature contains references to positive and negative voice effects. Numerous studies support that voice enhances perceptions of fairness in procedures (positive voice effects). Few studies have investigated negative voice effects resulting in an incomplete view of voice. A body of research involving only one side of a phenomenon, such as voice effects, limits researchers' perspectives and knowledge.

Two negative voice effects, sham and frustration, are used interchangeably in the procedural justice literature. Inconsistencies in the use of these terms create confusion for researchers inside and outside the field of organizational justice. Because of the limited research devoted to negative voice effects, it is difficult to distinguish between and understand these two effects. Investigating sham and frustration could prove beneficial to this body of knowledge and open the door to further development of these constructs.

Researchers may have assumed negative effects are rare. The present study questions this assumption. Investigating the possible existence and determinants of negative voice effects has the potential to extend procedural justice knowledge.

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

Voice

Researchers invoke voice as an employee's opportunity to offer input by expressing his or her opinion (Hirschman, 1974). Studies show the organization benefits when employees are given voice in procedures. Employees are more inclined to trust supervisors and are more committed to the organization (Folger & Konovsky, 1989; Fryxell & Gordon, 1989; Gordon & Fryxell, 1989).

Positive Voice Effects

Two models offer two opposing explanations of why voice impacts outcome fairness judgments. Researchers attempted to explain the importance of voice through the self-interest and group-value models (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1987; Tyler, 1989). The self-interest model suggests that people want the opportunity to provide their side of the story to ensure favorable outcomes for themselves. The model explains the importance of voice from an instrumental perspective because participants use input as a means to an end (Tyler, 1987). The group-value model proposes that the opportunity to offer input has value regardless if it influences the outcome. The value-expressive component, the basis of the group-value model, contends the importance of voice comes from the value people perceive in the opportunity to express one's views (Tyler, 1987).

Participation

Voice as a form of participatory decision-making provides a benefit to organizations. Research findings support that individuals who were offered the opportunity to participate in the decision making process will be more satisfied with outcomes than those who did not participate (Folger, 1977; Folger, Rosenfield, Grove & Corkran, 1979; Lind, Lissak & Conlon, 1983; Musante, Gilbert & Thibaut, 1983).

A review of the studies on participatory decision making by Greenberg and Folger (1983) explain participants' increased satisfaction as the fair process effect. Individuals who participate in a decision making process may be more willing to accept outcomes (even unfavorable) because of their belief that their input was considered. "The absence of a participatory process makes it easier to perceive an allocator's decision as having been made without much thought, whereas participation can contribute to the perception that it was a considered judgment" (Greenberg & Folger, 1983: 246).

Negative Voice Effects

In some instances voice can lead to the <u>frustration effect</u>. This is a negative effect because it lowers fairness judgments (Folger, 1977). Lind and Tyler suggest frustration effects are rare and appear to occur when there is "reason to doubt the honesty of the procedure" (1988, p. 202). Cohen (1985) argues the frustration effect occurs when recipients of an allocation believe their voice was solicited only to entice them into accepting the decision maker's self-serving allocation. The frustration effect may be found more often in instances involving allocation procedures, as opposed to dispute resolution procedures (Cohen, 1985; Folger, 1977; Folger, Rosenfield, Grove & Corkan, 1979).

The frustration effect has received surprisingly little attention from organizational researchers.

Sham

The literature contains evidence of another negative voice effect termed a sham (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Goodwin & Ross, 1992). A sham is a procedure that appears to provide the opportunity for voice prior to a decision, but the voice preferences and values are never really considered (Lind & Tyler, 1988). These authors make reference to sham in their book, <u>The Psychology of Procedural Justice</u>, but generally dismiss the likelihood of such a practice, speculating such procedures "carry the seeds of their own destruction" (1988, 202). Research has yet to determine whether the authors' supposition about the occurrence of sham and the "seeds" of destruction are accurate.

Considering the positive effects organizations can accumulate by offering voice, such as employee compliance and satisfaction, some organizational decision makers may be tempted to engage in a sham. Perhaps the decision maker's contemplation of using a sham is suppressed by high ethical standards or fear of consequences when participants detect they have been victims of a sham. However, it may not be uncommon for organizational decision makers to attempt sham. Currently, procedural justice research neither verifies nor refutes either of these possibilities.

METHOD

This research study required a method of investigation that allowed detection of both positive and negative voice effects. The underdeveloped level of knowledge regarding negative voice effects does not yet permit it to be tested empirically due to lack of identified variables. Rather, this research study focused on establishing the necessary theoretical background.

Guba and Lincoln (1982) advise researchers to determine the appropriate method of analysis by choosing the one that best fits the phenomena under investigation. In this study, the phenomena of interest are voice effects. Although past research included a variety of methods to detect and analyze positive voice effects, little research is available to guide the choice of method best suited for the study of negative voice effects. For example, numerous studies test procedural justice theory in an experimental setting by manipulating voice. However, method weakness in past experiments was noted when subjects were not given the opportunity for full expression of their views, opinions, and values thereby making findings of the frustration effect difficult to explain (Lind & Tyler, 1988).

Therefore, given the goal of establishing theoretical background and weaknesses in the few quantitative research studies, qualitative research methods appear to be best suited for this investigation. This research study includes the use of the critical incident technique, depth interviews, purposive theoretical sampling and narrative analysis.

Critical Incident Technique

The critical incident technique provides a guideline for collecting information from individuals about a research topic. (Flanagan, 1954). Participants describe their experience of significant events related to a topic of study. Instances that involve solicitation of individuals' input for a decision were selected as the critical incident in this study. Other studies have employed this method (Butterfield, Trevino & Hall, 1996; Eisenhardt & Bourgeois, 1988; Ericsson & Simon, 1980; Mainiero, 1986; Piercy, Moon & Bischof, 1994) to investigate and explore significant events regarding the topic of the study. The characteristics of the critical incident technique provided a pre-interview format used in this study: participants were informed of the purpose of the study, were

told how and why they were asked to participate, were assured of their anonymity and were asked permission to tape-record their description of the critical incident.

Depth Interviews

The holistic approach of gathering information by means of depth interviews provides rich, thick descriptions of the participants' experience (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). The depth interview allows subjects to express their views, opinions and values fully, increasing the possibility of detecting frustration effects and other voice effects. Collecting information from respondents in this manner broadens the range of information obtained.

The researcher's foremost concern when conducting the depth interview is the endeavor to understand the participant's view and experience of the situation (Bergadaa, 1990). Adhering to Bergadaa's perspective allows the participant to be the "expert" during the interview and simultaneously encourages the researcher to attend fully to descriptions of the experience.

The depth interview followed a semi-structured format. First, participants were asked to describe the critical incident and any relevant situational circumstances. Second, the participants were asked probing questions related to distributive and procedural justice. Third, the participants were asked more specific questions designed to uncover their perceptions of positive and negative voice effects.

Purposive Theoretical Sampling

Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommend this method for theory development. Purposive theoretical sampling emphasizes collecting units that differ from each other for comparison purposes. In the present study the researcher collected depth interviews that differed across participants as to their experience of voice effects. Positive and negative voice effects were compared to determine specific differences and similarities. Purposive theoretical sampling allowed units to be added to the study as needed during the research process. Data collection ended when no new information emerged from each subsequent interview. Riessman comments on sample sizes stating, "sample sizes in narrative studies are small, and . . . although a limitation, eloquent and enduring theories have been developed on the basis of close observation of a few individuals (1993, p. 70).

Narrative analysis

This technique takes advantage of the rich data available in depth interviews. Narrative analysis places importance on the interpretation of the participants' description of their experience regarding the subject under study. A narrative is defined as talk organized around consequential

events (Riessman, 1993) and privileges the interview participant's story. The narrative promotes communication because it is a way of transforming knowing into telling (White, 1989). Narrative analysis takes the story told by a participant as the object of investigation (Riessman, 1993).

Individuals "narrativize particular experiences in their lives, often where there has been a breach between ideal and real, self and society (Riessman, 1993, 3). Because the nature of an individuals experience of a negative voice effect departs from the ideal participatory decision making procedures, narrative analysis was especially well suited to this research study.

Structure in Narratives

Labov (1972) suggests the structure of a fully composed narrative contains six elements: an abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. The elements of narrative structure, their definitions and objectives are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Narrative Structure: Elements and Role in Analysis		
ELEMENTS	**DEFINITION**	**OBJECTIVE OF THE ANALYSIS**
Abstract	Summary of the narrative	Overview of context and participant's global assessment of voice effects
Orientation	Time, place and people involved	Participant describes environment that may help justify perceptions of voice effects
Complicating Action	Actual sequence of events	Identifies conflict that produces: 1) need for participatory decision making procedure 2) perceptions of positive or negative voice effects
Evaluation	How events affect the narrator	Participant's actual perceptions of positive or negative voice effects
Resolution	What finally happened	Explanation of voice effects and its relation to process and outcome
Coda	Return to the present	Completion of story

Although every narrative does not contain all six elements, this technique primarily seeks to answer the question: Why was the story told that way (Riessman, 1993). Therefore, a narrative without an abstract still reveals information regarding the narrator's purpose in telling his or her experience and how the events and actions affected them As expected, participants narrativized about their experience of negative voice effects making narrative analysis especially well suited to this research study.

Preliminary Interview

The results of a preliminary interview revealed an instance of an organizational participatory decision making procedure that facilitated this investigation of voice effects. A depth interview included a discussion regarding participatory decision making in an organization involving several participants, all receiving the same outcome. Interestingly, the interview revealed that dissimilarity existed between participants' experiences of voice effects that resulted from the decision making process. The description of the situation indicated some participants experienced positive voice effects while others experienced negative voice effects. The dissimilarities between participants' experiences of voice effects offered an interesting contrast revealing how individuals' perceptions of voice effects differed.

The prospect of learning more about differences between voice effects in the context of an organizational setting was an opportunity that helped launch this investigation. Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe this type of fortune as a "happy accident" and recommend researchers take advantage of seizing such an opportunity to investigate the phenomena of interest.

The rarity of detecting negative voice effects is possibly exacerbated by the topic's sensitive nature and participants' reluctance to discuss unfavorable aspects of organizational procedures or members. Upon discovery of a participatory decision making instance that potentially includes negative voice effects, it was beneficial to collect interviews from participants who had been exposed to the same procedure. Comparing participants' descriptions of their experiences made detecting similarities and differences of voice effects more directly apparent.

DATA COLLECTION

Purposive Sampling

Thirteen depth interviews were collected following the guidelines of purposive theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This data collection method emphasizes collecting units that differ from each other.

Purposive theoretical sampling allowed depth interviews to be added as dictated by the emerging theory during the research process. Constant comparison of the depth interviews continued until no new information was obtained from each subsequent interview. As characteristic in qualitative research, emergent themes identified while comparing and collecting the interviews first became saturated, then redundant, signaling completion of the sampling process (Belk, Wallendorf, & Sherry, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Although thirteen interviews appeared moderate in number, the rather rapid saturation of the emergent themes and richness of data provided ample substance for the research analysis.

Participants' years of employment with the organization ranged from two to twenty years with an average employment of eight years. Five participants were female, and all participants held salaried positions in the organization. Depth interviews were collected that differed across participants as to their experience of voice effects. To ensure anonymity, each interview was assigned a letter **A** through **M**. These letters (followed by sex and years of service with the organization) are categorized by voice effect and will appear in the results section by the respective narrative excerpt.

The depth interviews were conducted in the privacy of the participant's office during regular working hours. The duration of the interviews ranged from 20 to 50 minutes with an average length of 30 minutes. Participants were first asked to describe their experience of the critical incident and any existing circumstances they felt relevant to the situation. The researcher asked probing questions related to procedural justice and distributive justice depending generally on when the participant raised topics concerning the procedure or outcome when describing their experience. Finally, the participants were asked more specific questions designed to discover their perception of positive and negative voice effects. The open-ended questions allowed the respondent to discuss freely the critical incident through their descriptions, observations and insights. The questions successfully helped uncover pertinent information regarding the participants' descriptions of their participatory decision making experience and are listed in Appendix A. This method captures an appreciation of each individual participatory decision making experience as told from his or her perspective. A broader, conceptual understanding of voice effects encompassing all the participants' experiences was gained.

Telling Stories

The narratives were filled with stories as participants described their participatory decision making experiences in the depth interviews. Narratives can be found in everyday communication as humans learn at an early age that telling stories is an easy way to describe experiences (Nelson, 1989). An experience described through the process of telling a story is referred to as a narrative genre, a type of narrative that contains certain persistent conventional elements and engages the listener (Riessman, 1993). Other genres are termed *hypothetical* events that did not happen, and *habitual*, events that happen over and over with no peak in the action (Riessman, 1991; 1993). The story is the dominant genre evidenced by participant narratives in this study. Participants told a total of 55 stories, with an average of 4 stories per interview.

Transcribing and Parsing Interviews

The participants' interviews were transcribed verbatim and totaled 120 double spaced typewritten pages. The transcribed interviews ranged in length from 5 to 20 pages. Additionally,

the number of words in the 13 interviews totaled 32,647 with an average of 2,497 per interview. The necessary initial step in the interpretation process is intensive and repeated readings of the transcriptions to facilitate understanding. Riessman (1993) recommends re-transcribing the original transcriptions into narrative form to facilitate further interpretation. After parsing each interview, Labov's (1972) framework was used to identify elements of the narrative structure. Table 2 displays interview excerpts depicting examples of narrative elements.

Table 2. Examples of Narrative Elements Identified		
NARRATIVE ELEMENT	**DESCRIPTION**	**INTERVIEW EXCERPT**
Abstract	Summary of the narrative	The situation I'm talking about in question dealt with reserved parking spaces
Orientation	Time, place and people involved	It was right before basketball season It was a very contentious group
Complicating Action	Actual sequence of events	They in fact discovered that lots of people were being towed and getting upset about the enforcement of the reserved parking and pressure was put on the [decision maker] to change it So we went in to the meeting and [decision maker] made some proposals and we told [decision maker] what we didn't like about it
Evaluation	How events affect the narrator	I was quite upset in part because - I - I, we hadn't been told anything about it
Resolution	What finally happened	The final outcome was the same as the choices that they had given to us. It still was what they wanted - so it came out that way
Coda	Return to the present	That may be very cynical, but that's, that's where I am.

Although not all the narratives contained abstracts, participants generally gave a synopsis of their experience that sometimes included orientation elements. The complicating action, resolution and coda were easily identifiable due in part to the narrative's story genre. The complicating action generally builds events to a peak while the resolution and coda conclude the story. The evaluation elements of the narrative typically involved "I feel" and "I think" statements that drew the researcher into the participants' perspective. Taken together, the elements of the narrative provided guidance in interpretation of the participants' participatory decision-making experiences.

RESULTS

Narrative analysis of the transcribed depth interviews resulted in two levels of interpretation. First, each interview was analyzed based on the narrative structure examining the similarities and differences between each participant's narrative. In particular, interviews were inspected to search for the participants' fairness judgments of the process and the outcome. This level of interpretation revealed factors that identified differences between narratives containing negative rather than positive voice effects. Narrative excerpts are used to illustrate the factors derived directly from the participants' descriptions of their experiences.

The second level of interpretation yielded themes that were identified through a process of iteration between the factors and relevant theory. After the first level of interpretation revealed factors related to negative voice effects. The organizational justice literature was searched to develop theoretical insights. In this study, themes captured a common element shared among the factors. Past justice research provided substantial guidance for the initial development of the themes that reflected the essence of the factors. Research in social psychology further illuminated themes and contributed new insight to establishing sham as a distinct process from the frustration effect.

Nine of the thirteen participants perceived an unfair procedure, and five of the nine perceived the outcome as fair. Four participants perceived a fair procedure and fair outcome. Overall, four participants **A**(m,7), **B**(m,8), **C**(f,10) and **D**(f,7) reported positive voice effects (fair procedure and fair outcome); four participants **E**(f,6), **F**(m,7), **G**(f,3) and **H**(f,2) reported negative voice effects (unfair procedure and unfair outcome) and five participants **I**(m,10), **J**(m,12), **K**(m,7), **L**(m,28), and **M**(m,8) reported hybrid voice effects (unfair procedure and fair outcome).

Iteration between interpretations of participants' descriptions of the events and the management and psychology literatures yielded a model that describes participants' responses to these key turning points in the decision making process: the announcement of the meeting, the meeting itself, and the release of the final decision. The model, shown in Figure 1, consists of three broad themes reflecting general reactions to the process and eight categories representing the decision maker's action/behaviors that served as the sources of participants' general reactions.

The overriding theme that captures participants' general reactions prior to the meeting and the meeting itself is **suspicion** regarding the decision maker's motivations and the extent to which participants' input would be considered in the final decision. Participants' suspicion emerged from four categories of perceived decision maker's behaviors, two of which were identified at the announcement of the meeting (the expression of ulterior motives and the creation of barriers to participation), and two of which were identified during the meeting itself (impression management and distortion). The overriding themes that capture participants' general reactions in response to the final decision are **antagonism** and **reconciliation**; some participants expressed frustration over the final decision whereas others were able to reconcile events that occurred earlier in the process with the final decision. Participants' antagonism emerged from two categories of perceived decision

maker's behavior, disregard for employees' input and contract violation. Participants' reconciliation also emerged from two categories of perceived decision maker's behavior, acceptability and reasonableness.

Figure 1. Emergent Process Model and Corresponding Themes
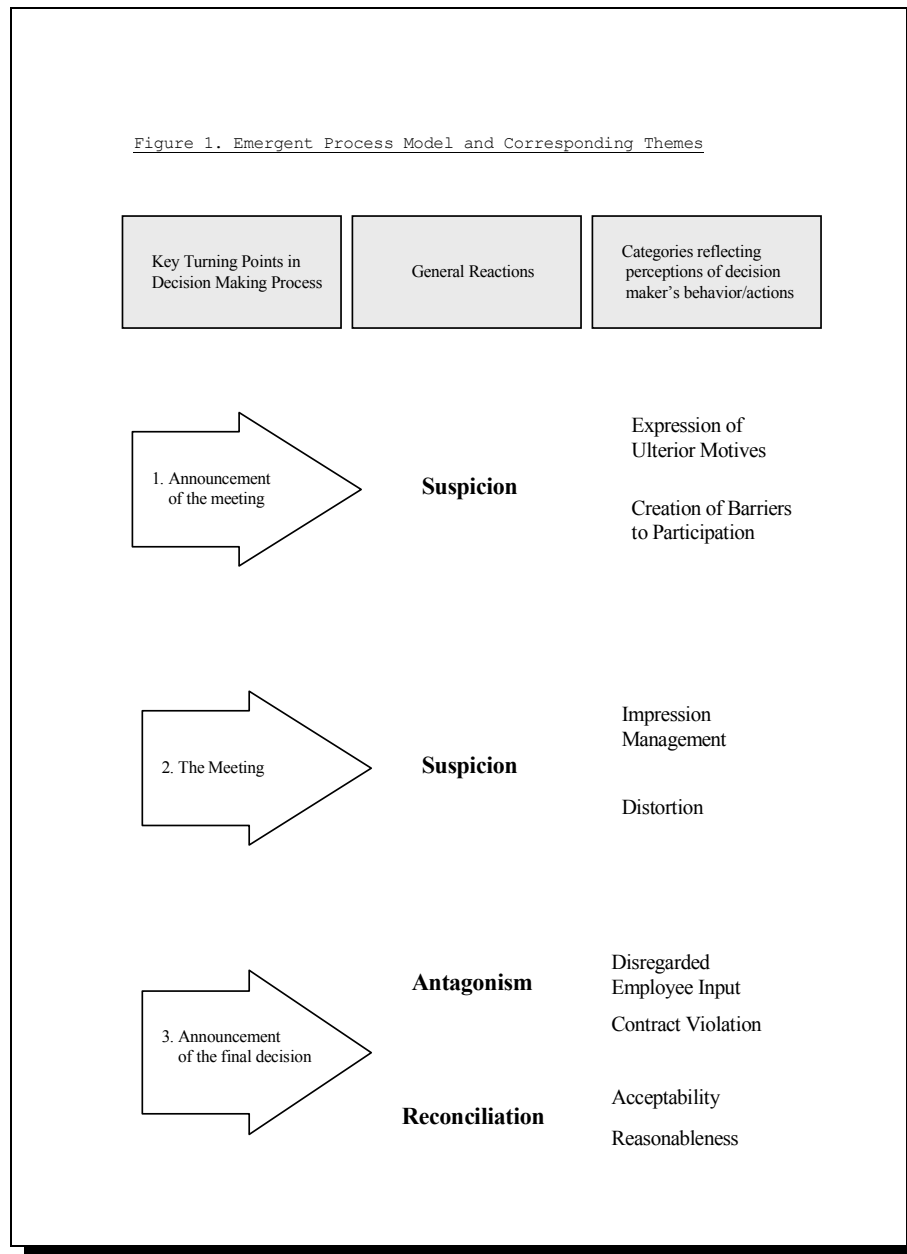
Each key turning point will be introduced with a contextualized description derived from the collection of participants' general reactions at each turning point and perceptions of the decision

maker's actions that give rise to the general reactions. Each general reaction and their sources will be supported with multiple verbatims, to demonstrate the repetition of themes/categories in the transcribed data. Concepts from the model are used to define constructs referred to inconsistently in the justice literature.

Turning Point #1: Announcement of a Meeting

An organization sold a contract for reserved parking spaces to its employees. The contract included a provision that violators would be towed at their own expense, 365 days per year, 24 hours a day. Several visitors' cars were towed during an organizational event held on a weekend when many reserved parking spaces were not occupied. Subsequently, the employees received notification that a meeting would be held to gather input for a decision regarding the parking policy.

Suspicion Prior to the Meeting

Suspicion may be defined as a psychological state in which perceivers actively entertain multiple, plausibly rival, hypotheses about the motives or genuineness of an actor's behavior (Fein & Hilton, 1994). Little is known about the role suspicion plays in organizational members' justice evaluations. Lind and Tyler (1998) argue negative voice effects are rare and "occur only when there are other reasons to be suspicious of the procedure (p. 201)." This statement is consistent with the attribution literature that suggests that individuals tend to accept behavior at face value (i.e., the correspondence bias; Ross, 1977; Snyder & Jones, 1974). More recent work suggests suspicion may be a powerful antidote to the correspondence bias (Fein, Hilton, & Miller, 1990). Suspicious perceivers tend to suspend judgment and actively seek further evidence to determine a plausible cause for an actor's behavior. Hence, suspicious perceivers may be characterized as highly attentive and willing to expand considerable cognitive resources.

The narrative analysis suggested many participants were suspicious that the decision maker's stated reason for calling the meeting (to obtain the participants' opinions and preferences) was not genuine. Examination of interview data for participants who reported suspicion following the announcement of the meting revealed this reaction was prompted by perceptions that the decision maker expressed ulterior motives (both explicit and tacit) and that the decision maker had created barriers to participation.

Expression of ulterior motives

Soon after the meeting was called, a number of participants were suspicious about the decision maker's motivations because they attributed the behavior (calling the meeting) to rival motivations (besides that of considering the participants' input). One participant was unsure about

what the decision maker's motives were, but expressed doubt that the stated reasons were genuine. This doubt was created by explicit communication prior to the meeting that a change was needed.

> (Participant **K**) *The only inkling I had that something was changing was that we had a new [employee] that had gone to an [employee] breakfast several weeks earlier, uh, with the [decision maker] and the [decision maker] expressed some concerns with the parking situation…the [decision maker] made some statement to the effect they were going to change things…and so this had been broached with some group that wasn't a stakeholder and nothing had ever been said to me and then I received this memo one morning saying we were having a meeting…and I knew, I knew that they were going to change the parking policy.*

Others believed that the decision maker had called the meeting for a specific reason: to protect the organization's image and to use the meeting to impress on the participants the importance of protecting the organization's image. The expression of ulterior motives in these instances was tacit and communicated via organizational values.

> (Participant **J**) *Well, uh, the parking plan was instituted on an experimental basis. It was one that I and most of the [employees] took advantage of, valued highly, and so there was some genuine concern going in to this meeting about what the outcome would be. Because, uh, in particular, we knew that the [decision maker] was, is, highly opinionated to the public and public perception for the [organization]. There had been a terrible gaffe made with [visitors] who came up here and whose cars had been towed. It was a terrible public relations nightmare. We were apprehensive about what would come of this.*

Leventhal's (1980) bias suppression rule suggests individuals will experience procedural unfairness when decision makers have a vested interest in the outcome. That is, decision makers enhance procedural justice when they consider all points of view regardless of personal beliefs or preferences. Participants' beliefs that the decision maker had ulterior motives besides those expressed when the meeting was called constitute a violation of the bias suppression rule. The preceding verbatims further suggest that, in the absence of any disconfirming information, violation of the bias suppression rule engendered suspicion about the extent to which their input would impact the final decision.

Creation of barriers to participation

A second source of suspicion that emerged prior to the meeting was participants' perceptions the decision maker had created barriers to participation. Several participants noted the decision maker had called the meeting on very short notice, and they viewed this as a strategy designed to restrict input in two ways: by making it difficult to attend the meeting and by giving participants little time to prepare for the meeting.

(Participant **E**) *The problem was that we got the memo one day before the meeting, and the meeting was at 1:00 the next day. And to give us basically 24 hours notice for a meeting, I thought that was very unfair. I thought there should have been a lot more notification of the meeting, but the reason there was another event that weekend, and so it was quite apparent that the [decision maker] was going to make a change and it was going to be implemented on Friday…if you seriously want to consider someone's input, you don't announce a meeting 24 hours in advance because you would be pretty confident that if you did, that most people would not be able to reschedule. Most [employees] have very busy schedules, and you can't just reorient your day for an hour-long meeting that just comes up over a 24-hour period. I thought that was indicative of the fact that [the decision maker] really wasn't interested in our opinion.*

Lind and Tyler (1988) identify two models that explain why individuals want input in decision that will affect them: having input increases the likelihood the outcome will reflect their concerns (i.e., the self-interest model of procedural justice) and having input facilitates participants' feelings of connection with a valued group (i.e., the group-value model of procedural justice). The two barriers to providing input the participants mentioned, being unable to attend the meeting and being unable to prepare adequately for the meeting, reflect violations of the self-interest model and the group-value model, respectively. Individuals who could not attend the meeting were not able to offer their input, which means they could not protect their self-interest. Individuals who could attend the meeting but felt like they could not prepare for it or that their input was not welcome felt isolated from the organization's decision-making core. Each of these experiences prompted the participants to become suspicious about the decision maker's interest in obtaining or using the participants' input.

Turning Point #2: The Meeting

The meeting was held in the organization's auditorium. Approximately 100 people attended the meeting, which lasted 1 ½ hours. The decision maker opened the meeting by stating that a change in the parking policy was warranted because parking spaces were not being used at night and the result had been a public relations disaster. The decision maker expressed a willingness to work with those who had purchased the 153 reserved parking spaces and suggested the 24-hour-per-day, seven days-per-week policy be amended to 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday.

The decision maker also proposed three options for those who had purchased a reserved parking space: forfeiture of the space in exchange for a full refund, a rebate of ¼ of the cost of the reserved parking space in exchange for a reduction in the hours of the reserved parking, and an invitation to discuss a solution with the decision maker if neither option was acceptable. The decision maker indicated these were proposals, not policies, and there was still room for discussion. Those in attendance made several suggestions for revision of the parking policy; however, no formal changes to the policy were adopted during the meeting.

Suspicion at the Meeting

Suspicion about the meeting itself was a result of spillover from the announcement of the meeting and from participants' reactions to the decision maker's action at the meeting. Examination of interview data for participants who reported suspicion at the meeting revealed these reactions were prompted by perceptions the decision maker was trying to manage impressions that their voice would be considered. Reactions were also prompted by perceptions that the decision maker tried to distort their input.

Impression management

Several participants were suspicious at the meeting because the decision maker's actions suggested the decision had been predetermined. The meeting was held not for gathering the participants' input but to inform and to persuade the participant of a predetermined outcome. The category that captures this source of suspicion, impression management, refers to participants' beliefs that the decision maker created an elaborate pretense to appear as if the request for input was genuine.

> (Participant **J**) *I went into the meeting with some misgivings about whether the agenda had already been made and decided upon or whether this was going to be a true open forum. I had a sense from the way the meeting was going, that the [decision maker] pretty much had a direction that he intended to go from the very beginning, which was to moderate the amount of time that was reserved to the [employees]. Uh, in that vein, the procedure was flawed from the beginning, um, you know, to the extent it was a charade. The [decision maker] was just going through the motions of a participatory exercise, uh, because he was going to be taking something away from us, and uh, knew that, you know, for appearance sake it would be best to have a public forum and not act as if there was meaningful input.*

Greenberg (1990) argues organizations can improve participants' work-related attitudes by managing impressions of fairness. Echoing this sentiment, Lind and Tyler (1989) write: "because the enhancement of procedural justice and its attendant benefits for attitudes and compliance depend on the perception of consideration of voice rather than the reality of consideration of voice, the organization can realize the benefits without offering real voice" (pp. 201-202). The preceding verbatims suggest when participants recognize a decision maker is attempting to manage fairness impressions, the result may be generalized suspicion regarding the decision maker's motivations.

Distortion

A second source of suspicion that emerged during the meeting was participants' perceptions that the decision maker distorted or purposely misinterpreted their input.

> (Participant **M**) *It seemed to me there was a consensus for, let's say, holding the reserved parking until 7:00, and the [decision maker] would say, "Well, yes now, I hear a lot of different motions about whether it should be 5 o'clock or 6:00 or 7:00," well [decision maker] wasn't hearing a lot of different motions, everybody was saying 7:00. So then it got to, "well, okay, I think we seem to be settling around 6:00." No one had mentioned 6:00. So, uh, the [decision maker] was making statements that did not seem to represent what the group was doing.*
>
> (Participant **I**) *I would say there were many people there who came away from the meeting, which understandably, that what the [decision maker] was choosing to hear wasn't what was said.*

Leventhal's (1980) accuracy rule suggests individuals will experience procedural justice when information (to be used in making a decision) is collected and evaluated in an accurate manner. The participants' beliefs the decision maker had consciously manipulated their input constitutes a violation of the accuracy rule.

Turning Point #3: Announcement of a Decision

Four days after the meeting, the participants received a memo from the decision maker's office indicating there would be a change in the parking policy. The reserved parking policy had been changed from 24 hours per day, 365 days a year to 6:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m., Monday through Friday. The decision maker also extended thanks to those who attended the meeting on short notice and expressed appreciation for participants' input.

Antagonism

Two broad themes emerged from analysis of participants' thoughts about the final decision, one reflecting the experience of distributive injustice and the second reflecting the experience of distributive justice. Several participants believed the suspicions they harbored early in the process (at the announcement of the meeting or during the meeting) were founded by the decision. These individuals were antagonistic toward the final decision, feeling an unfair process had yielded an unfair outcome. Antagonized individuals expressed resentment toward two aspects of the decision making process: the perception the decision maker had disregarded their input in general and the decision maker's willingness to break what they felt was a contract, agreed upon in good faith.

Disregard for employees' input

The first source of participants' antagonism toward the final decision was the perception their input had no effect on the outcome. Several participants noted the suspicion they harbored early in the process was founded by the decision.

(Participant **F**) *The feeling I got out of the meeting was that the consensus was for, uh, making a compromise to go 7:00 to 7:00. Most people agreed to that…so a couple of days after the meeting we got a memo from the [decision maker] stating that as it was discussed and agreed upon at this meeting the hours had been changed from 6:00 to 6:00 p.m. I never felt there was any kind of agreement reached at the meeting that 6:00 p.m., in fact 6:00 p.m. was hardly ever mentioned. Not only did they change the hours of the parking, but they gave the gist that we had actually sat and talked about this and agreed on this but we had not agreed on that. The outcome, the eventual outcome, was contrary to the large majority of the opinion that was voiced at the meeting.*

Contract violation

The second source of participants' antagonism toward the final decision was participants' perceptions that a contract between the participants and the organization had been violated. These individuals had assumed that because they had an agreement with the organization, their input would affect the decision.

(Participant **E**) *It [decision] was not made the way that I wanted it to be made. I did not want them to change the parking policy. They had sold us parking tickets for [a price] for 7 days a week, 24 hours a day, 52 weeks a year and I thought they should have kept with that policy for a year. I thought they should have put up enforcement signs to try and minimize the number of people that were getting towed for parking illegally; but instead, the [decision maker] suggested addressing the number of complaints by reducing the hours we were allowed to use our reserved parking space, so now our reserved parking place can now only be used from 6:30 in the morning until 6:30 at night.*

(Participant **H**) *My own feeling was that I had a contract with the [organization]. I mean we had to sign, you know, and I paid my money. I did my part of the contract and then they are not going by the contract…to tell me one thing and then take it away, that was unfair.*

Folger's (1986) referent cognitions theory, which attempts to integrate distributive justice and procedural justice, suggest individuals' antagonism or resentment associated with an undesirable outcome will be maximized when people believe they would have obtained more favorable outcomes if a different procedure had been used. In this case, several participants who harbored suspicion about the decision maker's genuineness early in the process found the final decision particularly objectionable. They believed the outcome could have been more favorable had the decision maker considered their input.

Reconciliation

The second reaction to the decision captures the experience of distributive justice. This reaction may be referred to as reconciliation; those who acknowledged the final decision was fair nevertheless felt the procedures leading up to the decision violated fundamental rules of procedural

justice. Hence, these participants reconciled the experiences of procedural injustice and distributive justice. Two categories emerged from the narrative analysis, reflecting two perceptions of the decision maker's actions culminating in reconciliation: some participants were satisfied with the decision given it could have been much worse (acceptability); and some participants felt the final decision was reasonable given the organization had to satisfy multiple constituencies (reasonableness).

Acceptability

The first sub-theme, acceptability, captures participants' feelings that, although the outcome could have been much better, it could have also been much worse. In arriving at their distributive justice judgments, this group seemed to weigh the outcome against other, possibly less desirable outcomes for themselves.

> (Participant **J**) *I was very well satisfied with the outcome. Even though we had ended up with less than what we had – we ended up with far more than I was afraid we might have had which could have been the refund of our money and the elimination of the parking. Even with the restrictions on it, its, you know, very useful to me. The restrictions are not meaningful.*

Reasonableness

Several participants who harbored suspicion about the decision making process prior to and during the meeting believed the final decision was a reasonable one. These individuals were able to reconcile concerns they had about the process with what they believed was a fair decision given the circumstances. Several individuals noted the outcome was reasonable given the organization had to satisfy multiple constituencies. These participants seemed to arrive at their distributive justice evaluations by weighing the outcome in terms of its effect on individuals beside themselves.

> (Participant **K**) *I can understand why they had to change the policy. I know there was a lot of bad will created when they were towing [visitors]...and I think I would have accepted this policy, if this had been the original policy when they first established reserved parking places. I would have thought it was an appropriate policy, and I guess I, even when they changed the policy, I understood that probably changes had to be made.*

The thinking of one participant at each key turning point (responses to the announcement of the meeting, the meeting itself, and the final decision), illustrates the process whereby an individual reconciles the seemingly incompatible experience of procedural injustice and distributive justice.

(Participant **L**; reactions to the announcement of the meeting) *From my perspective, the [decision maker] called the meeting to not really get our input but to let us air out our grievances and to let us know there was a problem, that we can't continue with policy as it is and it needed changes.*

(Participant **L**; reactions to the meeting) *So we literally voted on 7:00, literally voted, and then [decision maker] says, "well now, I'm hearing 6:00." You know we voted on 7:00, so I turned to my friends and said, "[Decision maker] hears only what he wants to hear." The guys around me said, "well, let's compromise and do 6:30." I said, "you don't understand it, it's 6:00 and that's what it's going to be. I'm telling you."*

(Participant **L**; reactions to the decision) *I think the outcome really was reasonable. I mean all things considered, I think it was reasonable, I mean I think it was something that did make a lot of sense and, uh, you know, I don't like it personally, but I understand it was the right thing to do. I have to admit the outcome was fair, you know.*

This participant's reactions suggest a hybrid voice effect that may be a fruitful area of inquiry for justice researchers. Greenberg (1990) noted little is known about situations in which there are discrepancies between procedural justice and distributive justice. Current thinking suggests people care less about procedures when they lead to positive rather than negative outcomes (Greenberg, 1987). Individuals who experience distributive justice are not likely to attend carefully to procedural information or dismiss procedural violations when they produce favorable outcomes.

The preceding verbatims suggest when participants believe decision makers are willing to violate procedural justice rules, even to obtain an "appropriate" decision, participants may retain suspicions they have about the decision maker's trustworthiness. Procedural injustice in the service of distributive justice may come with a cost—a price may be paid in terms of trust.

DISCUSSION

Untangling Voice Effects Identified in the Literature

One goal of this research was to rectify definitional problems in justice work that focuses on voice effects. Results of the narrative analysis suggest definitions for two constructs that have been referred to interchangeably in previous research, sham and frustration. In addition, the analysis suggests a new voice effect that has not been the focus of previous work: discrepant justice.

Sham

Participants' reactions to the announcement of the meeting and the meeting itself suggest a definition for one of the negative voice effects described in the justice literature: sham. Sham may

be defined as suspicion that a decision maker's stated reasons for soliciting voice are not accurate. Evidence from the narrative analysis suggests participants' suspicion may be aroused before or as they are providing input. The sources of suspicion that were salient for participants differed depending on the stage of the decision making process. At the announcement of the meeting, participants' reactions were more speculative and seemed to rely on previous experience with the decision maker and on information obtained through informal means (i.e., the grapevine). Participants' reactions during the meeting were shaped by perceptions of the decision maker's behavior as well as by reactions they had prior to the meeting.

Frustration

Several participants' reactions to the final decision suggest a definition for a second negative voice effect: frustration. Frustration may be defined as participant's feeling of antagonism associated with what they perceive to be an unfair decision. Whereas sham involves perceived violations of fundamental rules of procedural justice prior to the disclosure of the decision, frustration occurs after the decision is disclosed. Consistent with referent cognitive theory, frustrated individuals experience two aspects of resentment: resentment reactions resulting from beliefs about procedures that could have been used to attain outcomes and reactions of dissatisfactions resulting from the relative outcome themselves.

Discrepant justice

The narrative analysis revealed evidence of a voice effect involving discrepancies between procedural and distributive justice. Most work in the procedural justice literature is based on the assumption procedural justice is important to people because fair procedures, compared to unfair procedures, are more likely to result in fair outcomes. The present study suggests participants in some decisions may sympathize with decision makers who try to balance the needs for achieving procedural fairness and outcome fairness when those aims conflict. The verbatims suggest several participants believed the decision maker recognized that achieving procedural justice (by genuinely soliciting and using participants' input) could have resulted in an outcome unacceptable to other constituents. These participants did not seem troubled with the outcome even though they believed the decision maker was more strongly committed to an *a priori* decision than in achieving procedural fairness enroute to the decision. One legacy of this process was suspicion regarding the decision maker's trustworthiness with respect to future decisions.

Implications for Managers

A manager's trustworthiness may be damaged when participants perceive unfairness in the decision-making procedure. As this study revealed, this holds true even in the instance of discrepant justice when the outcome is perceived as acceptable or reasonable. Indeed, some researchers contend a decision maker who does not consider participant input may provoke more severe perceptions of unfairness than if participants had no opportunity for voice (Cohen 1985; Greenberg & Folger, 1983; Korsgard, Schweiger & Sapienza, 1995). Perhaps managers should more fully understand the inherent responsibility of offering voice to employees before soliciting participant input. Managers can convey that participant input is considered by offering a true opportunity for voice, assuring participants the decision is not already made, and listen attentively to the employees' opinions and preferences.

Organizational decision makers often attempt to offer justifications for decisions to avoid the repercussions of negative voice effects. Research suggests justifications, such as sincere explanations for a course of action, influence perceptions of procedural justice (Bies, 1987; Bies & Shapiro, 1987; Bies & Shapiro, 1988; Bies, Shapiro & Cummings, 1988: Tyler & Bies, 1989). If participants are already suspicious the procedure is unfair, insufficient justifications may further compound the damage of negative voice effects.

Impression Management

Managers may attempt to seize impression management objectives by offering voice to participants. Impression management is the behavior people exhibit for the purpose of controlling images formed of them by others (Gardner & Martinko, 1988a; Schenkler, 1980). Managers may attempt to portray themselves as honest, fair decision makers by soliciting participant input in decisions. Procedural justice research has identified that voice effects are robust and related to positive perceptions of leaders (Folger & Konovsky, 1989; Leung & Li, 1990; Lind, Kanfer & Earley, 1990; Lind & Tyler, 1988). If managers mistakenly believe merely creating the opportunity for voice is sufficient to render fairness judgments, their impression management goals may be dashed. Duplicity in offering the opportunity for voice and consideration of participant input does little to elicit favorable impressions of managers from employers.

Impression management goals are also directed toward people outside the organization. As shown in this study, the decision maker was concerned about visitors' image of the organization. Managers often seek to project desired images of themselves and their organizations to constituents (Gardner & Martinko, 1988b; Pfeiffer, 1981). Interestingly, the decision maker in this study may have attempted to use the participatory decision making procedure to simultaneously accomplish impression management goals aimed at employees and organizational constituents. Although it is

likely common managers pursue impression management objectives, offering participants voice is not a panacea for difficult decision-making.

Participatory Decision Making

As this research showed, participatory decision-making sometimes results in voice effects that deleteriously impact both employees and organizational decision makers. Thus, managers may question when implementation of participatory decision-making is viable. In their comprehensive review of participatory decision making (PDM), Locke and Schweiger (1988) conclude that subordinate knowledge is the most important factor determining the usefulness of PDM. This means individual differences in competencies should be recognized and that if a leader knows the best solution, he or she should assert that knowledge and make the decision. Locke and Schweiger (1988) adopt a practical view of PDM, subverting ideological notions PDM should be employed primarily to gain participant satisfaction. Thus, participatory decision-making may work best when the participants have more relevant knowledge than the decision-making authority.

Implications for Future Research

The present research findings are preliminary and tentative at best without further study. Those studies that replicate evidence of participant suspicion and discrepant justice would strengthen assertions made regarding those findings in this research. Past research shows expectations regarding outcomes are influenced by suspicion when the outcome is unknown.

Longitudinal research may determine how employees deal with suspicion in organizations in the long run. Studying the long-term implications of sham, frustration, and discrepant justice may shed light on how employees react or adapt to single or repeated violations of procedurally created unfairness. It may also be interesting to ascertain the relationship between suspicion and the organization's history of participatory decision-making procedures. In addition, investigating to what extent, if any, employee suspicion can be undone may further determine the effects of sham.

While this research has benefited tremendously from the rich, thick descriptions of a few participants, information collected in different contexts or from larger samples could substantiate findings regarding voice effects. Studies conducted in contexts that vary from unionized to private institutions increase the generalizability of the results. Additionally, an instrument designed to measure negative voice effects would facilitate collecting data from larger samples. Item generation and scale development are the required initial steps in devising measuring instruments (Churchill, 1979; Gerbing & Anderson, 1988; Peter, 1981). The emergent themes identified during the narrative analyses provide sources for item generation and scale development. Studies to test, refine and assess validity of the measuring instrument would require additional future research.

This research makes an important contribution to the literature in two ways. Definitions of sham and frustration have been clarified; and a new voice effect, discrepant justice, has been uncovered. Prior justice research has used the terms sham and frustration interchangeably; the results of this study make a distinction between these two voice effects. Discrepant justice results when participants experience the ramifications of procedural injustice despite favorable outcomes. This finding underscores the importance of fairness in procedures to employees in light of satisfaction with the outcome.

This study takes a preliminary step toward establishing the necessary theoretical groundwork to increase understanding of negative voice effects. The results of this study revealed the role suspicion plays in participants' fairness perceptions and introduced suspicion to the arena of justice research. Although providing participants the opportunity to offer their input can produce positive effects, managers should exercise care when soliciting voice to avoid negative effects. Perhaps a participant in this study said it best, "if you're going to go out and ask for input, then it ought not to be just window dressing, it ought to be a real ask."

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Basic Introduction:

What I am interested in learning about is a situation you may have experienced in an organization where you found you had been given the opportunity to give your input about a decision that affected you.

Strategic Questions:

1).   Would you please describe how your input was obtained?
2)   In your opinion, did the decision turn out in your favor?
3)   Did you feel your input had been considered?
4)   Would you tell me what in particular made you think your input was used or not used in the decision?
5)   Did you think the procedure used to arrive at the decision that affected you was fair?
6)   What in particular made you believe the procedure was fair or not fair?
7)   In particular, how are decisions made that affect you?

How long have you been with this organization?

THE DECISION TO MOONLIGHT OR QUIT: INCORPORATING MULTIPLE JOBHOLDING INTO A MODEL OF TURNOVER

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ABSTRACT

Organization researchers often assume that 'the job' is the employee's only employment when exploring jobs and job related topics. This assumption simplifies the analysis but is misleading because it does not reflect reality. Multiple jobholding (moonlighting) warrants attention by organization scholars because at any given time a significant number of individuals hold more than one job. Additional employment provides workers with an alternative source of valuable work related outcomes such as income, training, and benefits. It also potentially changes their perceptions, decisions, and behaviors, and may impact their performance, absenteeism and turnover at their primary jobs. With such potential effects, it stands to reason that organization researchers can develop more useful models if they consider the impact of moonlighting on the constructs and relationships they are studying.

In this paper, the one-worker/ one-job notion is set aside. First some background on multiple jobholding is presented. This is followed by two models - a model of the decision to hold multiple jobs and a comprehensive turnover model adapted to include multiple jobholding. The models provide potential starting points for studying multiple jobholding and serve as examples of how multiple jobholding can be integrated into existing models in organization studies.

INTRODUCTION

When addressing jobs and job related topics in organization studies, the underlying assumption is that 'the job' is the employee's only employment. We rarely find an explicit statement acknowledging the possibility of multiple-jobholding. However, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 5.0% of workers in the US were multiple jobholders in August of 2005 (BLS, 2005) and the actual rate is probably much higher (Betts, 2004; Baba & Jamal, 1992; Crawford, 1978; Jamal, 1986). Indeed, multiple-jobholding, or 'moonlighting', is a widespread phenomenon that has largely been overlooked in organization studies (Betts, 2002; Baba & Jamal, 1992; Jamal, 1986).

Moonlighting provides workers with an alternative source of valuable work related outcomes such as income, training, and benefits (Factor, 1991; Henry & Rogers, 1986). It also potentially changes their perceptions, decisions, and behaviors, and may impact their performance, absenteeism

and turnover at their primary jobs (Aebi, 1998; Davey & Brown, 1970; Habbe, 1957). With such potential effects on the constructs and relationships they are studying, moonlighting warrants attention by organization scholars.

Background information on multiple jobholding will be presented first. The definition and prevalence of multiple jobholding will be discussed, augmented by an exploration of some of the issues regarding the practice. This is followed by an argument for the value of moonlighting in organization studies, a review of the academic literature, and a discussion of possible reasons why multiple jobholding is under-researched. Next two models are proposed. The first model is a potential starting point for studying multiple jobholding - a model of the decision to hold multiple jobs. The second model provides an example of how multiple jobholding can be integrated into an existing model in the field, by adapting a comprehensive turnover model to include multiple jobholding.

MOONLIGHTING (MULTIPLE JOBHOLDING)

Moonlighting is commonly understood as having a second job, usually part-time, in addition to a primary job full-time job. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) uses the more descriptive term 'Multiple Jobholding'. They go somewhat further in describing moonlighting by including two conditions driven by separate considerations. All primary jobs other must be paid employment, with the exception of unpaid family employment. Unpaid family employees perform tasks and activities that would be paid employment if performed by a non-family member. In this sense, unpaid family employment is equivalent to paid employment and is included in the government tally of jobs. The BLS also allows for multiple part-time jobs, but has the requirement that the secondary jobs must be paid employment (whether family run or not). The inclusion of a requirement that the moonlighting activity be paid employment distinguishes it from hobbies and other avocations and interests (Perrella, 1970).

The overall rate of moonlighting was relatively steady from 1956 to 1966, ranging from 4.5% to 5.7% according to Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) reports (Hamel, 1967; Perrella, 1970. From January 1994 to August 2005, the overall moonlighting rate has fluctuated from a high of 6.6% to a low of the most recent rate 5.0% in August 2005 (BLS, 2005).

A moonlighting rate of 5-6% is a significant portion of the workforce, however there is reason to believe that this is a gross underestimate. Empirical studies of moonlighting since the early 1960's have consistently reported rates of moonlighting much higher than government estimates (Baba & Jamal, 1992). Studies done in the 1960's found rates for mixed occupations/ blue-collar/ rank-and-file workers from 10.3% (Wilensky, 1963) to 14.2% (Mott, 1965), well above the official government estimates for the time of 4.5 - 5.7%. In the 1980's, studies showed a much higher rate than the BLS reported among mixed occupations/ blue-collar/ rank-and-file workers of between 15.3% (Jamal & Crawford, 1981) and 20.9% (Dempster-McClain & Moen, 1989). The

highest BLS estimate for the time was 6.2% in 1989. The government numbers indicate that moonlighters as a group have more members than other groups that have received considerable study such as the unemployed (BLS, 2001) and occupational groups such as engineers and scientists (BLS, 2001). The higher estimates found in empirical studies puts the number of multiple jobholders equal to or greater than the number of union workers or elderly in the work force (BLS, 2001), other groups that have received considerable attention in organization studies.

Moonlighting is a pervasive and international phenomenon. Two countries that are culturally and economically similar to the, United States Canada and Great Britain, (Hofstede & Bond, 1983), show moonlighting statistics quite similar to those found in the US. In addition to Great Britain, the rest of Europe also experiences moonlighting. Most of the moonlighting research published has used samples from the United States; however a recent Institute of German business study reported in the Futurist (1997) shows that moonlighting has been on the rise in Europe, doubling in the last 10 years. Sweden shows the highest rate at 8.3%, then Denmark 5.7%, Portugal 5.6% to Italy, which was the lowest at 1.3%.

THE IMPACT OF MULTIPLE JOBHOLDING ON PRIMARY EMPLOYERS

Many organizations have policies, either implicit or explicit, that restrict or encourage multiple jobholding activity (Davey & Brown, 1970). The widespread implementation of such policies indicates considerable concern on the part of organizations. This concern is reflected in the popular and practitioner presses which frequently feature articles addressing issues regarding multiple jobholding.

Organizations are concerned with performance problems and inappropriate use of company resources associated with multiple jobholding. Employers are often concerned that employees are moonlighting on company time (Crawford, 1978) or while on sick leave (Habbe, 1957). In fact, performance problems dealing with the quality or quantity of an employee's work, and habitual absenteeism are believed to be among the best indicators to an employer that employees are moonlighting (Habbe, 1957). Employers are also concerned with employees using materials, supplies (Crawford, 1978) and intellectual property.

Policies designed to eliminate conflicts of interest are the most common policies adopted by organizations regarding multiple jobholding (Davey & Brown, 1970). To minimize the possible disclosure of proprietary information or unfair preferences and favoritism towards certain firms or individuals restrictions are made against working for a competitor, supplier or customer Davey & Brown, 1970, Miller, Balkin & Allen, 1993).

Policies against controversial activities are frequently implemented because such behavior can do damage to the reputation, create a legal liability or otherwise cause a loss for the organization. Employers sometimes restrict employee involvement with advocacy groups involved in political or social causes because the employee's involvement might create an association between

the cause and the primary employer. Damage to the reputation of the employing organization is the primary concern with advocacy activity (Miller, Balkin & Allen, 1993). Employers are also concerned with employees engaging in illegal activities, although explicit restrictions are usually unnecessary. In addition to damage to their reputation, they are concerned with legal liability due to an association with the employee, or face a loss if the employee is unable to work because of legal troubles (Davey & Brown, 1970; Miller, Balkin & Allen, 1993).

Some occupations such as teaching, medical residency, information systems and uniformed professionals have unusually high rates of multiple jobholding. The profession with the highest rate of moonlighting is teaching (BLS, 2001; Divocky 1978a). The common conclusion is that teachers hold multiple jobs in order to stay in a profession where they are underpaid (Divocky, 1978b; Guthrie, 1969; Turner, 1962; Wisniewski & Hilty, 1987). Because of a long history and tradition of moonlighting activity there is a greater acceptance of multiple jobholding among police officers and firefighters than other occupations (Miller, Presley & Sniderman, 1973). A newer field where multiple jobholding is common is the information services area, where the primary moonlighting activities are entrepreneurial efforts to develop commercial products on the side. As such, the primary concern of employers is the loss of intellectual property (Fafard, 1997; LaPlante, 1996; Whitford, 1998).

The occupational situation where moonlighting has perhaps generated the most controversy is medical residency. The enormous financial burdens of medical school provide a great incentive for medical residents to take on additional jobs (Bazzoli & Culler, 1986; Buch & Swanson, 1986; Cohen, Conley & Henderson, 1987; Culler & Bazzoli, 1985). The financial concerns of the residents compete with residency program's concern that multiple jobholding compromises the effectiveness of the health services and reduces the learning potential of the residency experience (Bazzoli & Culler, 1986; Buch & Swanson, 1986; Culler & Bazzoli, 1985; Moss, 1985).

Within these fields, administrators try to set appropriate multiple jobholding policies, with varying degrees of success. For example, there is no consensus how to deal with medical residency programs, which consequently vary a great deal in their policies regarding multiple jobholding as well as the enforcement of the policies. Another example, in the information services area companies are developing strategies (LaPlante, 1996; Whitford, 1998) for dealing with employees using company time and resources for personal gain or divulging proprietary information (Fafard, 1997). Although examining teaching, medical residency, information systems and uniformed professionals might provide some insight, caution must be taken because the dynamics and issues that facilitate multiple jobholding might not easily be generalized to other occupations. There has been very little research regarding these issues conducted by organization researchers despite concern on the part of employers regarding the impact of multiple jobholding. A recent review cited only 34 published empirical studies between 1963 to 1998 (Betts, 2002). Much of the research was descriptive in nature and it was primarily presented in economics or occupation specific journals.

MOONLIGHTING RESEARCH AND ORGANIZATION STUDIES

Given the widespread occurrence and varied nature of moonlighting activity, organization studies can greatly benefit by incorporating moonlighting into the current and classical models of the field,. Organizational researchers concern themselves with the factors that influence the perceptions and behavior of the individual and the outcomes, both individual and organizational, of these perceptions and behaviors. Moonlighting or the possibility of moonlighting might change the perceptions, decisions, behaviors and ultimately outcomes of the primary job.

Moonlighting provides an alternative source of valuable work related outcomes. When moonlighting is considered, the primary workplace is no longer the sole supplier of work related outcomes. The outcomes of the primary job are replaced by a package of outcomes, the combined outcomes of the primary and moonlighting jobs. The relationship between the jobs may be supplemental, complementary or a combination. For example, if the individual looks to the second job for additional income, it serves a supplemental role. In contrast if the second job allows someone to express creativity that is suppressed on his/her primary job, the second job complements the first. The utility of the combined outcomes might become the relevant utility, which guides the decisions and actions of the individual.

In addition to providing outcomes of value to the individual, moonlighting might affect the behavior and work attitudes of an employee. It can affect the behavior of an individual by changing their ability or motivation at the primary workplace (Aebi, 1998; Davey & Brown, 1970; Habbe, 1957). Secondary jobs that utilize similar knowledge, skills and abilities to the primary job may result in a training effect with an increase primary job performance (Factor, 1991; Henry & Rogers, 1986). In contrast, a secondary job may be physically demanding and leave an employee physically unable to perform at a high level (Davey & Brown, 1970; Keill, 1991; Miller, Balkin & Allen, 1993).

Along with changes in the physical ability to perform on the job, a secondary job may affect the employee's motivation to perform. In fact, many job related attitudes and perceptions may be changed due to a change in the frame of reference afforded by the second job. Attitudes, perceptions and behaviors may additionally be affected by other factors related to the secondary jobs, such as changes in stress levels, competing demands, or realization of outside opportunities (Jamal, Baba & Riviere, 1998; Pearson, Carroll & Hall, 1994). Changes in attitudes and perceptions lead to changes in decision making and job related behavior, ultimately affecting individual and organizational performance (Jamal, Baba & Riviere, 1998).

It should be safe to say that with the large influence that moonlighting can play in an individual's relationship with his/her primary job, research into moonlighting has the potential to be of great value in organization studies.

MOONLIGHTING RESEARCH

Although moonlighting is a widespread phenomenon, there has been surprisingly little empirical research into moonlighting. In the 34 studies cited in a recent review (Betts, 2002), some used economic/financial approaches and others individual/dispositional approaches. The economic approaches concentrate on the trade off of free time for wages (Shisko & Rostker, 1976) or the choice between moonlighting and other income supplements under conditions of financial necessity (Allen, 1998; Culler & Bazzoli, 1985; Krishnan, 1990; Lakhani, 1995). Several studies addressed the special case of financial necessity resulting from a high number of dependents (Dempster-McClain & Moen, 1989; Guthrie, 1965; Guthrie, 1969; Wilensky, 1963).

The underlying assumption of the financial/economic theories is that moonlighting activity is primarily a source of income. They have generally found empirical support. However, the support was not universal, with some studies showing results inconsistent with the economic theories. For example, financial/economic theories predict an inverse relationship between moonlighting and primary job wage rate, but a number of studies found the primary wage rate to be positively related to the moonlighting rate (Lakhani & Fugita, 1993; Miller, 1972; Miller & Sniderman, 1974; Smith & Cooper, 1967). It might be that these moonlighters are more ambitious and energetic individuals with high aspirations. They may still need additional income to reach their personal goals, even though their aspirations, ambition and energy result in earning more at their primary job. Perhaps they simply value the moonlighting experience. In short, economic theories are not enough to explain multiple jobholding. They fail to account for dispositional differences between individuals. These differences between individuals were partially addressed during the same time period, but not in studies using financial/ economic explanations.

The dominant early individual dispositional explanation for moonlighting behavior was the relative deprivation theory (Wilensky, 1965). Subjective deprivation and chaotic work histories were found to be "among the best predictors of moonlighting" (Wilensky, 1965). Other research failed to support the relative deprivation theory and chaotic work history ideas (Guthrie (1965; 1969). About 15 years later a stream of research paired the idea of 'deprivation' with 'aspiration' as competing hypotheses (Jamal, 1986; Jamal, Baba & Riviere, 1998; Jamal & Crawford, 1981). Deprivation was reframed as a more general concept than in the previous work. In this negative view, moonlighters are economically and socially deprived. In the new framing, higher aspirations were a positive characteristic of the person and not a result of deprivation. The aspiration theory has consistently found more support than the deprivation theory (Jamal, 1986; Jamal, Baba & Riviere, 1998; Jamal & Crawford, 1981; Mott, 1965), with findings that moonlighters had more social involvement than their non-moonlighting counterparts and that their work performance was not adversely affected by moonlighting.

The available literature suggests several reasons why moonlighting has not been extensively addressed. An old reason is that moonlighters can be viewed as "socially withdrawn and
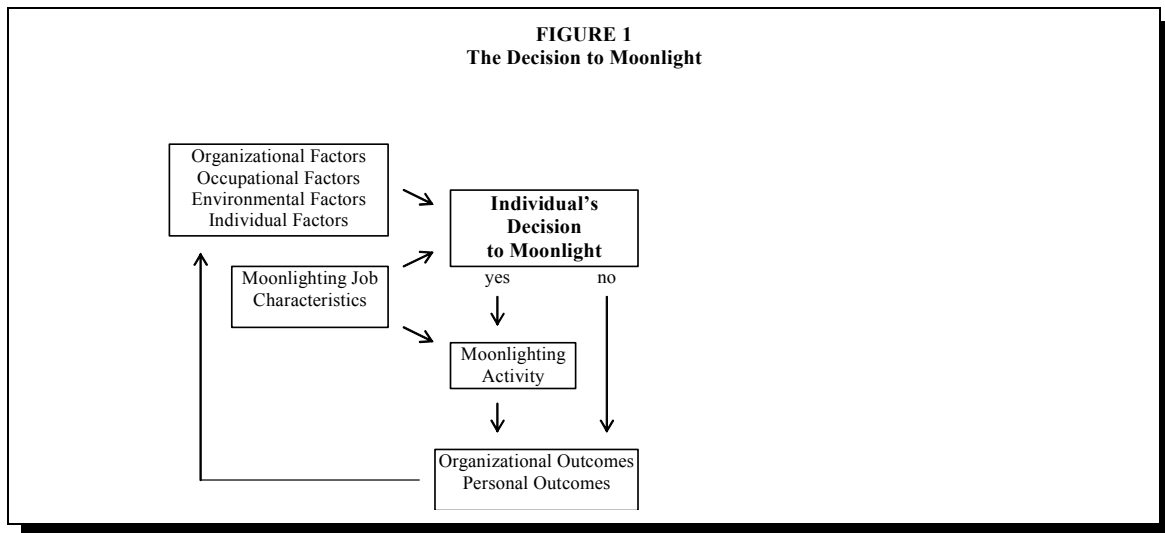
economically deprived" (Baba & Jamal, 1992), giving little incentive to study the phenomenon. This view was more prevalent in past generations and is generally no longer accepted (Baba & Jamal, 1992). A second reason, one that is more commonly cited for not studying moonlighting, is that it is not seen as a pervasive enough phenomenon to warrant such attention (Baba & Jamal, 1992). Several problems exist with this reasoning, for example official government statistics grossly underestimate moonlighting rates (Baba & Jamal, 1992). Another problem is that this argument fails to recognize that the moonlighting among their peers might influence the decisions and behavior of many non-moonlighters. Also, many other employment situations have lower incidence rates and are actively researched. A third reason for the lack of attention from organizational researchers is that moonlighting activity could be viewed as an occupation specific phenomenon. Findings would be of less value because they couldn't be generalized across occupations. This view is partially supported by the fact that several occupations or occupational situations, such as medical residency (Bazzoli & Culler, 1986; Buch & Swanson, 1986; Culler & Bazzoli, 1985; Moss, 1985), teaching (Betts, 2004; Divoky, 1978a,b; Guthrie, 1969; Turner, 1962; Wisniewski & Hilty, 1987) and police work (Hung, 1995; Miller, Presley & Sniderman, 1973) have been found to have much higher moonlighting rates than the general public. Characteristics that may be unique to those occupations or situations might account for these higher rates. For example, medical residents moonlight because of the high debt associated with medical school and the low pay during residency (Bazzoli & Culler, 1986; Buch & Swanson, 1986; Culler & Bazzoli, 1985; Moss, 1985). However, debt is not unique to medical residents and is generally associated with moonlighting activity (Miller & Sniderman, 1974). Further examination indicates that occupations with high moonlighting rates do not have unique characteristics, but rather have high degrees of characteristics that generally affect moonlighting.

Difficulty in obtaining data is the most valid reason for the lack of a systematic study of moonlighting (Baba & Jamal, 1992). The difficulty arises because it is exceedingly difficult or impossible to a-priori identify those individuals who moonlight. Another source of difficulty is the notion that some moonlighters may be hesitant to disclose their moonlighting activity because it is in violation of a policy of their primary employer; it goes unreported for tax purposes, or a host of other reasons (Perella, 1970; Taylor & Sekscenski, 1982). Additional difficulty lies in the methodology used to gather moonlighting data. Surveys are the primary means of data collection and response rates to surveys are typically low in the social sciences (Sudman, & Bradburn, 1982).

Some researchers have tried to deal with these problems - difficulty in identifying moonlighters, hesitancy to disclose moonlighting status, and the low response rates of surveys in general - by using a population with a comparatively high incidence rate of moonlighting; guaranteeing anonymity; distributing the questionnaires in the workplace; and aggressively following up and encouraging individuals to respond (Bell & Roach, 1990; Jamal, 1986; Jamal, Baba & Riviere, 1998; Pearson, Carroll & Hall, 1994; Raffel & Groff, 1990).

THE DECISION TO MOONLIGHT

Multiple jobholding can be researched either as an object of study, or incorporated into the existing models of other organizationally relevant phenomenon. In the following section the model of the decision to moonlight (figure 1) is used to examine possible approaches to research. This is followed by an illustration of how moonlighting might be incorporated into an established stream of organization research by adapting a turnover model to include multiple jobholding.

FIGURE 1
The Decision to Moonlight

Organizational Factors
Occupational Factors
Environmental Factors
Individual Factors

Individual's Decision to Moonlight
yes   no

Moonlighting Job Characteristics

Moonlighting Activity

Organizational Outcomes
Personal Outcomes

A model of the decision to undertake multiple jobholding activity is presented in figure 1. The various environmental, occupational, organizational and individual factors that influence moonlighting decisions are grouped together in the model. The 'occupational' and 'organizational factors' are primarily those discussed earlier. The 'environmental' influences include such things as the general state of the economy, unemployment rates, prevailing wages rate and such. Five categories of 'individual' factors - demographic, financial, dispositional, social participation and work attitudes - can be drawn from a recent review of the literature (Betts, 2002). These are categories of constructs that have been empirically linked to moonlighting.

The 'outcomes' reflect the notion that moonlighting jobs are a source of work-related rewards. These rewards may be monetary or non-monetary in nature. They may be complementary outcomes, such as an opportunity to exercise creativity or supplemental, such as a source of income. Performance is included because the moonlighting job may be intrinsically rewarding.

The decision to moonlight might also be influenced by the characteristics of the second job. Again, several categories of characteristics are revealed in the literature - compensation and rewards, regularity of schedule, field of endeavor, employer, and core job dimensions (Betts, 2002).
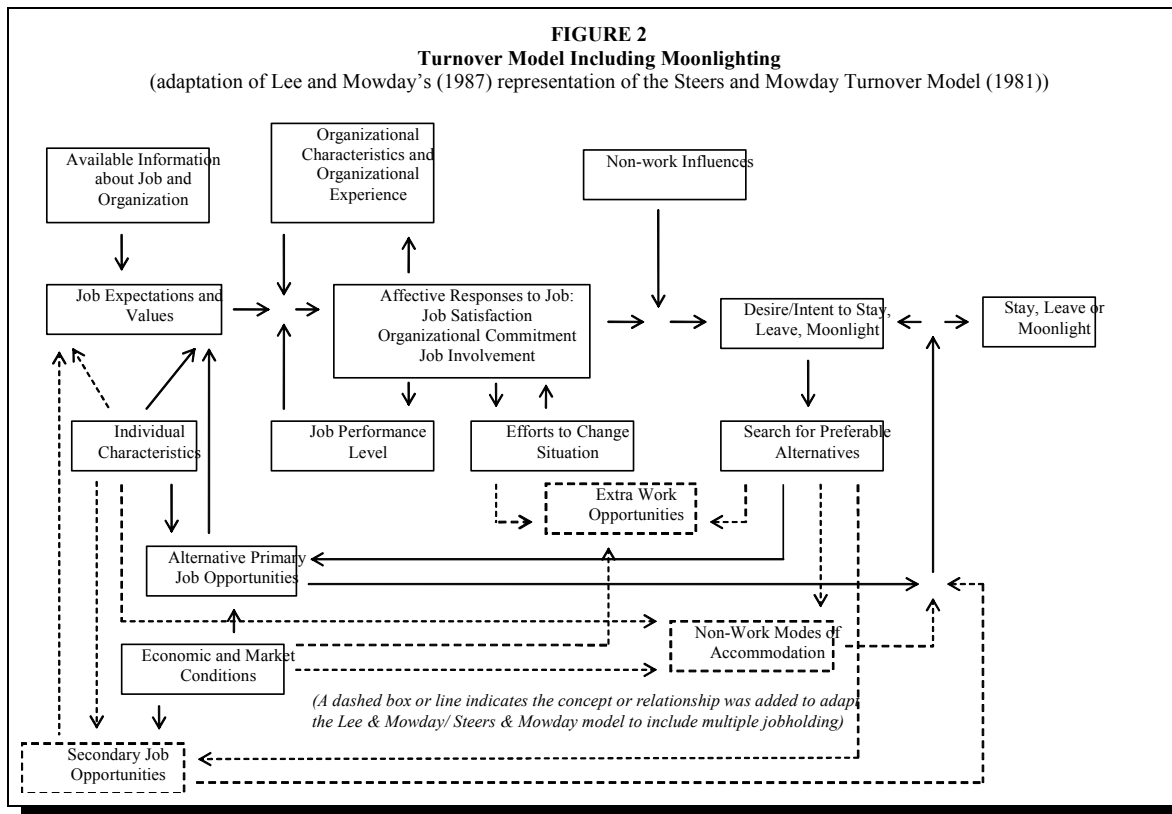
The model of the decision to moonlight (figure 1) includes feedback loops, implying a dynamic model. The model also shows many influences on the decision to moonlight, suggesting the possibility of interactions between various variables. Prior studies have examined the isolated effects of single variables on multiple jobholding or multiple jobholding on single variables, along a single link (arrow) in the model. The studies did not include interactions between variables or the effects of a feedback loop.

Empirical studies have considered multiple jobholding as either a dependent or independent variable and have relied on correlation and regression analysis. The decision making model, however, is a dynamic feedback model, which does not lend itself to considering multiple jobholding as exclusively dependent or independent. The model also suggests the possibility of adjustment effects. Adjustment effects are critical elements of several theories in organization studies, such as equity theory (Adams, 1963) and cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). In these theories, there are some perceived disequilibria that moves the employee to either take action or change perceptions. In the case of multiple jobholding, work situations and/or attitudes might move the employee to take a second job, which in turn would result in a change in their work situation and/or attitudes. Attempts to measure, or even identify the situations and/or attitudes that lead to taking a second job would fail because they have changed. Models that take this adjustment mechanism into account would necessarily use techniques besides correlation and regression.

This section presented ideas of how to investigate multiple jobholding activity as an object of study. An alternative approach is to integrate multiple jobholding into existing or emerging models found in organization research. In the next section a complex turnover model is examined as an example of integrating multiple jobholding into existing research.

A MODEL OF TURNOVER INCORPORATING MULTIPLE JOBHOLDING

Turnover is a phenomenon currently of great interest to organization researchers (Shaw, Gupta & Delery, 2005; Glebbeek & Bax, 2004). Years of research have resulted in complex models. Throughout the 1970's and 1980's, a number of conceptual models were developed to explain the process, which results in a worker voluntarily leaving an organization (Lee & Mowday, 1987; Steers & Mowday, 1981; Mobley, Griffeth, Hand & Meglino, 1979; Mobley, 1977). One of the more comprehensive models of the turnover process is the Lee and Mowday (1987) representation of the Steers and Mowday Model (1981). This model shows the relationships between many of the mediating and moderating constructs influencing turnover decisions. This particular model is being considered because it already encompasses or includes many other constructs of interest in organization studies such as job satisfaction, performance and organizational commitment.

FIGURE 2
Turnover Model Including Moonlighting
(adaptation of Lee and Mowday's (1987) representation of the Steers and Mowday Turnover Model (1981))

A comprehensive turnover model including moonlighting is presented as figure 2. The modifications to the original model are shown as dotted lines. Two critical assumptions of the initial turnover model were that the search for alternatives is associated with a desire to leave an organization, and that the 'alternatives' are other full time primary jobs. In the traditional turnover models if the worker strongly desires to stay at the original job there would be no search for an alternative, or vice versa. In the model in figure 2 the search follows the desire to leave the job (Lee & Mowday, 1987; Steers & Mowday, 1981). In other models (Mobley, 1977; Mobley, Griffeth, Hand & Meglino, 1979) the search or desire to search precedes or is concurrent with the desire to leave. It is not necessary to take sides in this debate because it is 'what' is being searched for, not 'when' the search takes place that is important here. The worker might be looking for a supplemental secondary job instead of, or in addition to, searching for an alternative primary job.

The model indicates that various affective responses as well as 'non-work influences' predict the desire to leave or to stay. If the effects of these two sets of influences lead in opposite directions, specifically if the affective responses are positive but the non-work elements indicate that the job is inadequate, there is a desire to stay with a cause to leave. In the traditional models this tension has no clear resolution, but a desire for moonlighting might be consistent with both influences.

In the case of moonlighting it might be that the individual wishes to stay with the organization, yet still initiates a search for alternatives. In this case the 'desire to leave' is replaced by 'desire to moonlight'. The alternatives generated would be potential moonlighting jobs. One reason for such a search might be that the original job does not completely meet the needs of the individual. The moonlighting jobs found in the search would fill the unfilled needs of the worker and enable the worker to keep the original job.

A comprehensive inclusion of moonlighting into the turnover model allows for the search for alternative primary jobs, moonlighting jobs or both concurrently. A concurrent search for alternative primary jobs and moonlighting jobs might be the case if the affective responses and the non-work influences are in conflict as described above. In this case, the worker wants to keep the current job to some degree, but is open to the possibility of other jobs. In other words, when the worker is unsure whether moonlighting will be adequate and preferable to a new job, a search for both alternatives might be initiated.

The turnover model adapted to include moonlighting includes the consideration of secondary job opportunities, but also adds 'extra work opportunities' and changes the position of 'non-work modes of accommodation'. These other changes reflect a theme common in the moonlighting literature, the idea that there might be several ways to meet the needs and wants of the worker. Several moonlighting researchers have formulated the moonlighting decision as a choice between such alternatives as extra work (i.e. overtime), switching jobs (or careers), having a working spouse, moonlighting and adjusting goals (Allen, 1998; Alper & Morlock, 1992; Krisnan, 1990; Lakhani, 1995). Expanding the search to include extra work and changing the position of non-work modes of accommodation reflects this theme from the moonlighting literature.

The changes in the search decision to include moonlighting can be traced through the rest of the model. Although the empirical moonlighting literature is not extensive, it shows support for influences at several points. Consider the economic and market conditions, for example. The economic and market no longer only influences the availability and characteristics of alternative jobs but also of moonlighting opportunities, and other modes of accommodation. In this way the issue is not the availability and attractiveness of the alternative job, but the relative availability and attractiveness of switching jobs, moonlighting, overtime, having a working spouse, and other alternatives. The moonlighting literature supports this idea because moonlighting activity has been found to be related to moonlighting wage rate (Lakhani & Fugita, 1993; Bazzoli & Culler, 1986; Culler & Bazzoli, 1985; Shisko & Rostker, 1976; Lakhani, 1995), labor market constraints (Allen, 1998), supplemental salary (Smith & Cooper, 1967), spouse work status (Buch & Swanson, 1986; Miller & Sniderman, 1974; Jamal & Crawford, 1981; Smith & Cooper, 1967; Lakhani, 1995), spouse's job hours (Krisnan, 1990), and other sources of income (Miller, Presley & Sniderman, 1973).

The individual characteristics of workers, much like economic and market conditions, can influence the choice of mode of accommodation. It has long been established that individual

characteristics influence the decision to voluntarily leave organizations (Lee & Mowday, 1987; Mobley, Griffeth, Hand & Mehlino, 1979; Porter & Steers, 1973). There is also ample evidence linking moonlighting to a variety of individual level factors (Betts, 2002; Baba & Jamal, 1992). Since these factors have been found to affect both moonlighting and turnover decisions when examined separately, it seems reasonable that they would affect the choice between moonlighting and turnover.

The impact of considering moonlighting in the rest of the model is largely a matter of sensemaking and perspective. Perceptions of primary employer/job characteristics and job expectations might be altered by comparison with other organizations/jobs. The search for alternatives and consideration of moonlighting changes the frame of reference of the worker and salience of some ideas. For example, if moonlighting could result in significant additional income, the expectations of financial rewards from the primary job become less important.

CONCLUSION

In the past the prevalence and potential impact of moonlighting have been grossly understated by organization researchers, and the possibility of multiple jobholding has been omitted from the models in the field. However, the influence moonlighting can have on an individual's relationship with his/her primary job justifies it as an object of investigation in organization studies. Multiple jobholding could be addressed as a primary object of study or as an influence in the existing and emerging models of the field. The model of the decision to moonlight provides a potential starting point for studying multiple jobholding itself. The purpose of the examination and modification of a turnover model to include moonlighting was to illustrate how moonlighting can be integrated into an existing model. Hopefully organization researchers will consider these models, take the opportunity to relax the 'one person- one job' assumption and begin to consider the potential contribution of multiple jobholding to organization studies.

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ISSUES IN ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE CHANGE: A CASE STUDY[1]

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ABSTRACT

As organizations adapt to be more effective in dynamic and competitive environments, the role of their organizational culture in either supporting or resisting internal changes is critical. The organization's leadership must seek a culture that fits with new strategic demands, and that culture itself may need to change as the strategy evolves. Helping leaders manage culture change effectively is the focus of this research. Changing a culture generally means changing some of the organization's values, beliefs, and customary ways of doing things. Such changes are often disruptive. They can violate implied (or actual) contractual agreements with various stakeholders based on established routines and patterns of past behaviors. It is like one team changing the rules of a game during the game. Depending on how this is done and communicated to the stakeholders (e.g., fans, referees, the other team), some parties to the game may view the changes as unfair, or even unethical. Leaders must be able to see, understand, and attend to these changes to reduce the likelihood of dysfunctional stakeholder behavior. We discuss culture as a strategic variable and consider the ethical dimension of culture change. By sharing an example of cultural change and misalignment in one organization, we are able to explore its process of coming to understand its culture and then begin to create a new culture to support its competitive strategy.

INTRODUCTION

Examining an organization's culture has become a target for organizational analysis. The emphasis on understanding social and symbolic processes of organizations has increased -- rational aspects alone no longer dominate the management literature. The concept of culture is used to capture the essence of what must change or adapt within an organization for it to be more competitive in the marketplace.

Culture is the set of shared values, shared beliefs, and customary ways of thinking and doing things which shape and guide the behavior of organizational members. Its importance lies in its

ability to influence the activities of members and the functioning of the organization without the direct imposition of measures and controls. Research shows that member perceptions of the organization's culture are associated with cognitive and affective sources of motivation and job satisfaction (Reichers & Schneider, 1990). Organizational climate - an organization's more temporal and local culture -- is an intervening variable between organization design factors and work performance and job satisfaction (deWitte & de Cock, 1988). The concept of culture has been found useful in explaining the achievement of broad organizational goals such as innovation, service, and quality enhancement.

Culture is typically measured at the collective level by capturing the norms and expectations that exist in the organization that are intended to govern the behavior of its members. For example, some organizations are competitive -- members feel they must out-perform one another. Other organizations are collaborative -- members seek each other out to create joint products and outcomes. Culture, by this definition, becomes a powerful construct for researchers' study, and for practitioners to use in affecting member behaviors and thereby affecting their efficiency, satisfaction, and commitment to the organization (i.e., fewer withdrawal behaviors).

Culture measures have been used in many leadership and change situations. Its uses have ranged from assessing 'gaps' between an existing and future desired state of affairs to helping top management articulate strategic and structural changes for the organization.

Two questions emerge for those using culture as a construct for driving change:

(a)   *To what extent does culture, as an index of the norms, values, and beliefs of organizational members, have the power to guide change, foster adaptation, and yield competitive success?*
(b)   *To what extent are there ethical issues involved in endeavors intended to change the organization's culture?*

CULTURE CAN LEAD TO COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE

There is significant evidence that suggests culture is a determinant of employee attitudes, their motivation, and subsequent organizational performance. Early evidence comes from research reported by Litwin and Stringer (1968) in which they simulated three companies, each with a different climate. They succeeded in creating very different organizations in which the quality and quantity of the output and the employee attitudes and motivation were very different.

In a study involving 207 companies, Kotter and Heskett (1992) demonstrated a dramatic relationship between culture and performance. Some cultures clearly outperformed other cultures. Yet relatively little has been reported that shows how the leaders of an organization have actively influenced culture or leveraged it to attain competitive advantage. Can culture be used to drive a change in strategy, or would a change in strategy necessitate a change in culture?

The business strategy literature has steadfastly maintained that for an organization to attain and sustain a competitive advantage it must have a fit between its strategy, structure, processes, and environment (e.g., Thompson & Strickland, 1986). Since the organizational structures and processes significantly affect, and are affected by, the organization's culture, it is critical for the organization's culture to be compatible with its strategy, consistent with the environment, and support its intended competitive advantage.

Anecdotes of companies that have a pervasive, openly discussed culture like Ben and Jerry's and Southwest Airlines lead us to believe that overarching guiding values are important for culture to have impact. Clear guiding values often have consequences that go beyond performance and attitudes. For example, in Ben and Jerry's the consistent emphasis on fairness and respect for all employees, as well as its values around social and environmental responsibility, created a company described as "…a very very open company, where you can work and be yourself." (Laabs, 1992, p. 52). The company won the 1992 Optimas Award in the Quality of Life category.

Based on their interviews and consulting work, Peters and Waterman (1982, p. 34) categorically stated: "Without exception, the dominance and coherence of culture proved to be an essential quality of the excellent companies. Moreover, the stronger the culture and the more it was directed toward the marketplace, the less need there was for policy manuals, organization charts, or detailed procedures and rules. In these companies, people in lower level positions know what they are supposed to do in most situations because the handful of guiding values is crystal clear."

The oldest organizations in society are religious and educational institutions (de Geus, 1997; Monahan & Stumpf, 2003). The reason: their values stay intact to provide clear boundaries for strategic choices. This would argue that culture should drive strategy. Several organizations in recent times have made a notable impact through their articulated and applied values that go beyond profitability (Ben and Jerry's, Goretex, Herman Miller, Southwest Airlines, among others). Their leaders say that it is their corporate values that have guided their strategy.

Clear guiding values, with norms and beliefs that support those values, may be the glue that holds people together, particularly when they have diverse backgrounds, perspectives, and talents. In an increasingly complex and global world, a core culture may provide the needed unity when everything else is different or changing. To this end, as leaders define and implement strategy, they have sought to change -- or unintentionally changed -- their organization's culture to fit their strategy. The goals of such changes in culture are generally to obtain greater internal harmony, increase the intrinsic motivation of staff, and improve individual and organizational performance.

ISSUES IN CULTURAL CHANGE

As the culture of an organization changes, it redefines its members' relationships with each other as well as their relationships with the organization's various stakeholders. The expectations

built up over years of working together may no longer be valid or counted on to yield expected results. Whether the cultural change is occasioned by a new leadership strategy within, or a response to external pressures, the stakeholders of the organization are affected. Especially vulnerable are employees, customers, and investors whose reasonable expectations based on the historic culture may no longer be met in the new culture. While stakeholders have the right to exit, exercising this right has 'switching costs' - which can be substantial. For example, employees might have to give up retirement benefits - or employment entirely if unable to secure another position.

From an ethical standpoint, an organization's approach to changing its culture can be characterized along a continuum from egoistic to moral (Jones, 1995). The organization, through its leaders, may act in what it believes are the best interests of the organization from the positional and personal perspectives of its leaders (leaning towards the egotistical end of the continuum). The changes driven by such leaders are sometimes based on the assumption that their opportunistic behavior in conjunction with each stakeholder group will result in enhanced welfare for all. Alternatively, changes in culture could be based on the assumption that open, caring, and inclusive behaviors in conjunction with each stakeholder group will have both intrinsic and instrumental benefits for the organization and those with whom it interacts (leaning towards the moral end of the continuum). These differing approaches to changing one's culture are likely to lead to different results.

Even the language used to implement a new/revised culture will have an impact on the expectations and behaviors of those who work for (employees), buy from (customers), and invest in (equity and debt holders) the organization. The vocabulary of egoism calls for self-interested behavior of speakers and hearers alike whereas an ethical vocabulary calls for cooperative behaviors which demonstrate respect for the view of others in pursuit of mutual interests.

One argument that shows the deleterious effects of egoistic behavior was urged by Thomas Hobbes in the 17th century. Noting that if everyone were to adopt the cardinal rule of egoism, namely, that one should pursue one's own self-interest even at the expense of others, there would result a "war of all against all" and life would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" (Hobbes, 1958, p. 13). His solution, of course, was to postulate the need for an omnipotent sovereign (a Leviathan) to restrain the citizenry from such self-defeating and short-sighted conduct.

But one might solve the problem of unrestrained egoism without resort to an authoritarian regime if one could count on moral behavior. Perhaps the best argument to show the positive effects of moral behavior is still the one urged by Kant (1959) in the 18th century. Rather than calculating consequences to make moral judgments, Kant established the "categorical imperative" whose focus is on the nature of the action itself, rather than its consequences, to determine the morality of actions. This categorical imperative moreover must emanate from a "good will" which, for Kant, is the only attribute of the person which is good without qualification. "The good will is not good because of what it effects or accomplishes or because of its adequacy to achieve some proposed end; it is good only because of its willing, i.e., it is good of itself." (Kant, 1959, p. 9). Put differently, the good will

is good because it is governed by duty. When the will chooses to act from duty, those actions have moral value whereas actions done simply in accordance with duty or opposed to duty are labeled worthless or wrong.

The important question then, for Kant, is determining what duty commands categorically, determining what evaluative criteria can be employed to enable us to know whether an action is moral or immoral. Kant (1959) answers this question with his notable three-part formulation of the categorical imperative:

> *Act only according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law.*
> *Act so that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in that of another, always as an end and never as a means only.*
> *So act as if your maxims should serve at the same time as the universal law (of all rational beings).*

While the first formulation above is perhaps the most well known, the second and third furnish us with a foundation and justification for our belief in the inviolability of the integrity of the person. To see this, we must understand Kant's sophisticated notion of the person: a rational and autonomous agent entitled to respect. As such, Kant's moral person is one who, having overcome his natural inclinations to do otherwise, freely follows the moral law which he has himself enacted. The moral agent is autonomous and sovereign in the moral realm. He both stipulates the moral law and subjects himself to it. As such he can be depicted by Kant as a being with intrinsic value -- an end in itself as it were -- as opposed to being viewed as a thing to be used to accomplish some extrinsic goal. The moral person has dignity which both engenders and demands respect rather than a price dependent on usefulness. As dignified, the moral person is depicted as inhabiting a "kingdom of ends," a noumenal realm, (as opposed to the world of phenomena populated by things to be used), in which one's worth or value is inestimable.

CULTURE CHANGE IN ONE ORGANIZATION: A CASE STUDY

We describe a leadership initiative in which a college sensed the need for a change in its strategy and acted upon this need to create a competitive advantage. It did this successfully. However, the need to attend to the effects of these changes in its culture was not adequately considered in this process, leading to unforeseen dissatisfactions, withdrawal behaviors, and the alienation of some of its faculty members and staff.

In the late 1980's, after over 20 years of slow, incremental change, the university and several of its colleges entered into a series of strategic planning rounds that gave rise to a substantial change in strategy. A significant external factor threatening the university had to do with population demographics. The period of near-zero population growth in the 1970's was being felt in the

decreased number of eighteen-year-olds in the population, the basic raw material for an undergraduate university. Competition for this shrinking pool was fierce, which led to price competition as universities discounted their tuition in an effort to maintain student quality. This behavior had a negative impact on the university and revealed a critical weakness in the internal system. The university's endowment had remained flat as its competitors were building theirs. Tuition discounting is primarily supported by income from endowments in U.S. colleges, so the university found itself at a significant disadvantage to its wealthier rivals. The discounting further affected the university due to the rapid growth in administration, as the university responded to increased demands for services by students, their parents, and new government mandates.

This competition for students, and the internal state of affairs at the University produced a shift from a passive strategic stance to an aggressive, proactive one. Change was anticipated from the highest levels of the university (e.g., the launch of the largest capital campaign in the university's history) through the lowest, as each college and department/office reacted to the competitive pressures. Once this period of rapid change was upon the college, it became evident that the culture that had evolved to fit the period of relative calm was no longer suited to a more competitive strategy being implemented in a rather turbulent environment.

The culture that had grown over the period of slow, measured change was characterized by affiliative, communal, and approval values and beliefs. Getting along in the culture meant minimizing differences, avoiding conflict, following the rules, while being pleasant and supportive. Change was possible after long periods of building consensus around any need for change. An example of this was the effort by the college to pursue and attain accreditation from AACSB International (a business school accrediting body). A long-standing dean worked through the department chairs and faculty/staff to create the perceived need for attaining the accreditation. A number of changes were made in staffing and curricula to achieve this goal, and after a celebration of the achievement, the college settled into another period of relative calm with minimal change. Although no quantitative evidence is available to support the claim, anecdotal evidence abounds that morale was very high and that people loved being part of the college community. Turnover was low. There was significant socializing within the college, much of which crossed departmental and hierarchical lines. The office facility, crowded and in many ways antiquated and inefficient, supported casual social interaction.

THE ROARING 1990'S: SEEKING COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE

In the new environment of the late 1990's, the leadership was pressing for rapid change to position the college for the future. At the strategic level there was recognition of a more global, research-oriented, and external stakeholder focused competitive environment for business education. A graphical representation of the strategic plan showing the student as the center of all of the

college's activities, with the faculty encompassing the students, was created and became the basis for moving ahead. This model clearly identified the stakeholders that needed to be satisfied, including students, parents, faculty and staff, alumni, business employers, the broader university, and the community.

At the level of systems and processes, the practice of building consensus within the faculty before implementing change was abandoned as leadership groups were created to make changes addressing various stakeholder needs. These changes were sometimes implemented before the faculty felt informed. Entire new degree programs were conceived, planned and brought to the implementation stage before being openly discussed. Existing programs were changed or eliminated on short notice. Short development cycles for new programs were deemed critical to moving the college forward, and it was often stated that we simply didn't have time to do things the old way.

The results: a strategically reduced undergraduate class of significantly higher academic quality; an enormous commitment to computing technology at all levels; a shift in faculty rewards (and subsequent outputs) from teaching to research and teaching; a shift in recruiting strategy for both students and faculty from regional to national; and the launch of several master's level programs that captured direct tuition revenues for the college. (Tuition revenues for the undergraduate program and core-MBA went to the university, not the college.) At some financial and psychological cost, the college had created and was sustaining a competitive advantage in the marketplace for students, employers, and new research-oriented faculty members.

CULTURE CHALLENGES

One task facing the college during this period of rapid change was to articulate a culture that fit the competitive strategy, and that supported and facilitated the fulfillment of its strategic goals. The university had its mission statement which articulated the norms and values that were to underlie the strategic plans at the college level. The college had its strategic plan that refined and articulated its mission in specific terms. The actions taken by the college leadership seemed to be consistent with these strategic plans and mission statements.

A watershed event for the college was the creation of a "new" academic building, the home of the college. A 1950's era building was gutted, and an addition built that increased the square footage by 50%. The building had a new look -- modern, technologically sophisticated, and stylish. During the planning for the renovations, the old cultural process was followed - with much consultation and discussion about furnishings, office locations, classroom layout, technology, and aesthetics. Members of the community were asked to participate, and were directly affected as the building was emptied and the faculty and staff spread out across the campus into basements, attics, and trailers. Morale was maintained through a common perception that "we were all in this together." The faculty and staff saw their collective inconvenience as a small sacrifice for the long

term well being of the college. As parts of the building became operative, the buzz was positive and reinforced the general good feelings about the changes.

As the building was being completed, it became clear that other changes were occurring -- the pace of change was going to pick up rather than slow down. Many were looking for a return to "business as usual" after moving into the renovated facility. People sought a period of calm after the unrest of being moved twice, and spread out all over campus. Some were disappointed that there would not be a return to business as usual, and that there would be little period of calm. A new culture was suggesting different norms and beliefs. The leadership was espousing norms and beliefs of achievement, self-actualization, and competition -- but little was being done to move people to accept them. It was assumed that since these new norms and beliefs supported the college's competitive advantage, all would embrace them. Meanwhile, more new programs and initiatives were pursued.   The new physical layout of the building made casual socializing less likely, and many faculty and staff members began to feel isolated. Different factions had grown, offering their own interpretations of what was taking place.

In retrospect, almost all the points of leverage to change culture had been touched: leadership, strategy, organizational systems and procedures, and the physical space. It was reasonable to assume that any change in culture would be positive with positive outcomes for all involved. In fact, both performance and culture were shifting. Changes in performance were visible, those in culture were less so. Anecdotal evidence indicated that faculty felt they had little influence on decisions, some were confused about expectations, and some were no longer having 'fun'. This lead to factions, some of which became less interested in supporting the organization.

Anecdotes of companies that have a strong value base in their culture, suggest that clear guiding values are indeed important for culture to have impact (Ben and Jerry's Homemade, Inc., 1998). The university had a strong value base stemming from a heritage including core values of truth, unity, and caring. However, some felt that the emerging culture was no longer supporting these values in the way they had manifested themselves in the past. Indices of tardiness and psychological withdrawal appeared to be on the rise. Synergies projected did not materialize as quickly as expected; some of what was wanted (e.g., major endowments for the college) did not fructify in spite of the good intentions of its leaders. As there was no effort to measure or assess the work culture or climate, dissatisfactions, morale issues, and negativity that were voiced, were generally heard as the 'usual' static that seems to accompany organizational change.

The dean, however, grew concerned by some of the 'negativity'. After some discussion with the management department chair and others, he decided to create a committee to investigate the culture in the college. The committee was to research the college's culture and then propose changes to the dean and dean's council. The goal -- reestablish the college as a great environment in which to work.

THE ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE IDENTIFIES THE CULTURE: METHODS AND RESULTS

A committee was formed of eight faculty members, one staff member and an external facilitator, all of whom the dean perceived as not being in any particular faction and generally being well respected by the entire community -- a safe committee. The members were chosen to represent both the newly espoused culture and the historic culture. Before the committee met, several members were approached by other faculty members and staff, each hoping that the committee would "…do more than have a party". It became evident that members of the community wanted the committee to take a hard look at the organizational culture that was emerging. Based on this observation and early discussions, it was decided that systematically collected empirical data were needed to help the college understand its current culture. The dean was approached with a research proposal, which received funding and leadership support. To begin the research process, the committee agreed to a definition of organizational culture as "the set of shared values, beliefs, and customary ways of thinking which shape and guide the behavior of organizational members."

The committee chose to pursue the data gathering process through a three pronged approach: (1) the use of a standardized and well-research culture survey to provide a picture of the college's culture relative to other work organizations - the *Organizational Cultural Inventory (OCI)* (Cooke & Lafferty, 1989), (2) a survey specifically created for b-school faculty that measured specific ways of thinking in academe and would provide comparative data with respect to other business schools -- the *Management Education Faculty Survey* offered by the Association for the Advancement of Collegiate Schools of Business, International (AACSB, International) (AACSB/EBI, 1999), and (3) a series of group discussions with the faculty, staff, and administration members about the college to capture a historical and subjective understanding of the college and recent changes. The data were gathered over a four month period using the two standard, publicly available instruments and a series of small group discussions led by an external facilitator.

Organizational Culture Inventory (OCI)

The *OCI* was purchased and administered via the web with appropriate reminders encouraging everyone to participate. The 47 respondents (41% response rate) report a fairly consistent culture -- independent of years of work experience or organizational position (with the exception of the 7 staff respondents, see below). While there were some departmental differences, the sample sizes were too small for these results to be meaningful (n's of 3 to 5).

The results shown in Figure 1 indicate that the organizational members who responded to the *OCI* believe that the current culture is one of avoidance, power, conventionalism, and dependence. Seeking approval and competitive behaviors were also viewed as important aspects of the culture. The culture was NOT one in which self-actualizing, affiliative, achievement, and

humanistic-encouraging values, shared beliefs, and ways of thinking and doing things were supported.

In *OCI* terms, the behaviors people felt were necessary to "fit in" included: avoid taking chances, do not commit to things, do not challenge others, do not rock the boat, and always try to make a good impression. Organizationally, faculty and staff reported that the college is a place where power rests in administrative positions, and where failure is punished; good behavior is inadequately acknowledged, praised, and rewarded. Building a power base and holding fast to power were seen as appropriate behaviors.

This culture profile suggests that the respondents felt that they would be rewarded for being responsive to the demands of the administration (i.e., dean and/or dean's council members). They would not necessarily be rewarded for their individual successes, but may be punished for their shortcomings. Their view is that the organization is hierarchically controlled and not participative. This supports a conformist, follow the rules, and avoid taking risks approach, while trying to make a good impression in their interactions with the administration.

While there are benefits to this culture, the risks are that members will avoid making decisions, taking actions, and accepting risks. Innovations may be withheld and individual initiatives, spontaneity, and flexibility are often missing. Members may also reduce their contributions to a minimal acceptable level.

Staff members also responded that they place a high priority on constructive interpersonal relationships, and that people are expected to be friendly, open, and sensitive. They report having the feeling that the organization itself is hierarchically controlled and not participative.

AACSB/EBI Management Education Faculty Survey

The *Management Education Faculty Survey* was purchased and administered with appropriate email reminders encouraging faculty members to participate. The survey measured satisfaction in six areas: faculty support, faculty development, business school administration/leadership, faculty teaching, culture, and student placement. Sixty out of 87 faculty members responded (69% response rate). On a seven-point scale, the college and the comparison schools (peer schools with comparable research moneys and highest degree awarded) rarely scored above 5 or below 3. Table 1 presents the results.

The results were viewed as 'critical' by the administration as most scores were below 5, and many below 4 (the mid-point of the scale). When the college's scores were compared to 20 other business schools that had completed the same survey within the past two years, specific areas of relative strength and weakness were apparent. The college scored well above the comparison group in support with research assistants, classroom facilities, and quality of students (highlighted in green in Table 1). The highest score in the survey was with respect to one's satisfaction with their career choice (item 81, 6.31). Faculty members at the college felt they were generally doing a good job.

The anticipated positive image of and by the college's leadership team was not found to be consistent with the faculty member views - either in absolute terms or relative to faculty views of these comparison schools. The faculty was not satisfied with the administration, or their ability as a faculty to influence the administration's decisions, as noted in Figure 1 by the items highlighted in pink (more that 1.21 points below the comparison colleges), and yellow (.80 to 1.20 points below the comparison colleges). Faculty members expressed a desire for more development opportunities (e.g., more opportunity for travel, more international exposure, enhanced ability to address global issues; items 8, 9, and 17). Compared to the respondents of other similar colleges, these respondents felt that their administration was not responsive to the will of the faculty (item 37, -1.59), that they were dissatisfied with the quality of administrative appointments (item 39, -1.29), were dissatisfied with their influence in policy development was too low (item 48, -1.40), and were dissatisfied with their influence in resource allocation decisions (item 50, -1.27).

Figure 1: *OCI* Culture Map*
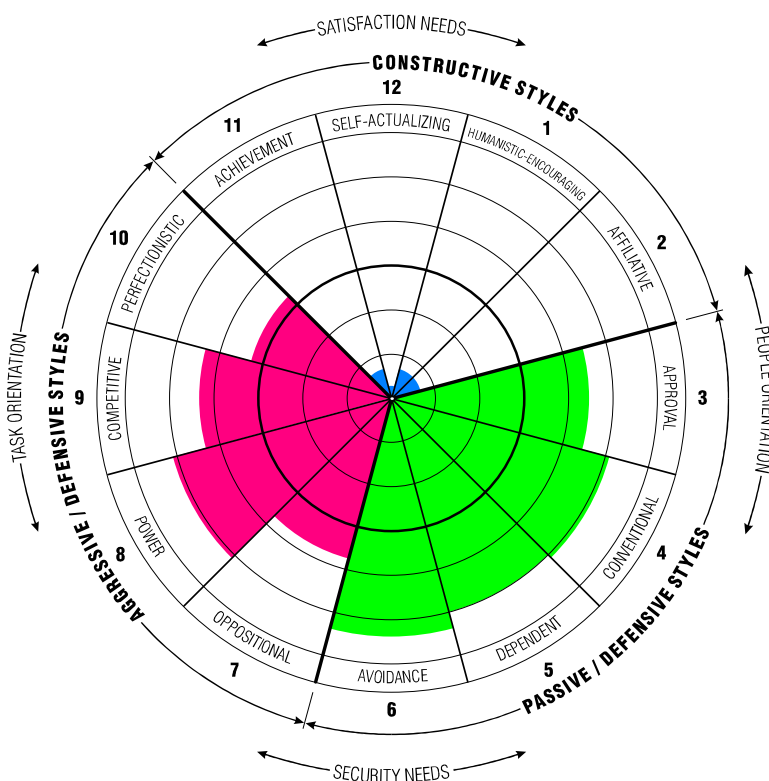
*N = 47 faculty and staff members, 41% response rate

Table 1: AACSB/EBI Survey Data*					
	Question	College	Master 1 Schools	College minus Master 1	All Schools
1	How satisfied are you with the level of support you receive from the college or university for research assistants?	4.04	3.24	**0.80**	3.90
2	for teaching assistants?	3.35	3.03	0.32	3.75
3	for research grants?	2.83	3.97	**-1.14**	4.26
4	for teaching grants?	3.00	3.59	-0.59	3.78
5	for university service?	4.11	4.14	-0.03	4.39
6	for school service?	3.71	4.36	-0.65	4.47
7	for professional service?	3.92	4.40	-0.48	4.56
8	for travel?	2.95	4.93	**-1.98**	5.07
9	for international activities?	2.95	4.53	**-1.58**	4.75
10	for secretarial assistance?	4.73	4.84	-0.11	5.05
11	for computer hardware technology?	5.11	5.45	-0.34	5.48
12	for computer software support?	4.73	5.12	-0.39	5.14
13	for sabbaticals?	3.60	4.51	**-0.91**	4.54
14	How satisfied are you with the level of faculty development support you receive for enhancing your teaching skills?	3.85	4.76	**-0.91**	4.79
15	your research skills?	3.23	4.11	**-0.88**	4.28
16	use of technology in the classroom?	4.34	5.20	**-0.86**	5.08
17	ability to address global issues?	3.59	4.88	**-1.29**	4.89
18	your ability to engage in multidisciplinary teaching?	3.68	4.62	**-0.94**	4.65
19	your ability to engage in multidisciplinary research?	3.75	4.68	**-0.93**	4.73
20	awareness of new pedagogy?	3.92	4.76	**-0.84**	4.75
21	your ability to secure funded research?	3.02	3.82	**-0.80**	4.02
22	How satisfied are you with your current salary?	3.85	3.98	-0.13	4.00
23	with the fairness of the annual review process?	3.59	4.44	**-0.85**	4.53
24	with the fairness of the promotion and tenure system?	3.74	4.77	**-1.03**	4.71
25	with the post-tenure review process?	3.33	4.46	**-1.13**	4.42

Table 1: AACSB/EBI Survey Data*				
Question	College	Master 1 Schools	College minus Master 1	All Schools
26 with your teaching load?	3.97	4.45	-0.48	4.74
27 with your average class size?	4.95	4.84	0.11	4.89
28 with the classroom facilities?	5.85	4.57	**1.28**	4.81
29 with your schools teaching evaluation process?	3.40	4.03	-0.63	4.07
30 with the degree to which student evaluations provide a fair representation of your performance?	3.65	4.25	-0.60	4.23
31 How satisfied are you with the administration regarding the articulation of goals for the business school?	4.41	4.96	-0.55	4.81
32 the protection of academic freedom of the faculty?	4.40	5.20	**-0.80**	5.30
33 the articulation of a clear vision for degree programs?	4.07	4.74	-0.67	4.63
34 the allocation of resources according to the mission of the business school?	3.46	4.56	**-1.10**	4.49
35 the allocation of resources across degree programs?	3.56	4.52	**-0.96**	4.42
36 the allocation of resources across departments?	3.39	4.51	**-1.12**	4.33
37 in responding to the will of the faculty?	3.00	4.59	**-1.59**	4.51
38 regarding the quality of new faculty appointments?	5.54	5.35	0.19	5.35
39 regarding the quality of administrative appointments?	3.43	4.72	**-1.29**	4.72
40 in raising money from external sources?	3.55	3.95	-0.40	4.52
41 in negotiating for resources with the central administration?	4.19	4.20	-0.01	4.35
42 school regarding the nature of the schools relationship with the other academic disciplines on campus?	3.95	4.23	-0.28	4.25
43 regarding the determination of course teaching assignments?	4.82	5.39	-0.57	5.34
44 regarding the determination of course teaching schedules?	5.11	5.52	-0.41	5.45

Table 1: AACSB/EBI Survey Data*				
Question	College	Master 1 Schools	College minus Master 1	All Schools
45 regarding the consulting policies?	4.70	5.26	-0.56	5.24
46 How satisfied are you with your ability to influence tenure decisions?	3.96	4.81	**-0.85**	4.91
47 to influence promotion decisions?	3.69	4.77	**-1.08**	4.87
48 to influence policy development?	3.21	4.61	**-1.40**	4.55
49 to influence curriculum development?	4.10	5.11	**-1.01**	5.08
50 to influence resource allocations?	2.81	4.08	**-1.27**	4.06
51 Across all academic programs how satisfied are you with the extent to which the faculty relates concepts to the real world?	5.03	5.21	-0.18	5.22
52 the faculty presents a global perspective?	4.67	5.05	-0.38	5.05
53 the faculty facilitate development of the students ability to use a computer?	5.67	5.48	0.19	5.38
54 the faculty facilitate development of the students oral presentation skills?	5.23	5.14	0.09	5.14
55 the faculty facilitate development of the students written presentation skills?	4.66	4.68	-0.02	4.61
56 the faculty facilitate development of the students' leadership skills?	4.64	4.73	-0.09	4.78
57 the faculty facilitate development of the students ability to work in teams?	5.25	5.35	-0.10	5.44
58 How satisfied are you with the amount of exposure your discipline receives in the MBA program?	4.14	4.76	-0.62	4.70
59 in the undergraduate program?	4.87	5.24	-0.37	5.16
60 How satisfied are you with the overall quality of students in the MBA program?	4.34	4.61	**-0.27**	4.69
61 of students in the undergraduate program?	5.52	4.44	1.08	4.66
66 of services provided to students?	4.17	4.34	-0.17	4.56
67 How satisfied are you with the degree to which faculty members share a common vision for the business school?	3.30	4.35	**-1.05**	4.23
68 the quality of your relationships with fellow faculty within your discipline?	5.13	5.54	-0.41	5.57

	Table 1: AACSB/EBI Survey Data*				
	Question	College	Master 1 Schools	College minus Master 1	All Schools
69	the degree to which senior faculty mentor junior faculty?	3.59	4.67	**-1.08**	4.44
70	For undergraduate students to what extent do you believe residence hall living enhances the education experience?	4.77	4.84	-0.07	4.91
71	For undergraduate students to what extent do you believe fraternity/sorority living enhances the education experience?	3.66	3.85	-0.19	3.81
72	How effective are faculty in assessing students ability to think critically?	4.75	4.94	-0.19	4.93
73	to define problems?	4.69	4.99	-0.30	4.99
74	to solve problems?	4.97	5.13	-0.16	5.22
75	analyze and interpret data?	4.98	5.00	-0.02	5.11
76	to function on teams?	5.12	5.19	-0.07	5.21
77	in their knowledge acquisition?	4.98	5.23	-0.25	5.28
78	in written communication skills?	4.83	4.82	0.01	4.83
79	in oral communication skills?	5.20	5.00	0.20	5.04
80	leadership skills?	4.50	4.57	-0.07	4.63
81	How satisfied are you in your career choice?	6.31	6.23	0.08	6.30
82	How satisfied are you being a faculty member at this school?	4.89	5.56	-0.67	5.47
83	Based on your current level of satisfaction how likely are you to choose to continue as a member of this faculty?	5.44	5.73	-0.29	5.57
84	would be you to recommend that a friend accept a faculty position with this business school?	4.34	5.20	**-0.86**	5.16
*N = 60 faculty members, 69% response rate; items 62-65 were not relevant to the college					

Small Discussion Group Meetings

Prior to a reporting of the results of the *OCI* and *Management Education Faculty Survey*, faculty members and staff were invited to attend a small group meeting with 5-8 others at a time convenient to them. 59 people (52%) chose to do so. The small group meetings served to reveal

both the past and current social-psychological climate within the college. Participants were asked to identify issues they were experiencing, using an action-oriented problem-solving process. Ten meetings were held with 4-8 participants in each. Meetings were characterized by high energy and willing participation. Using a simple technique for problem solving, each meeting began with the group generating ideas around one of three issues identified by the environmental committee. These were: How to make the college a great place to be?, How to celebrate successes?, and How to focus everyone's vision on organizational goals?

The generalizable messages from these group meetings were consistent with the ones reported in the two surveys: desire for more influence, sense that the college was more hierarchical than in the past, and concerns over the decrease in the openness and fairness of evaluation and rewards systems than in the past. When people stated that they wanted to make the college an enjoyable place to work, they consistently suggested a move away from power-based behaviors to one that included more cooperative behaviors where power was shared and they were involved in decision making.

In addition, participants identified areas for possible action, e.g., improvements in the use and communications regarding physical space (directories on every floor; glass displays for faculty scholarship; plants to enliven the area) and better use of the new spaces in the new facility (e.g., activities in the new staff-faculty lounge or atrium). Almost all groups emphasized the need for enhancing communication and interaction between and within groups (e.g. more open staff meetings, more informal socials).

DISCUSSION: ONE INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

The three assessments of this organization seem to define the primary attributes of the organization's culture, and further suggest how this culture might be dysfunctional for some of its stakeholders. Culture, as the lifeblood of an organization, can invigorate its parts (stakeholders) or, conversely, it can dissipate the vitality necessary for its members to flourish. A new culture can help to build relationships between and among stakeholders or it can sap them of the strength requisite for success and personal satisfaction.

While Kant applied his notion of ethics to several concrete scenarios, he had nothing explicit to say about the stakeholders of an organization. Nonetheless, armed with his sophisticated and noble view of the person as an autonomous and free moral agent bound only to duty, we speculate that he would be troubled by actions that reduced the respect accorded faculty and staff in a contemporary educational institution.

As a more competitive college culture was adopted and infused, it replaced the more internally collaborative environment that had sustained the college for generations. In an effort to demarcate itself in a competitive higher education environment, the college adopted a more

aggressive and competitive strategy toward faculty and staff. This resulted in unanticipated effects on the faculty and staff, some of whom may have felt depersonalized. Some faculty members felt they were no longer viewed as valuable resources to be leveraged for their specific contributions -- research publications in refereed academic journals were perceived as highly valued outputs. Those not publishing in academic journals were valued less than those who were. Such a culture might be viewed as somewhat egoistical or opportunistic -- not in the sense that one person is looking out only for his/her own interest -- but in the sense that the college is in pursuit of a vision of institutional prosperity tied to a scholarly research strategy at the expense of personal well-being of 40-50% of its members - many of whom where tenured and would neither leave the organization nor publish articles in scholarly journals. Those who joined the college for their sole love of teaching and influencing the minds of young people felt that they were being disrespected within the new culture.

The impact of this cultural shift was profound. The college had a long standing dean who supported the historically defined culture, then a dean hired from outside the institution who focused mostly on scholarly research and was asked to step down after one year, followed by the current dean who was about to step down voluntarily at the end of his seventh year. As the current leadership team established itself after the 'one year dean', the organization fundamentally changed its curriculum, added and eliminated programs, and hired and retired faculty at an unprecedented rate - mostly with a graduate education and faculty research thrust. While the term "egotistic" might not be appropriate to describe what took place, the data reported in Figure 1 and Table 1 suggest that the changes were brought about with less concern than desired for the well know differences in faculty member and staff talents. The view of this cadre of leaders determined what was best for the school. As might be expected (in hindsight), this disruption of the institution's long-standing culture and diminution of some individuals' much-cherished status led to some negative outcomes as adversarial relationships replaced what were once cooperative ones. Those not in step with the infused culture tended to withdraw - psychologically and physically - yet they remained on the faculty/staff.

MULTIPLE BOTTOM LINES

While many of the substantive changes made were needed and have proven beneficial in enhancing the college's competitive status and financial resources, the process used to implement the changes suggests the importance of paying close attention to how the processes employed can impact the organization's culture and the longer-term success of its strategy.

The infusion of altered cultural expectations need not have negative consequences. Positive outcomes would be expected if the culture change had been effected in an ethical rather than egoist way (Kant, 1959). If the new culture promoted by the leadership, or required by forces in the

external environment, is based on shared values such as community, unity, truth, openness, honesty, and integrity, both the person and the organization would benefit (Hobbes, 1958). To be sure, if new cultural values are derived through open communication (about expectations and goals) between honest participants who have integrity and who honor their commitments (sometimes at the cost of their own interests), then trust among collaborators in pursuit of mutually agreed upon goals is likely. Trusting that one's organization will act openly and fairly with respect to personal needs and aspirations is good intrinsically and instrumentally.

Although possible negative effects of a culture change have been noted, the positive effects of a healthy culture and changes in a culture should be highlighted. The competitive environment described above energized a new generation of faculty whose talents and skills are more consistent with the changed expectations; students have come to accept the more professional, rather than personal relationship, with faculty; benefactors are more actively seeking association with the college rather than the other way around.

The creation of the environment committee, and the work it did to define the organization's culture, was a farsighted act on the part of the out going dean. It would seem critical for the next dean and the leadership team to capture what is best in the personalized environment of the past and blend it with the demands of a professional future. Illustrative actions proposed by various members of the environment committee include: (1) rewarding and appreciating performances from all stakeholders, (2) openness in the use of monies to fund "centers of excellence" in which faculty members can pursue specialized research and curriculum interests, (3) recognition and support of programmatic educational initiatives that may have been dormant during the previous administration, (4) appointment of professionals to oversee key administrative duties in support of student needs, (5) a linguistic change in the name of the "Dean's Conference Room" to the "Faculty Board Room", and (6) greater openness and transparency in how decisions were made, the challenges facing the institution, and the possible actions being considered to address these challenges.

It has been argued that when culture change can incorporate the expectations and commitment of its stakeholders, it is characterized by mutual trust between parties - people will deal with each other with respect. The organization prospers. Individuals share their talents and resources -- whether those individuals are employees, customers or investors. Alternatively, when culture change does not reflect the intentions of its leaders in their manner of implementation, it leads to mistrust between the organization and its stakeholders. This threatens both the organization's long term prosperity and the individual's sense of self worth.

ENDNOTES

[1] Portions of this research were published as a chapter entitled: Culture change: Unintended consequences and ethical issues for competitive strategy. In R. Berndt (Ed.), *Challenges in Management, Yearbook of the Graduate School of Business Administration Zürich*, Volume 11: Competitiveness and Ethic. (2004). Springer-Verlag, Berlin, Germany. Authorship is listed alphabetically. The authors appreciate the suggestions made by Thomas Monahan, Edward Mathis, and David Stout to earlier versions of this article.

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EMPLOYERS OF CHOICE AND COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE: THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING IS IN THE EATING

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ABSTRACT

Employer of Choice (EOC) status has been touted as yielding competitive advantage in securing human resources. The attainment of Employer of Choice is believed to provide an edge to the organization in the competition for the recruitment and retention of top talent. The assumption is that such a strategy will yield a competitive advantage for the employer yet this assertion has not been subjected to the rigors of academic study. This paper discusses the issues surrounding EOC as a strategy and presents, based on existing theory, empirically testable propositions.

EMPLOYER OF CHOICE PROGRAMS

Employer of Choice (EOC) programs are designed to aid an organization in outperforming its competition in the recruitment and retention of top talent in order to secure an exceptional workforce. It is important to note that 'top' in this definition does not refer to the place in the organizational structure, rather to the best employee or the top performer of each position in the organization.

An Employer-of-Choice is basically a self-proclaimed achievement. Although in order to have credibility in the proclamation, it helps to be named by the popular press as one of the best companies to work for. According to *Fortune* magazine's annual list of the best companies to work for, companies on the list yield higher returns for shareholders (Shellenbarger, 1998). The rationale for the EOC strategy can be traced to the efficiency wage theory, which suggests that an employer's compensation strategy, to provide a total compensation package that exceeds the market will serve as a productivity motivator. The increased productivity results from ease in retention of top talent, improved productivity and high retention rates (Campbell, 1993; Cappelli & Chauvin, 1991; Sullivan, 1998). An ***employer*** of ***choice*** recruits and engages talent through practices that address both tangibles and intangibles, focuses on the long term as well as the short term, and are tailored to the organization (Branham, 2005, p.57)

The demand for 'top' labor is exceeding the available supply, thus creating what Clarke refers to as a "critical labor and skill shortages in virtually all industries requiring specialized core competencies within the workforce" (Clarke, 2001). The recent changes in the unemployment rate will not resolve the shortage of 'top' talent. It is not uncommon for many organizations to simultaneously reduce staff while hiring new talent, resulting in a significant human resource challenge in terms of the effect such practice has on employee morale. The Bureau of Labor Statistics projects that over the 2000-2010 period, total employment will increase by 15 percent (BLS, 2001). In fact, many organizations have incorporated recruitment and retention goals into their written strategic plan (Ahlrichs, 2000) as a defense against these environmental concerns. According to Jamrog and Stopper (2002) "the only sustainable competitive advantage in the 21st century marketplace is the quality of the organization's people." (p.7)

Organizations had to respond to an increased demand by employees for 'need satisfaction'. Employers began offering new and more tailored benefits packages. On-site child-care centers, exercise rooms and cafeteria style benefits packages surfaced as a benchmark for top benefit plans. Even concierge service and on-site dry cleaners have become a standard in many large organizations. In a poll reported in *Risk Management*, over one quarter of the respondents cited work-life balance as their 'number one career dilemma in the new millennium' (Sullivan, 1999, p.8). Recent evidence further suggests that 'even employees with no direct benefit may place a positive value on work-life programs…' (Drago et al 2001, p. 36). Anderson and Pulich posit that employees want some recognition from management that family and personal time is important (2000).

Increasingly, employees are realizing that they are interviewing prospective employers as much as they are being interviewed by them – employees have a choice in where to work. Complicating the workforce dynamics even further is the difference in the attitudes, values and needs of each generation of worker (Clarke, 2001). Too many employees witnessed their parents endure lay-offs after pledging their allegiance to one employer and vowed not to suffer the same fate. However, in a study conducted in 1998 of Generation Xers steady employment was ranked high in terms of motivation, but it was not relegated to one employer, rather to continuous employment in terms of successive moves to enhance career mobility (Montana & Lenaghan, 1999). These individuals believe the adage that security comes from being "employable not being employed." In order to succeed and sustain competitive advantage, organizations must find ways to attract and retain this new workforce.

According to Ruch (2001), the real incentive to becoming an EOC lies in the demographics of the workforce. As a result of Generation Xers' traits and perceptions of work, he suggests that employers need to implement generational marketing, learning and teaching practices in the same way they do to enhance product sales. Human Resource professionals need to market the organization as a 'best employer' to candidates and potential applicants. To attract and recruit Generation Xers, "businesses must apply brand-management and marketing thinking to the

employment experience by understanding, managing and valuing young employees with the same care used in consumer marketing practices" (Ruch, 2001).

MULTINATIONALS

It is important to mention that this is not only a domestic challenge or purely a concern only in the United States. It is estimated that the largest United States organizations will have more employees working outside the US than inside in the near future (SHRM, 1999). According to SHRM, "Ford and IBM employ 54 percent and 51 percent of their workers outside the United States respectively while one-fifth to one-third of employees at AT&T, General Electric, PepsiCo and General Motors work outside US borders." Even the not so large US organizations are following suit. Similarly, foreign world leaders have also expanded and dispersed their workforce to many countries. For example, Nestle has 97% of its workforce located outside of Switzerland and Philips has over 80% of its workforce located outside of the Netherlands. As a result, the competition for top talent is even fiercer as it is no longer restricted to geographically local competitors but is now global. Through 'Electronic Immigration', organizations can employ people from virtually any country thus creating a truly global market of the best and the brightest workers.

WHERE IS THE ADVANTAGE?

So the question becomes, is the strategy to become an employer-of-choice truly yielding a competitive advantage? The answer lies in the synthesis of resource based strategy, institutional theory and human resource theory. Traditional theory asserts that a firm obtains a competitive advantage by identifying internal strengths and weaknesses while responding to environmental opportunities. Porter (1985) asserts that effective human resource management policies and practices can supply a significant contribution to the firm's competitive advantage because they provide the mechanisms to recruit and retain top talent. The latter is significant, as it is the reduction of turnover that has been posited as an important benefit enjoyed by EOCs.

Resource Perspective

Since human resources represent the knowledge, skills, abilities and competencies of the employees, this mosaic of talent becomes what Barney (1991) describes as a resource that is relatively rare and difficult to imitate. Wright and McMahan (1992) support the resource perspective but stipulate the existence of four requirements: individual performance must matter; the employee skills must be rare; the combined human capital cannot be readily duplicated, human resources cannot be vulnerable to substitutions – technological or otherwise. A firm's human resources can be used as predictors of firm performance (Hitt & Ireland 1986 and Barney 1991).

Organizations that possess a resource that others are not able to easily duplicate are known as benefiting from a sustained competitive advantage. Thus, we argue that one of the underpinnings of Employer-of-Choice strategy lies in resource-based strategy. As Koch and McGrath suggest, "the way in which an organization's human resources are managed has a perceptible and significant relationship to the productivity of its employees" (1996, pg. 352). One can look at Southwest Airlines, a leader on *Fortune* magazine's list of the best companies to work for and realize that their business model is simple - -Tom Peters characterized it "as one that any three year old can understand" (Myerson 1997, p. 38) - -and yet others have failed to imitate it (O'Reilly & Pfeffer 2000) due to the competitive advantage it has in its human resources.

Positive reputations can be a source of competitive advantage. When firms market their EOC status they attempt to enhance their firm's reputation as one that values its employees. A very recent series of commercials promoting Continental Airlines demonstrates that one of their main marketing goals is to enhance the Airlines' employment brand by communicating its achievement in being named to *Fortune's* list of Top Companies to work for. It seems Continental's strategic architecture highlights that EOC status is a core competence and as such will provide a sustained competitive advantage. If you view the organization as a 'portfolio of skills', the rationale for Continental's strategy becomes intuitive (Prahalad & Hamel, 1990). Indeed human capital is a significant competitive resource (Lawson & Hepp 2001). Thereby, one could argue that the EOC strategy is based, in part, on the resource perspective, in which the competitiveness of the firm is believed to be related to investments in firm-specific assets. Clearly, a firm's ability to attract and retain human capital is paramount to any organizational success.

Human Resources

Based on the above, it would seem that those organizations with EOC status should have a competitive advantage. In fact, those organizations that are proactive and recognize the importance of securing labor will experience higher productivity (Koch & McGrath, 1996). The 'potential gains' for organizations lie in the effective utilization of strategic human resource management and that investments in human resources are a potential source of competitive advantage. (Huselid et al 1997). However, the literature does not specify which resources are most useful. Champion-Hughes (2001) suggests that, as a result of the great effort needed to confront the challenge of daily work-family conflict, employee efficiency and productivity will suffer. By helping employees balance work and family responsibilities, organizations will turn the employee into a valuable organizational citizen, whose behavior will influence profitability and customer satisfaction (Koys, 2001). As Rayman (2001) points out, even top management executives are realizing in the words of Randall Tobias, the former Chairmen of Eli Lilly, that employees "bring their hearts as well as their minds to work". In fact, Susan Lambert (2000) developed a model to measure workers' assessments of the usefulness of work life benefits and the measures of organizational citizenship and concluded that

a positive relationship exists between these variables. Further research has supported the notion that employees' perceptions regarding work-life issues is that the supervisory support of their family/personal needs is as, or even more important than, the actual work-life program itself (Families & Work Institute, 1997, Ford Foundation, 1997 and Hochschild, 1997). The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce (Bond et al, 1998) found that employees will experience higher levels of satisfaction and loyalty, as well as improved well-being in supportive organizations.

Studies have shown that work-life policies do positively affect firm performance but they have been examined through the use of bundles (Perry-Smith & Blum, 2000) or a grouping such as high performance work practices (Huselid, 1995) or progressive human resource management practices (Delaney & Huselid, 1996) or in public-sector employers (Kim & Campagna, 1981). Yet, there is some evidence to suggest that perhaps the beneficial effects on "employee satisfaction with work-family balance and job satisfaction vary widely across different groups of employees" (Saltzstein, et al, 2001). It is noteworthy to mention that a recent empirical study attempted to assess individual work-life programs and their impact on profitability and concluded that "not all programs exert the same, or even a positive impact, on profits" (Meyer et al, 2001). However, a significant limitation of this study is the fact that the data was collected from *Working Mother* magazine's annual ranking, which does not represent diverse interests; rather it is limited to those of working mothers.

As Johnson (1993) asserts, many of the benefits of WLP are difficult constructs to quantify. One way to gather evidence, which supports the view that work-life programs have a positive impact on firm performance, is to examine organizations that have implemented such plans. Such examples include: a Xerox customer service operation site that reduced absenteeism by 30 percent as a result of allowing alternative work arrangements; a Hewlett-Packard's Financial Services Center in Colorado Springs implemented a compressed work week and improved productivity by double; Aetna reduced turnover by more than 50 percent among "high-potential professional women", who took leave for childbirth, by offering alternative work arrangements upon return to work; and lastly, First Tennessee Bank experienced a direct correlation between WLP and increased customer retention and satisfaction (Johnson, 1995 and Martinez, 1997).

Institutional Theory

The issue is whether the stated advantages of becoming an employer-of-choice are reality-based or myths. Is the concept of EOC more a norm of rationality? Institutional theory is based on the notion that formal structure is ingrained in social reality. The social reality determines elements of the formal structure such that these elements are merely manifestations of powerful institutional rules, which function as rationalized myths that are binding on organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Organizations structurally reflect or imitate socially constructed values. Perhaps this can explain the motivation of employers to enrich benefit offerings that are required for EOC lists. In

other words, conceivably the 'competitive advantage' that proponents of these benefit offerings espouse is merely isomorphism (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In a study of government agencies, the results depicted a disregard for outcome assessments of these work-life programs. Once they were offered, little was made to ascertain the work-life programs' impact on the agencies' effectiveness (Durst, 1999).

It certainly can be argued that if an employer does not offer certain benefits, that employer would forfeit recruitment effectiveness. The 'top talent' would seek employment elsewhere. However, not all benefits can have the same value-added to the employment relationship. In other words, the enhancement of benefits could be a result of mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Employers may be simply responding, in an effort to maintain legitimacy, by offering benefits. They can be part and parcel of the formalized structure, which could lead employees to take them for granted in contemporary organizations (Fogarty & Dirsmith, 2001). If the organization just offers the benefits to increase its reputation as an EOC, then the value to employees is questionable. For example, research has found that often men and non-professionals cannot take advantage of work-life programs for fear of job ramifications (Konrad & Mangel, 2001). Therefore, the mere existence of these enriched plans would not result in a competitive advantage. As Fogarty and Dirsmith (2001) suggested employees will take the benefits for granted because they are an expected part of the compensation structure in contemporary organizations. The problem facing an employer may be a loss of labor competitiveness, but just providing a solution may not be the best strategy. For example, if the decision to add domestic partners as allowable dependents is made by only those who have a vested interest in that particular addition, the organization may not be utilizing scarce resources as efficiently, nor effectively, as possible.

PROPOSITIONS

An interesting aspect of the EOC strategy is the notion that to some extent employees expect certain benefits and as such their presence in the benefits package does not serve as a motivator to recruit or retain an exceptional workforce. It is conceivable that as a result of coercive isomorphism, certain benefits are not only expected, but also demanded by workers as part of their notion of base salary, such that they no longer serve as motivators for attracting and retaining top talent. Thus, employees would identify some core benefits associated with an EOC program as obvious to a basic compensation package and, therefore, it is only the absence of such benefits that would incite any behavior - - and negative behavior at that.

Proposition 1:   *The absence of an EOC benefits program will be negatively associated with an individual's desire to become employed or remain employed by a specific employer.*

Based on the widely accepted belief that Employer-of-Choice status yields higher qualified applicants and the assumption that if an organization invests in an EOC strategy that employer emphasizes strategic human resource management and as a result, will receive positive gains, organizations that achieve Employer-of-Choice status should receive greater numbers of applications per job opening (Huselid et al 1997). Moreover, if EOC is truly a strategy which will yield a competitive advantage through positive reputation (Barney, 1991), then future employees should recognize and express desire to work for such organizations.

Proposition 2:   *An EOC program ranking will be positively associated with the number of applicants per job opening versus non-EOC competitors controlling for recruitment expenditures.*

Proposition 3:   *EOC program ranking will be positively associated to applicant recognition.*

Proposition 4:   *EOC program ranking will be positively associated to applicant motivation to apply for a position at that organization.*

Porter (1985) asserts that effective human resource management policies and practices can supply a significant contribution to the firm's competitive advantage because they provide the mechanisms to recruit and retain top talent. The assumption is that Employers of Choice offer exceptional benefits and as posited by the efficiency wage theory, will enjoy increased productivity as a result of recruiting the 'top' talent as well as lower turnover rates, since the existence of a higher compensation package will motivate employees to remain at the firm (Campbell, 1993, Cappelli and Chauvin, 1991). Moreover, since it has been shown that perceptions of organizational culture influence turnover (Sheridan, 1992), as well as employees' financial and psychological interests (Shaw et al, 1998), organizations that have achieved EOC recognition should benefit from lower turnover than that of their competitors.

Proposition 5:   *EOC program ranking will be negatively associated with the turnover rate.*

Proposition 6:   *EOC program ranked competitors will have lower turnover rates than competitors without EOC programs.*

It can be argued that the mere possession of top talent by an organization results in higher profitability. Therefore, organizations employing a strategy to achieving a ranked EOC program

should be more profitable than other competitors in their industry. Moreover, there is evidence that supports a strong link between a decrease in employee turnover and an increase in sales, market value and profitability (Huselid, 1995). Therefore, assuming propositions 4 and 5 hold true, then an obvious extension is that EOCs will be more profitable.

Proposition 7:   *EOC program ranking will be positively associated with profitability.*

CONCLUSION

This area of research is ripe with opportunities to decipher the concept of employer-of-choice as a strategy for increasing competitive advantage. Organizations are facing a deficit in the supply of top talent and most assuredly will need to develop strategies to overcome the challenge. Workforce demographics indicate that the labor pool for top talent will decrease in the next decade, while demand for professional occupations will increase the fastest of all occupations studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS, 2001). Moreover, this is a global concern and competition for labor will intensify as more organizations join this global labor market via mechanisms like electronic immigration. Clearly, the notion of an EOC is one such strategy designed to address this organizational concern and many organizations have embraced it. However, it requires considerable resources, both in terms of financial investments and labor hours. In fact, "extensive employer-of-choice initiatives can involve the art and reach of a $50 million advertising campaign" (Walsh, 2001)

While the popular press has made significant claims to its advantages - they are only assumptions. It is imperative that these supposed competitive advantages be subjected to the rigor of academic research. Implications for organizations are considerable, as any mechanism to alter an organization's competitive advantage relies on significant allocation of resources. If done in ignorance or with untested assumptions, organizations may find themselves to have embarked on a strategy that may ultimately lead them to negative results in terms of position and performance. Like an oil tanker that takes miles to stop or change course, reversal for organizations engaged in these expensive yet unproven EOC programs may be too late.

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EMPLOYEE ENGAGEMENT: CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

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ABSTRACT

The authors of this article explore the construct of employee engagement, which has received considerable press recently in management literature and practice. Our research explores questions concerning how the construct employee engagement is defined and how it compares and contrasts with other existing, well-validated constructs. We discuss positives and negatives of employee engagement research and the application of the construct to organizational outcomes. Many organizations now measure their employees' level of engagement and to attempt to increase those levels of engagement because they believe that doing so will improve productivity, profitability, turnover and safety. We encourage users of the construct to continue research on employee engagement in order for both academics and practitioners to better understand what they are measuring and predicting.

INTRODUCTION

Employee engagement has been written about widely in the management literature and the popular press. The term has shown up in *Workforce Magazine* (2005), *Harvard Business Review* (2005) and the *Washington Post* (2005), not to mention the websites of many Human Resources consulting firms such as DDI (2005) and Towers Perrin (2003). Employee engagement, a term coined by the Gallup Research group, seems to be attractive for at least two reasons. Employee engagement has been shown to have a statistical relationship with productivity, profitability, employee retention, safety, and customer satisfaction (Buckingham & Coffman, 1999; Coffman & Gonzalez-Molina, 2002). Similar relationships have not been shown for most traditional organizational constructs such as job satisfaction (Fisher & Locke, 1992). In addition, the items used in employee engagement surveys measure aspects of the workplace that are under the control of the local manager.

The term employee engagement, in its present usage, was coined by the Gallup Organization, as a result of 25 years of interviewing and surveying employees and managers. Their intent was to create a measure of workplaces that could be used for comparisons. Their research has been published in books, practitioner magazines, academic journals and on websites. In *First, Break all the Rules*, the original book coming out of the Gallup research, Buckingham & Coffman (1999) report that Gallup spent years refining a set of employee opinion questions that are related to

organizational outcomes. The statistically derived items, called the Gallup Workplace Audit (GWA), that measure employee engagement are related to productivity, profitability, employee retention and customer service at the business unit level (hospital, hotel, factory, etc.). They report that employees who score high on the questions are "emotionally engaged" in the work and the organization. (See Appendix A for the questions.)

Coffman & Gonzalez-Molina (2002) in *Follow This Path*, the second book coming out of the Gallup research, say that engagement is not only about how people think but also about how they feel. They say that the engaged employees collectively are an "economic force that fuels an organization's profit growth" (p. 26). They group employees into three categories, the actively engaged, the non-engaged, and the actively disengaged employees. Most of the book is devoted to "how-to" chapters for managers.

In both books reporting the Gallup Organization research, the authors spend considerable time and page space explaining the meta-analytic techniques used to find the relationships between the items in their questionnaire and the business unit level outcomes. They spent considerably less time defining and validating the construct of employee engagement. Because of this lack of construct definition, subsequent users interpret the construct in different ways.

The Nature of Psychological Constructs

Schmitt & Klimoski (1991) define a construct as "a concept that has been deliberately created or adopted for a scientific purpose" (p. 18). A construct cannot be observed; it must be inferred. For example, by observing a set of behaviors one might infer that a person possesses a particular construct, such as maturity. Merely attaching a name to a collection of survey items does not make it a construct. The measure must be validated by comparing and contrasting the construct to similar and different constructs to demonstrate that it is related to those constructs in theoretically predictable ways.

In the following sections, definitions of employee engagement used by various researchers will be presented. Then at least four problems associated with those definitions will be discussed.

Definitions of Employee Engagement

Before beginning to gauge the construct validity of employee engagement, the myriad of definitions that have been applied to it should be examined. The following paragraphs present several such definitions, beginning with the definitions from the empirically-based Gallup researchers and proceeding to the definitions used by others seeking to apply the construct. Harter, Schmidt and Hayes (2002) define employee engagement as "the individual's involvement and satisfaction with as well as enthusiasm for work" (p. 269).

- Lucey, Bateman and Hines (2005) interpret the Gallup Engagement Index as measuring "how each individual employee connects with your company and how each individual employee connects with your customers" (p.12). They call the opposite of this emotionally unemployed.

- DDI (2005) uses the definition "The extent to which people value, enjoy and believe in what they do" (p1). DDI also states that its measure is similar to employee satisfaction and loyalty.

- Fleming, Coffman and Harter (2005) (Gallop Organization researchers) use the term committed employees as a synonym for engaged employees.

- Gallup's Human Sigma website (2005) likens employee engagement to the concept of customer engagement, which has the dimensions of confidence, integrity, pride and passion.

- Wellins and Concelman (2004) call employee engagement "the illusive force that motivates employees to higher levels of performance" (p.1) "This coveted energy" is similar to commitment to the organization, job ownership and pride, more discretionary effort (time and energy), passion and excitement, commitment to execution and the bottom line. They call it "an amalgam of commitment, loyalty, productivity and ownership" (p. 2). They also refer to it as "feelings or attitudes employees have toward their jobs and organizations" (p. 2).

- Robinson, Perryman and Hayday (2004) define engagement as "a positive attitude held by the employee towards the organization and its values. An engaged employee is aware of the business context, works with colleagues to improve performance within the job for the benefit of the organization. The organization must develop and nurture engagement, which is a two-way relationship between employer and employee" (p2). They say that engagement overlaps with commitment and organizational citizenship behavior, but it is two-way relationship. They say it is "one step up" from commitment.

- *The Business Communicator* (2005) reports definitions of engagement from three people they label experienced employee engagement practitioners. Those three definitions are, as follows:
  1. Engagement is two sides of a coin, the knowledge needed to do one's job effectively and the motivation to apply that knowledge.
  2. Increasing workforce dedication to achieve a business outcome.
  3. Employee engagement is a social process by which people become personally implicated in strategy and change in their daily work.

Problems Associated with the Construct of Employee Engagement

Looking across the definitions in the above list, four problems emerge to the authors. The problems, which will be elaborated upon in the following sections, are, as follows:

- ♦ The definitions are not clear as to whether engagement is an attitude or a behavior.
- ♦ The definitions are not clear as to whether engagement is an individual or a group level phenomenon.
- ♦ The definitions do not make clear the relationship between engagement and other well-known and accepted constructs.
- ♦ There are measurement issues that obscure the true meaning of the construct.

Attitude or behavior?

The job attitude literature makes a distinction between attitudes (affective responses to an object or situation), behavioral intentions based on attitudes, and actual behaviors (Roznowsky & Hulin, 1992). A careful examination of the definitions listed above reveals that the construct of employee engagement has been ill-defined and misapplied. First of all, most of the authors do not distinguish between attitudes and behaviors, mixing examples of both in their definitions. For example, Robinson et al. (2005) mix the concept by defining employee engagement as: "the individual's involvement and satisfaction with as well as enthusiasm for work," which is an attitude; "desire to work to make things better" which is a behavioral intention; and "working longer hours, trying harder, accomplishing more and speaking positively about the organization" which are behaviors. *The Business Communicator (*2005) mixes in concepts such as knowledge needed to do one's job and social processes which are not attitudes, behavioral intentions or behaviors. Wellins and Concelman (2004) mix commitment, loyalty, productivity and ownership, three attitudes and an outcome into their definition.

Individual or Group?

The construct of employee engagement lacks clarity as to the level of analysis it represents. The major strength of the argument made by the Gallup researchers in all their publications is the relationship of engagement to productivity, profitability, employee retention, and customer service at the business unit level (hospital, hotel, factory, etc.). Does this mean that employee engagement is a group-level phenomenon? If engagement is being used as a group level phenomenon, good research methods require that it be subjected to tests of within-group and between-group variance (Dansereau, Alutto & Yammarino, 1998).

An example of the confusion is Coffman and Gonzalez-Molina (2002), who say that there are three mutually exclusive groups based on their responses to the 12-item Engagement Index, the engaged group, the non-engaged group and the actively disengaged group. Two things about their descriptions of these groups are troublesome. First, their profiles of each of these groups of employees are a disturbing combination of attitudes and behaviors (e.g., the engaged employee uses talents every day, has consistent levels of high performance and is emotionally committed to what they do). Second, the engaged group and the actively disengaged group have collective effects on profitability and performance. However the non-engaged group is not considered to have a group effect; they are highly individual. These effects are not parallel.

In another study, Crabtree (2005) reports that the employees in the three categories of engagement (engaged, non-engaged, and actively disengaged) report different levels of positive and negative influences on their psychological well-being, regardless of the type of work performed. This treats members of all three groups as individuals. Similarly, Gallup's Human Sigma website (2005) reports that work groups whose members are positively engaged have higher productivity, profitability, safety records, attendance and retention. So, the question is, is employee engagement a group level phenomenon, an individual phenomenon, or both?

Related constructs

The third problem with the construct is that many of the definitions of employee engagement invoke existing constructs, such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behaviors and job involvement, but they do not demonstrate the relationship of employee engagement to those other constructs. The following section discusses these related constructs.

Job Satisfaction.

Job satisfaction, a widely researched construct, is defined as a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences (Locke & Henne, 1986). Harter, et al. (2002) begin their discussion of engagement by using the term engagement-satisfaction, but drop the satisfaction from the term early in their article.

Generalized job satisfaction has been shown to be related to other attitudes and behaviors. Positively, it is related to organizational commitment, job involvement, organizational citizenship behaviors and mental health. Negatively, it is related to turnover, perceived stress and pro-union voting (Kreitner & Kinicki, 2004). It has been found that while the relationship between job satisfaction and performance is weak at the individual level, but is stronger at the aggregate level (Ostroff, 1992). In the engagement literature, Harter, et al. (2002) invoke Ostroff's research as a reason for studying employee engagement at the business unit level.

Organizational commitment.

Organizational commitment is the degree to which an individual identifies with an organization and is committed to its goals. Commitment has been shown to be related to voluntary employee turnover. It is also seen as crucial to individual performance in modern organizations that require greater self management than in the past (Dessler, 1999). In the engagement literature, several of the authors use terms such as commitment (Fleming, et al., 2005), an amalgam of commitment, loyalty, productivity and ownership (Wellins & Concelman, 2004), and loyalty (DDI).

Organizational citizenship behavior.

Organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) are discretionary behaviors that are beyond formal obligations. They "lubricate the social machinery of the organization, reducing friction and/or increasing efficiency" (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997). These desirable behaviors have been shown to be related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment and to be related more to work situation than dispositional factors (Podsakoff, MacKenzie & Bommer, 1996). OCB, an outcome of the attitudes of job satisfaction and organizational commitment, is similar to the definitions in the engagement literature of being respectful of and helpful to colleagues and willingness to go the extra mile (Robinson, et al., 2004), or working longer hours, trying harder, accomplishing more and speaking positively about the organization (Wellins & Concelman, 2004).

Job involvement.

Job involvement is the degree to which one is cognitively preoccupied with, engaged in and concerned with one's present job (Paullay, et al., 1994). Pfeffer (1994) argues that individuals' being immersed in their work is a primary determinant of organizational effectiveness. Job involvement has been shown to be related to OCBs and job performance (Diefendorff, Brown, Kamin & Lord, 2002). In the employee engagement literature, Wellins and Concelman (2004) use the term job ownership as a synonym of engagement.

Measurement issues

The first issue regarding measurement is how many items are in the Gallup survey and what is the Gallup survey called? Buckingham and Coffman (1998) simply refer to the survey items as the twelve questions (even though in their appendix they refer to 13 items). In the appendix they refer to four theoretical constructs that the items measure, What do I get? What do I give? Do I belong? and How can we grow? Coffman and Gonzalez-Molina (2002) call the survey the Q^{12} and consider each of the items a "condition" (p. 95). Harter, et al. (2002) report using a 13-item scale,

the 12 Gallup questions, which they refer to as the Gallup Workplace Audit (GWA), and a one-item overall job satisfaction item. They state that the GWA reflects two sets of items: attitudinal outcomes (whatever that means) and antecedents to those attitudes that are within a manager's control. The Gallup webpage calls the survey the Q^{12}. Lucey, et al. (2005) refer to the Gallup Engagement Index, which consists of the same 12 questions as the GWA. In the *Gallup Management Journal*, Crabtree (2005) calls the survey the Employee Engagement Index.   The Gallup organization needs to decide on a name for their instrument and use that name consistently.

The attraction for consulting groups and their client organizations may be that engagement is not an "academic" concept, but one that has been marketed as practical. For example, *Follow this Path* uses a recipe-type format, taking the reader through the items in the survey in the appropriate order, with examples of what a manager can do to increase employees' responses to that item. Harter, et al. (2002) report that stronger effects were found for employee turnover, customer loyalty and safety than for the other outcomes, but in the practitioner books all the outcomes are listed, with no indication of differences in strengths of relationships. The Gallup researchers have inconsistently reported their research to appeal to practitioners and, in doing so, have opened their concepts up for misuse by others.

DISCUSSION

The question the authors wish to raise is whether employee engagement is a meaningful idea that adds to management knowledge or if it is a concept that is redundant with existing research. Its popularity is most likely due to the wish of most practicing managers for the "answer" to the sticky problems of motivation and performance. There certainly is an appeal to be told which variables to influence and the order in which to influence them.

The huge data set collected and manipulated by Gallup has found statistical relationships, but the items that remained in the final survey were derived empirically, not theoretically. In the two books that explain the studies (Buckingham & Coffman, 1999; Coffman & Gonzalez-Molina, 2002), the theoretical basis for engagement, both customer and employee, is neurological, not psychological (Buckingham & Coffman,1999; Coffman & Gonzalez-Molina, 2002). There is a wealth of research and knowledge that has been accumulated within management and related fields. The existing research should be consulted and the recognized methods applied to determine if and how employee engagement is related to and augments existing knowledge. If engagement behaves like well-established constructs such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment or job involvement and results in the same outcomes, does the field need a construct such as engagement?

If, on the other hand, employee engagement does capture some aspect of employee motivation that has eluded previous researchers, it should be welcomed by practitioners and academics alike. Perhaps, like organizational culture, employee engagement is a multi-dimensional, multi-layered construct (Rousseau, 1985). The construct should be rigorously tested in order for its

theoretical soundness and practical application to be strengthened. Only by understanding the nature of the construct and its relationship to attitudes, behavioral intentions and behaviors can it be applied to the benefit of organizations and employees.

CONCLUSION

The authors recognize that the extant research on employee engagement demonstrates its relationship to outcome variables important to every organization, such as productivity, safety, employee retention and customer service. Increases in knowledge as to how to create high performance workplaces are always welcome by practitioners and academics. What the field does not need, however, is another fad term. We call for continued research into employee engagement in order better to understand and to capture its contribution to organizational and individual performance.

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STICKS AND STONES:
VERBAL ABUSE IN THE WORKPLACE

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ABSTRACT

The great silent secret of the American workplace is that verbal abuse is a far more pervasive problem than most people realize. More than 90% of adults experience workplace abuse sometime during the span of their work careers and the larger the company, the more likely verbal abuse occurs. Verbal abuse is intended to cause distress to the target. Verbal abuse is overt or subtle verbalizations ranging from profanity and openly hostile remarks about competency to double-edged comments, gossip and rumors. And, the costs are high from low staff morale to high staff turnover. This paper will look at a definition of verbal abuse, describe who abuses, delineate the causes and the costs of verbal abuse, and discuss what companies can do to eliminate this problem thus increasing performance and enhancing their bottom lines.

INTRODUCTION

> *"Anger is a brief lunacy."*
>
> Homer

"How stupid can you be?" "You're an idiot." "Can't you do anything right?" "My kids could work faster than you do." The great silent secret of the American workplace is that verbal abuse is a far more pervasive problem than most people realize. While people acknowledge that workplace violence exists, no one wants to openly look at chronic verbal abuse and the toll it routinely takes. While it may be much easier to be outraged by physical violence, verbal abuse does exist in the workplace and it exacts a huge penalty (Estrin, 1996). Verbal abuse can be buried in corporate layers, and if bosses don't dig deep, they won't find it. And, no matter where we work or volunteer our time, verbal abuse is an unavoidable consequence of doing business. While the sources may vary -- abusive bosses, combative customers, heavy workloads, and impossible deadlines – the result is often the same: people disconnect from work, morale sinks, performance drops, and turnover increases (Brillinger, 2003).

The supervisors who inflict psychological abuse on subordinates represent one of the most frequent and serious problems confronting employees in today's workforce. Verbal abuse is repetitive, targeted, and destructive and is communicated by more powerful members toward less

powerful members in the workplace. It is costly, widespread, and may be the precursor to workplace aggression and violence (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2003).

More than 90% of adults experience workplace abuse sometime during the span of their work careers and the larger the company, the more likely verbal abuse occurs (Elias, 2004). This paper will look at a definition of verbal abuse, describe who abuses, delineate the causes and the costs of verbal abuse, and discuss what companies can do to help eliminate this problem thus increasing performance and enhancing their bottom line.

DEFINITION

"There are more pleasant things to do than to beat people up."
Mahatma Gandhi

There is a difference between a strong manager and a verbal abuser. A strong manager listens to a staff's concerns, lets people know that they are being listened to, and offers only constructive criticism on work matters. A verbal abuser doesn't listen, offers destructive criticism, uses insults about appearance, race, or gender, uses abusive language, and intimidates others (Sparrow, 2005). And while it is no longer acceptable to treat women as sex objects, it is still acceptable in this politically correct age to verbally batter and humiliate employees. To compound the silent conspiracy, these browbeating techniques are excused and forgiven by many as "just part of the job" (Estrin, 1996).

Verbal abuse can be defined as language intended to cause distress to the target. Verbal abuse is overt or subtle verbalizations ranging from profanity and openly hostile remarks about competency to double-edged comments, gossip and rumors (Brennan, 2001). Being the target or victim of verbal abuse can prove to be a traumatic experience. The word trauma comes from the Greek, meaning "to pierce – to breach something once intact." When verbal abuse does "pierce" that protective psychological barrier, it "bruises" the victim psychologically, challenges self-esteem, and impairs resistance. When this happens, coping skills are seriously undermined. People who experience verbal abuse are unlikely to forget the sense of fear, anxiety and terror. And, although there are training courses aimed at addressing physical violence, there appears to be almost no attempt by employers to deal with the damage caused by verbal abuse (Brennan, 2001).

WHO ARE THE ABUSERS?

"No man can think clearly when his fists are clenched."
George Jean Nathan

Both men and women are equally likely to be verbal abusers. However, most abusers are bosses who are empowered to fire their victims. Over time, targets may suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, exhaustion, and insomnia (Prasad, 2003). Almost anyone can become

abusive under certain circumstances. Personality, stress, family history and specific events play roles in sparking verbal abuse (Rivenbark, 2005). Research indicates that although workers are at times abusive to their coworkers, the overwhelming majority, from 70%-90% of abusive communication is perpetrated by superiors toward subordinates (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2003). Yet, surprisingly, managers are also abused by their subordinates. Not delivering messages, hiding notes, changing documents, excluding people from social groups and not delivering papers for meetings in time can be designed to make the manager seem incompetent (Hall, 2005).

CAUSES OF VERBAL ABUSE

"Violence is the last refuge of the incompetent."
Francis Jeffrey

Verbal abuse is a repetitive, targeted, and destructive form of communication. One study estimated that approximately one in four managers abuse their employees and this abuse was found in a wide variety of organizations, universities, and hospitals (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2003).

And, verbal abuse occurs for many reasons, ranging from frustration over a perceived failure of a service to situations where it is used to cause emotional or psychological distress to the target. Other triggers include anger, confusion, alcohol/drugs, perceived injustice, poor communication skills, means of domination, and "because they can" (Brennan, 2003). In addition, external pressures on organizations such as heightened diversity in the job arena, increased pressure posed by the global economy, the decline in unionism, and the development of the contingent workplace increase internal pressures and contribute to verbal abuse (Prasad, 2003).

Employees learn to accept being screamed at, harshly criticized or threatened with job loss. If they do not accept this kind of behavior, it is construed as the employee's weakness. Employees are taught to "take the heat" and receive positive feedback for doing so. So repetitive and constant are the incidents that it is almost impossible to distinguish between a manager letting off steam and abusive behavior. Unfortunately, many companies resolve these problems by avoiding them which eventually just makes the situation worse (Estrin, 1996). Although many workers report that although they didn't feel they were in any physical danger when being verbally abused, they experienced anxiety, an urge to cry, a sense of freezing up and a sense of inadequacy, a desire to run away, and they described themselves as being tearful and unable to get the experience out of their thoughts (Brennan, 2003).

A national survey of more than 1,300 workers conducted by Opinion Research Corporation found that 42% of respondents experienced yelling and verbal abuse and 29% admitted to yelling at coworkers (Brown, 2001). Overwork, stress, doing "more with less," and lack of job security all lead to verbal abuse whether it is between boss and subordinate or between coworkers.

COSTS OF VERBAL ABUSE

"How much more grievous are the consequences of anger than the causes of it."

Marcus Aurelius

Physical attacks are obviously dangerous, but serious or persistent verbal abuse can be a significant problem too, as it can damage employees' health through anxiety and stress. This can represent a real financial cost – through low staff morale and high staff turnover. This, in turn, can affect the confidence of a business and its profitability. Further costs may arise from expensive insurance premiums and compensation payments (How to . . . deal, 2004).

Verbal abuse at work fosters depression, insomnia, and alcohol and drug abuse. This lowers productivity, motivation and job satisfaction (Elias, 2004). In addition, 80 million working days are lost as a result of verbal abuse in the workplace, with half of all workplace stress resulting from abuse or relationship difficulties (Beating the bullies, 2005). In addition, verbal abuse refocuses employee energy from productivity to self-protection, it results in staff turnover, increased medical claims due to occupational stress, and leads to out of court settlements, legal fees, and litigation And, finally, the organization loses credibility and suffers the loss of its good reputation (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2003).

Besides potential legal liability, studies show companies suffer in other ways from workplace abuse. Rather than "gang up" on the verbal abuser or report his or her behavior to their superior, which tends to escalate the conflict, most victims punish their employer by consciously reducing the quality of their work, not coming to work, or leaving their jobs (Prasad, 2003).

Two out of three people who tried to defend themselves against demeaning behavior said it drew retaliation. Mistreated people may be afraid to complain, particularly if the verbal abuser is a favorite of the supervisor or the abuser is the supervisor. Job insecurity also squashes protest, because if the target doesn't have options, s/he figures this beats the unemployment line (Elias, 2004). Avoiding or denying abusive behavior reinforces its pattern and promotes tolerance of unacceptable behavior. Occasionally, a higher-up will mediate or consult with these troublemakers but the general tendency is to create solutions that fail to address the real causes. Rarely is the offending behavior made the focus or the offender forced to change. In addition, employees participate in the conspiracy by refusing to speak up (Estrin, 1996).

WHAT COMPANIES CAN DO TO HELP

"Holding on to anger is like grasping a hot coal with the intent of throwing it at someone else; you are the one who gets burned."

Buddha

Trying to sell the idea that verbal abuse can be very distressing is often a major problem. Many senior executives, in various professions, still believe that because it isn't physical it cannot,

or should not, hurt the person. But verbal abuse can and does hurt. Training courses aimed at addressing the problem need to be highly interactive and should aim to expose attendees to verbal abuse in a safe and controlled way, while teaching positive stress, and anger and anxiety management techniques (Brennan, 2001). Other techniques for managing verbally abusive situations include:

- ♦ Develop administrative policies and procedures to guide staff in handling verbal abuse.
- ♦ Track and note trends in verbal abuse to best provide intervention and support for the involved individuals (DelBel, 2003).
- ♦ Ensure clear communication throughout the organization so that problems can be identified at the root before they escalate (Sparrow, 2005).
- ♦ Recognize and reward managers for constructive behaviors.
- ♦ Hire for attitude and interpersonal skills, as well as technical requirements.
- ♦ Maintain a fair-minded workplace with consistent values.
- ♦ Build a culture of community to foster productivity and human well-being (Brillinger, 2003).
- ♦ Train managers to deal with people who verbally abuse others.

CONCLUSION

"He who angers you conquers you."

Elizabeth Kenny

Verbal abuse is not just something that happens in a few workplaces; rather, it is widespread. While verbal abuse can be expensive for an organization, particularly in terms of absenteeism, low productivity, and turnover, it is the individual costs that must always remain at the forefront of employers' minds. Verbally abused people can't sleep, they can't eat, and they'll cry for no apparent reason. An organization needs a clear policy that commits the organization to treating employees with dignity and respect.

At the present time, less than five per cent of training courses deal with verbal abuse, yet verbal abuse makes up 90 per cent of all reported incidents of violence. Despite including verbal abuse within the Health and Safety Executive's definition of workplace violence as "any incident where staff are abused, threatened or assaulted in circumstances related to their work," the reality is that verbal abuse continues to be disturbingly under-acknowledged and poorly addressed.

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