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Editor

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to the Journal of Organizational Culture, Communications and Conflict, the official journal of the Academy of Organizational Culture, Communications and Conflict. The journal is owned and published by Jordan Whitney Enterprises, Inc. The Academy is an affiliate of the Allied Academies, Inc., a non-profit association of scholars whose purpose is to encourage and support the advancement and exchange of knowledge, understanding and teaching throughout the world. The editorial mission of the Journal is to publish empirical and theoretical manuscripts which advance knowledge in the areas of organizational culture, organizational communication, conflict and conflict resolution. We hope that the Journal will prove to be of value to the many organizational scholars around the world.

The Journal is double blind, peer reviewed. The articles contained in this volume have been double blind refereed. The acceptance rate for manuscripts in this issue, 25%, conforms to our editorial policies.

We intend to foster a supportive, mentoring effort on the part of the referees which will result in encouraging and supporting writers. We welcome different viewpoints because in differences we find learning; in differences we develop understanding; in differences we gain knowledge; and, in differences we develop the discipline into a more comprehensive, less esoteric, and dynamic metier.

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Connie Rae Bateman
Editor
University of North Dakota

NURTURING GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE FACE OF EXPERIENCE: A STUDY OF LEADER GENDER, LEADERSHIP STYLE, AND SATISFACTION

Stephanie N. Crites, Momentum Worldwide
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Alicia Lorenz, Southern Illinoisan

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the effects that leaders' gender has on stereotypes of their leadership style and their actual leadership style as reported by their followers. The paper also explores the impact leaders' gender has on the satisfaction of subordinates. Two studies were completed. For study one involving stereotypes and reported leadership styles, data were collected from a mixed sample of working professionals using an online survey format and college students from a regional University. This study analyzed leadership style on two dimensions: concern for people and concern for production. For study two related to gender and satisfaction, data were collected from college students at a regional University. The results of study one indicate that the stereotype for female leadership held by the respondents does not match the reported behavior of their own female leaders. However, the male leaders reported on in this study fit into the respondent's stereotypes for male leaders. This demonstrates the robustness of these stereotypes. The results for study two indicate partial support for female respondents reporting a preference for female supervisors. However, male respondents did not show any impact of a manager's gender on satisfaction and satisfaction was related to the managers' organizational level.

INTRODUCTION

Stereotypes are generally defined as qualities or traits assigned to certain groups on the basis of their race, sex, nationality, age, religion or other characteristics. These qualities are generalizations given to the entire group even though they may not describe all the members of that specific group. In our society, stereotypes are almost always perceived as negative because they can lead to discrimination and they reduce the amount of individuality amongst different people. Although there is much literature that warns against the use of stereotypes, the act of stereotyping is very common (Northouse, 2007; Adams & Yoder, 1985).

In this paper we examine the role of gender or sex role stereotypes as they relate to leadership. We also investigate whether men or women leaders actually fall into their gender stereotype. We explore differences in male and female leaders with an emphasis on their level of concern for production and their level of concern for people.

STEREOTYPES

Northouse (2007) explains stereotypes as cognitive shortcuts that people use to process information about specific groups. Stereotypes usually come from historical or cultural norms that suggest specific groups of people are naturally prone to or biologically made to act a certain way. However, stereotypes can change over time with shifts in a society's culture. As researchers point out, the amount of women in leadership positions, at least at the supervisory and middle management level, have been increasing over the past half century (Duehr & Bono, 2006; Eagly & Karau, 2002). A cultural shift like this may act as a catalyst to change the stereotype assigned to a certain group (Koenig et al., 2011). Stereotypes can also come from other factors such as experience, mass media, and even socioeconomic status (Carpenter, 2012; Krieglmeier & Sherman, 2012).

If an individual has a specific experience with a certain group, that experience can serve as a memory to form a stereotype about another member of the same group later. For example, say a man who continually struggles in math finds a tutor that explains everything so that the individual understands and the tutor seems especially skilled in this subject. If this particular tutor is a Hispanic woman, the individual may use this memory of the tutor when he encounters other Hispanic women and assume that they are also good at math. Krieglmeier and Sherman (2012) suggest that encountering a member of a specific group is the most typical method in which stereotypes are activated. However, stereotypes can be formed in other ways, such as the constant use of them in mass media.

In an article entitled "Construction of the Crack Mother Icon," Carpenter (2012) examines the use of the American mass media in creating a distorted image for African American Women as crack addicted mothers. She states that "audiences perceive extreme or distorted visual images as realistic if they are familiar" (Carpenter, 2012, p.265). A specific example she states are the characters of Jezebel in the film *Birth of a Nation* and Sapphire Stevens in the Amos n' Andy minstrel style radio show. Both of these characters, played by African American actresses, are promiscuous, overbearing, angry women (Carpenter, 2012). She explains the progression of this stereotypical image in film and advertisements. When people continually see the same types of people in the same roles throughout the media, they begin to create a stereotype for these people.

GENDER STEREOTYPES

The term gender is frequently thought to be interchangeable with the term sex. However, there is a significant difference in these two terms. According to the World Health Organization ([WHO] 2013), the term gender refers to "the socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women," while the explanation of the term sex is "the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women." For more clarification, the WHO (2013) offers the clarification that "Male" and "Female" are categorized under the term sex and "Masculine" and "Feminine" are in the category of gender. The sex of the individual is what they are and their gender is a stereotype

that begins to be formed from the moment that they are aware of the world around them. For example, baby boys are commonly dressed in blue, which has been given masculine attributes and baby girls are usually dressed in a pink or purple, two colors that are seen as more feminine.

Since an individual's gender begins to be formed at such a young age, these stereotypes are persistent and well-known. Northouse (2007) explains that gender stereotypes are, "highly resistant to change" (p. 276). Several studies that involved gender roles show men in our society are more viewed as independent, aggressive, competitive, self-confident, rational, dominant, and objective. In contrast, women in the studies were more likely to be described as sympathetic, quiet, gentle, tactful, passive, irrational, and even emotional (Adams and Yoder, 1985). These are merely characteristics of an individual's personality, but gender stereotypes can also describe different behaviors that male and females ought to perform. For example, on the WHO (2013) website it states that "in most parts of the world, women do more housework than men." Although there is not an easy way to validate or discount this statement, many people believe it to be true because of gender stereotypes.

Our culture has set up such strong gender stereotypes that it has caused much discrimination. The U.S. Supreme Court case *Price Waterhouse v. Ann Hopkins* illustrates a consequence of violating your gender stereotype. Price Waterhouse was sued by Ann Hopkins because they told her that she would not make partner at their firm because she was too masculine. They even recommended that she wear more make-up and jewelry, go to charm school and be less aggressive (Northouse, 2007). Even though the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Hopkins, the fact that this case reached such a high level in the U.S. legal system shows the extent to which society believes that women should be feminine and men should be masculine. The permanence of societal stereotypes is tested in this paper using a sample made up of mostly younger students who will either maintain or change current stereotypes in the future.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN LEADERSHIP

There is a significant amount of research on gender roles when it comes to the topic of leadership. Most of this research shows that men and women are evaluated differently in leadership roles. Interestingly, Adams and Yoder (1985) illustrate that in male dominant leadership positions, parallel performance by males and females is perceived to be caused by different elements. A successful male performance is more frequently credited to internal factors of the man, such as his skills and abilities. A successful female performance is more frequently credited to external factors related to the situation, such as luck, or the simplicity of the task. Men are generally perceived as doers and achievers whereas women are thought to have better interpersonal skills than men and to have more passive qualities (Adams & Yoder, 1985).

Women struggle when it comes to being promoted into leadership roles. There are considerably less female leaders in many areas than there are men, especially at the highest levels. Specifically, women represent only 7.9% of the highest titles in the Fortune 500, and less than 2% in Fortune 500 CEOs. In the United States, women hold only 17% of the seats in Congress (Koenig et al., 2011; Northouse, 2007). There could be many different reasons for why there are so many fewer women in leadership roles than men, but one major reason is that the

position of “leader” or “manager” is often thought of as masculine (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003).

The position of leader has been a male-dominated role for many, many years. There is still some evidence today that shows that men more than women, feel that good leaders have more masculine characteristics (Koenig et al., 2011). For example, Adams and Yoder (1985) cite a nationwide survey of managers showing that the top rated personal characteristics thought to be most important for upper management positions were more often possessed by men than by women. Additionally, there was a study conducted by Schein (1973), which asked 300 male middle managers to rate women in general, men in general, and successful middle managers on 92 descriptive trait items. The results showed that successful middle managers were seen to have characteristics and temperaments more commonly recognized as masculine rather than feminine. Stereotypes that have been norms for as long as this are difficult to change, which is an important reason why women still face discrimination and a glass ceiling in leadership roles.

GENDER STEREOTYPE OF LEADER BEHAVIOR HYPOTHESES

In this study we use a behavior or style approach to leadership to analyze gender stereotypes and roles in leadership. The style approach focuses exclusively on the behaviors of leaders; how they act and what they do (Northouse, 2007). Most of the studies done on this approach to leadership have specified two different dimensions of behaviors: task-oriented and people-oriented. These two dimensions have also been labeled as initiating structure and consideration, production-centered and employee-centered, instrumental and supportive, and performance and maintenance behavior (Yukl, 2012). For this study we refer to the two dimensions as concern for production and concern for people.

The primary goal for a leader who has a high concern for production is to make sure that all resources are used to accomplish the mission of the group or organization in an efficient and reliable way (Yukl, 2012). This type of leader has an interest in completing assignments and getting the work done. They can be characterized as autocratic and “psychologically distant” from their subordinates (Bass, 1990, p. 472). Blake and Mouton (1985) explain a concern for production as including “results, bottom line, performance, profits, and a mission” (p. 10). Production is the tasks that an organization hires employees to accomplish. Specific behaviors that can be seen in a leader with a high concern for production include planning and organizing activities, clearly stating roles and objectives of employees and of themselves, monitoring operations, and problem solving (Yukl, 2012). Northouse (2007) observes that in this dimension, employees are viewed as a means for getting work accomplished. The argument for this leadership style is that if employees clearly understand the task, the resources needed, and the environment in which the work needs to be done they will work efficiently and more productively.

Leaders who have a high concern for people try to keep friendly and sympathetic relations with their followers. These leaders are known to create social and emotional ties through mutual trust, open communication and democracy (Bass, 1990). Yukl (2012) explains the primary goal of a people oriented leader as the desire to increase the quality of human

relations within an organization, which is sometimes referred to as “human capital.” He describes the general actions of this type of leader to be supporting, developing, recognizing, and empowering. Specifically, a leader that has a high concern for people will strive to promote the personal worth of employees, provide good working conditions and a fair salary structure, and promote social relations among all employees (Northouse, 2007). Employees are not seen as a mere means to production. The argument for this style of leadership is that if subordinates trust and are empowered by their leader, they will work productively out of respect for that leader.

In our discussion of gender stereotypes, we explain the stereotype of women to be sympathetic, quiet, gentle, interpersonal, passive, and even emotional. This description is almost congruent with that of a people oriented leader who is also sympathetic, interpersonal and emotional in addition to sociable and empowering. In a survey of 92 people, Baack, Carr-Ruffino, and Pelletier (1993) concluded that women are perceived as more emotional and less committed. This study also showed that women have high customer service skills, such as intuitively perceiving, caring, supporting, and nurturing. Again these are the same skills seen in people oriented leaders. Additionally, in a study conducted by Quinn (1988), both leaders and followers were asked to fill out questionnaires about the leaders’ leadership styles. The results showed that there was only one of the eight roles tested that both the female leader and their followers agreed that the leader displayed: the role of mentor. These and other studies show that there is a significant correlation between the gender stereotype for women and the concern for people style of leadership. Therefore, we predict that the general stereotype has endured and that female leaders are stereotyped as having more of a concern for people.

H1 Both men and women report that female leaders have a higher concern for people than for production.

The stereotype for men is that they are more independent, aggressive, competitive, self-confident, rational, dominant, and objective. This stereotype fits the production oriented leader particularly well. For example, they are both described to be objective and independent. Adams and Yoder (1985) cite research of production oriented leaders that showed a personality style that is aloof from group members, aggressive, competitive and independent. These are also stereotypic behaviors of men. According to Vilkinas and Cartan (1997), researchers report that male managers are associated with transactional leadership, which relates to the director and producer roles in leadership. These studies suggest that there is a correlation between the gender stereotype of men and a leadership style that has a high concern for production. Therefore, we predict that the general stereotype has endured and that male leaders are stereotyped as having a higher concern for production.

H2 Both men and women report that male leaders have a higher concern for production than for people.

EXPERIENCE OF GENDER LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOR HYPOTHESES

Stereotypes tell us how a group of people is perceived by society, but they do not tell us how these specific people actually are or how they act. In many cases, a stereotype is the exact opposite of how an individual acts in reality. Studies have shown that in most cases this is the way stereotypes work in a leadership setting. In a meta-analysis, Eagly and Johnson (1990) found that contrary to stereotypic expectations, women were not found to lead in a more interpersonally oriented and less task-oriented manner than men. In a comparative study of the leadership behavior of male and female managers, male leaders reported slightly higher, but statistically significant, use of what they define as vicarious style. This style is described as “deriving a sense of achievement through the accomplishments of others with whom one identifies” (Robinson & Lipman-Blumen, 2003, p. 31). This goes against the female stereotype of being higher on the passive relation scale.

There is evidence from studies of sex-roles and leadership that indicates that men and women with similar education, career aspirations, and training have basically the same scores on measures of psychological masculinity and femininity (Adams & Yoder, 1985). This shows that the gender stereotypes society has placed on the leadership role are not always validated in reality. Contrary to stereotypes, men and women do not differ much in their behavior styles of leadership.

Bass (1990) points out that some researchers put concern for people and concern for production on the same continuum at opposite ends. However, he suggests that a leader may have a high concern for both or for neither and therefore these two should be analyzed as two separate continua. Most research now recognizes what Vilkinas and Cartan (1997) describe as the “paradoxical dimensions” of leadership behavior which suggests that more effective managers generally display a more complex and varied set of behaviors.

Other studies have suggested that the most effective leader is high in both concern for production and concern for people. Although there is not a definite formula to an effective leader, effective male and female leaders should have the ability to show a high concern for production and a high concern for people. In study of 80 middle managers conducted by Taylor in 1980 and cited by Bass (1990), he found that a lack of concern for either production or people had a negative effect on the employees’ openness to change. In the early stages of research on the style approach to leadership, there were three main studies done around the same time that are of particular importance to the advancement of this theory. The Ohio State University and University of Michigan studies and the research done by Blake and Mouton (1985) are important examples of this leadership approach. All three of these studies suggest that a leadership style that is both high in concern for people and high in concern for production is the best form of leadership (Northouse, 2007). We suggest that many managers have either the experience to know what works or the education to use this high-high leadership style as necessary. Therefore, we predict that both male and female subordinates report their male and female leaders possess a high concern for people and a high concern for production.

H3 Subordinates report that female leaders have a high concern for people and a high concern for production.

- H4 Subordinates report that male leaders have a high concern for people and a high concern for production.*

LEADER GENDER AND SATISFACTION HYPOTHESES

Beyond the report of subordinates for the leadership style utilized by their managers, we are curious to see if the gender of a leader influenced the satisfaction that subordinates would report with their leaders. In past research, female managers have been found to be more democratic than men in that they utilize a participative work style (Denmark, 1993). They are also rated higher on empathy, communication, people skills, feedback, production and excitement. Men, on the other hand, are usually rated higher on tradition, innovation, strategy, restraint, delegation, cooperation, and persuasiveness (Claes, 1999). Vinnicombe and Singh (2002) stated that “women managers see themselves as significantly higher than male counterparts on the expressive traits, while also having instrumental traits. In contrast, male managers reported themselves as high on instrumental traits, but significantly lower than females on expressive traits” (p. 124). Expressive traits are personality characteristics normally associated with females and instrumental traits are characteristics associated with males (Vinnicombe & Singh, 2002). Claes (1999) conducted a review of literature and found that supervisors usually view both genders as equally effective; however, women are rated slightly above men in peer and direct assessments.

Research has shown that the styles of male and female leaders tend to be similar at higher management levels (Oshagbemi & Gill, 2003). Although, women managers usually reported themselves as having a feminine or androgynous management style while they identified successful top managers as androgynous or masculine. Furthermore, women with higher education levels are more likely to see their style of management as masculine, while women with less education usually thought of themselves as having a feminine management style (Vinnicombe & Singh, 2002). Yammarino and colleagues (1997) found that distinctions in leadership styles of women, transformational versus transactional in their study, may not be as important as the interpersonal relationships formed between female leaders and their subordinates. They believe that companies can increase employee satisfaction by allowing female leaders to have more one-on-one working relationships with subordinates.

The gender of the respondent and the gender of the supervisor does make a difference when asking the question of which gender makes a better leader. Denmark (1993) discovered that men rated the leadership ability of women managers higher than women did. Denmark's sample included 25 women and 15 men, but each of the respondents reported on three past work experiences. Only one of the men said that men made better leaders. The others (93%) felt that women were better or thought men and women were equal in their leadership ability (Denmark, 1993). Females, on the other hand, are more likely to think that men make better leaders and prefer to have a male boss (Denmark, 1993; Vinnicombe & Singh, 2002).

Based on the research of Denmark (1993) and Vinnicombe and Singh (2002), we argue that female employees will report higher levels of satisfaction if they have a male boss. First, Denmark (1993) reported that sixty percent of female respondents reported that men make better

leaders than women. Since these women report that men make better leaders, we argue that they are more satisfied working with a male supervisor than a female supervisor. Second, Vinnicombe and Singh (2002) reported that “females were significantly more likely to prefer a male boss.” We posit that if a woman prefers to work under a male supervisor she prefers to do so because she is more satisfied working for a man than working for a woman. We hypothesize the following relationship.

H5 Female respondents report higher levels of satisfaction if their immediate supervisor is male.

Researchers report that men delegate more often than women (Claes, 1999; Oshagbemi & Gill, 2003). Additionally, men and women are both dissatisfied with directive leadership, but men are more dissatisfied than women (62% and 51% respectively) (Oshagbemi & Gill, 2003). As previously mentioned, Denmark (1993) reported that men rated female managers higher than male managers. Also, women are more likely to use a democratic or transformational leadership style (Denmark, 1993; Yammarino et al, 1997). Ozaralli (2003) found a relationship between transformational behaviors and self-reported empowerment. When this style leads to more empowerment, it is important to note that Carless (1998) reported that higher levels of empowerment are related to higher levels of satisfaction. Researchers have found that female leaders are less likely to impose authority on subordinates and are more likely to have a transformational and contingent reward style (Eagly et al., 2003; Rosener, 1990). We thus hypothesize that men will report higher satisfaction working for a female supervisor than a male supervisor.

H6 Male respondents report higher levels of satisfaction if their immediate supervisor is female.

STUDY ONE METHODOLOGY: STEREOTYPES AND REPORTED LEADERSHIP

These hypotheses were tested using two independent studies. Study one was used to test Hypotheses one through four. Study two was used to test Hypotheses five and six.

Sample

For our research on stereotypes and reported leadership style we wanted to study a wide range of leaders in order to discount any biases due to the age of the leader or the environment in which that individual leads. To do this, we gathered our sample from working professionals as well as college students at a regional University. Only participants 18 years or older were included in the sample because we did not expect that most under this age would have enough significant experience with leaders in a work setting to report on. To gather data, we made the survey available online. We e-mailed a few professional contacts with the link to the survey and requested that they participate and forward to as many of their colleagues as possible. We also posted a link to the survey on Facebook. Over the course of the four weeks that the online survey was available, we collected 42 responses.

The other 102 participants were gathered by handing out printed surveys in four different university classes. Included in the online survey was an introduction page that informed the individual that their participation was voluntary and their responses would be anonymous.

Questionnaire

Data were collected using a survey that measured gender stereotypes in leadership on the dimensions of concern for people and concern for production. The data collected also measured subordinates' ratings of individual male and female leaders on the same two dimensions. Questions that asked the respondents to indicate whether they had ever had a male leader and whether they had ever had a female leader. These were included so that people would not rate an imagined or stereotypical leader, only one they had experience with. From the data collected, 93% of the respondents rated a male leader with whom they had experience and 85% of respondents were able to report on a female leader.

When rating their leaders, respondents were asked to provide some demographic information including the age of their leader at the time they were leading, the size of the group the leader led, the size of the organization that the group was in, and the experience in years of the leader. Of the 144 respondents only 142 surveys were able to be analyzed because two provided invalid information.

From these only 135 respondents reported their sex. Of these 135 respondents 61% (82) were female and 39% (53) were male. The number of female respondents that reported having had a male leader was 69 (84%) and seven (9%) reported that they had never had a male leader. Six of these female respondents did not respond to this question. Of the 82 female respondents, 70 (85%) reported that they had a female leader and five (6%) reported they had never had a female leader. Seven of the female respondents did not respond to this question. In the male population of this sample, 50 (94%) reported having a male leader and two (4%) reported never having a male leader. One of the male respondents did not respond to this question. Of the 53 male respondents 39 (74%) reported that they had a female leader and twelve (23%) reported that they had never had a female leader. Two of the male respondents did not respond to this question.

Stereotype Measures

Concern for People

We used a modified version of the Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire (Haplin, 1957), which was developed in the 1950s during the Ohio State studies. In the first part of the survey we asked individuals to respond to each of the 38 questions with a response of male or female to indicate their gender stereotypes. These responses were coded as "0" for male and "1" for female. There was also the option for the respondent to leave an item blank if they did not feel either a male or female leader would act in that specific manner or they could respond with both male and female if they felt each gender would act in the same manner for that item.

Fourteen of these items described concern for people behavior. Example items include “Does personal favors for group members,” “Is easy to understand,” and “Is willing to make changes.” The stereotype for the overall concern for people was determined by the mean score for male and the mean score for female. In this study, the reliability of this scale for the male leader stereotype using Cronbach’s Alpha was .83. The reliability of this scale for the female leader stereotype was .81.

Concern for Production

The concern for production was measured in the same way that the concern for people was measured. There were also fourteen items describing behavior that match a leader’s concern for production. Examples of these items include “Rules with an iron hand,” “Criticizes poor work,” and “Makes attitudes clear towards group.” Again, the stereotype for a leader’s overall concern for production was determined by using a mean of the scores. The reliability for this scale for the male stereotype was .80 and for the female stereotype was .75.

Experience Measures

Sex

A dichotomous question was used to collect the sex of the respondent. The male responses were coded with a “0” and the female responses were coded with a “1.” Respondents were 61% female. However, only 135 of the participants provided information on their sex.

Leader’s Age

Before the respondents were asked to rate specific male and female leaders, they were asked to provide some information about the leader they were going to rate. Information on the age of the leader was collected by asking the respondents to write down the age of the leader rounded to the nearest 10. Any answer that was given that was not rounded to the nearest 10, was rounded before the data were analyzed. For male leaders, after rounding, the minimum age was 20, the maximum 70, and the mean age was 35. The minimum age for a female leader was 10, the maximum 60, and the mean age was 34. The standard deviation was 13 years for both male and female leaders.

Leadership Experience

Leadership experience for both male and female leaders was measured on a 3 year incremental scale starting at “Less than 3 years” and spanning up to “More than 19 years.” Only 20 respondents reported a male or female leader as having more than 19 years of experience. Of these 20 responses 13 were reported for male leaders and 7 were reported for female leaders. The median experience for male leaders was in the “4 to 6” range and the mode was in the “3 or less”

range. For female leaders, the median years of experience was in the “4 to 6” range and the mode was in the “3 or less” range.

Group Size

The size of the group the leader led was measured by asking the respondents to write down a number of group members that was rounded to the nearest 10. All responses that were not rounded to the nearest 10 were rounded before the data were analyzed. Therefore, the minimum group size for both male and female leaders was 10. The maximum group size for a male leader was 130 and the maximum group size for a female leader was 110. The mean group sizes were 23 for both male and female leaders. The standard deviation was 23 for male leaders and 22 for female leaders.

Organization Size

Data on the size of the organization were gathered by asking respondents to provide an estimated number that was rounded to the nearest 50. All responses that were not rounded to the nearest 50 were rounded before the data were analyzed. The minimum organization size, therefore, for both male and female leaders was 50 and the maximum organization size for both was 350,000. The same respondent reported the 350,000 for both their male and female leader. With this organization removed, the mean organization size for a male leader was 1,361 and the mean size of the organization for a female leader was 640. The standard deviations were 9267 for male leaders and 2501 for female leaders. The complete data set was used for data analysis.

Concern for People

To measure the respondents experience with leaders and their concern for people, a modified version of the LBDQ was used again. For this section however, the number of items for each male and female leader were only half the items from the original questionnaire. Using this split half method allowed the survey to collect reliable data without creating substantial fatigue for respondents. The result of this split half method allowed eight items for each male and female leader to be rated on about their concern for people.

Each item for this section was measured using a five-point Likert scale with an “A” representing “Always” and an “E” representing “Never.” The participants were asked to rate each leader on how often they performed each item listed. The responses were then coded as “4” for “A” down to “0” for “E.” This scale was used as suggested by the questionnaire manual (Haplin, 1957). The scales in this section were found to be reliable. The Cronbach’s alpha results for male and female leaders were .78 and .87 respectively.

Concern for Production

Concern for production was measured in the same way as concern for people in the experience section of the survey. Eight items were rated on a five-point Likert scale scored from 0 to 4. The scales for both male and female concern for production were again shown to be reliable with a Cronbach's alpha of .78 for male leaders and .73 for female leaders.

For both scales of concern for people and concern for production the level of "high" was determined by analyzing the sample results given by the "Manual for the Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire" (Haplin, 1957). This manual describes how to administer and analyze the results of the LBDQ and it also provides results of three different samples of groups that took the LBDQ (Haplin, 1957). The three samples given in the manual did not define cut off points for low, moderate or high, therefore we formulated a cut-off level to test our hypotheses.

To define the level of "high" for concern for production, we used the mean of the index scores for the three samples of leaders described in the manual. These were: 41.6, 40.3, and 37.9 (Haplin, 1957). The un-weighted mean of these three samples was 39.9 on a 60 point scale. To transform this number into a mean on a 4-point scale, we divided 39.9 by 60. This calculation indicated that the mean was .66 of the possible points on the concern for production scale. Any survey results shown to be above 66% of the possible points would be above the mean, and therefore determined to be high. The .66 was multiplied by 4 to determine the cutoff for a "high" level of concern for production on the four-point scale. This calculation set the cutoff for "high" at 2.64. The cut-off value was used when performing each one sample T-Test analysis for Hypothesis 3 and 4.

To define the level of "high" for the concern for people scale, the same steps were followed. The three means for concern for people were 41.4, 44.8, and 44.7 (Haplin, 1957). Their mean was calculated to be 43.6 on the 60-point scale the questionnaire used. This mean was transformed into a mean on a 4-point scale. To do this 43.6 was divided by 60 to find the percentage of total points for concern for people, which was 73%. Next, this percent was multiplied by 4 to calculate the mean that would be used to analyze the level of "high" on this scale. The number was 2.92, which was used when performing each one sample T-Test analysis for hypothesis 3 and 4.

STUDY TWO METHODOLOGY: SEX OF LEADER AND SATISFACTION

Sample

In study two testing the impact of the sex of the leader on job satisfaction, the sample was made up of undergraduate students at a regional university. This sample was appropriate for study two; since a university campus was also used for the largest portion of the sample for study one and so the samples were likely to have similar characteristics. A random sample of 1,500 students who lived in the residence halls on-campus and 1,500 students who lived off-campus were chosen to participate in the study. International students were not included in the sample because they have unique rules and regulations regarding employment in the United States. Only

students between the ages of 18 and 30 were included in the sample. An equal number of male and female students were included in each sample (on- and off-campus).

Students in the random sample were sent a letter by E-mail asking them to go to a website and fill out the survey. Students were informed that their participation in the study was completely voluntary and that their responses would be anonymous and confidential. Of the 3,000 students selected randomly for this study, 397 usable survey responses were received. The response rate was just over 13%.

Due to the low response rate, we checked for non-response bias. The sample demographics were compared to known student demographics at the university. In our sample 64% of student respondents were female. At the university studied, 59% of the students were female. The respondents in the sample reported 91% pre-baccalaureate as the highest level of education completed. This result matches the expected sample. Comparing sample characteristics and population characteristics is a simple method to check for non-response bias. However, no concerns were indicated by this analysis.

Questionnaire

Data were collected using a web-based questionnaire that measured job satisfaction. Students answered questions about their gender, job tenure, age, and education level. They also answered questions about their immediate supervisor. Data were used for non-response bias analysis and in regression analyses.

Variables

Sex

Sex was measured using a simple dichotomous question. The sample was 64% female, indicating that females included in the random sampling responded at a higher rate than male members of the sample. Participants were also asked to provide the sex of their supervisor. From those responding, 53% reported having a female supervisor.

Respondent's Age

Respondents reported their age from a list of ranges that were grouped in three year increments. Most respondents (56%) were in the 18 to 20 year age group, followed by 21 to 23 years (36%), 24 to 26 years (4%), 27 to 29 years (3.5%) and 30 years and above was less than 1%.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction was measured using Celluci and DeVries (1978) Managerial Job Satisfaction Questionnaire. A seven-point Likert scale was used. A "1" represented "Strongly

Disagree” and a “7” represented “Strongly Agree.” Five categories are measured by the Managerial Job Satisfaction Questionnaire: satisfaction with pay, promotions, co-workers, supervisors, and the work itself. As reported by Viswesvaran, Deshpande, and Joseph (1998), eight scale items were reverse coded for this study. We used overall job satisfaction by averaging the responses for each item. Cronbach’s Alpha reliability was .88 for this study.

Level of Manager

The level of the respondent’s manager was self-reported. The respondent was asked to choose the level of his or her supervisor from three options: Lower-level manager (i.e. Supervisor, Coordinator), Mid-level (i.e. Manager, Director), or Top-level (i.e. Vice-President, President, CEO). Respondents reported 27% lower-level managers, 60% mid-level managers, and 13% top-level managers.

Tenure

Tenure was measured by asking respondents to choose the length of time that they had completed with their current or most recent employer. The choice ranged from less than six months to greater than 3 years. Of those responding 21% reported less than six months, 35% between six months and one year, and 24% between one and two years. The remaining 20% reported more than two years completed with their most recent employer.

Education Level

The respondent’s highest education level was obtained by having individuals select their highest level of education completed. The choices included: High School Diploma/GED (77%), Associate’s Degree (13), Bachelor’s Degree (6.5%), Master’s Degree (0%) and Other (3%).

STUDY ONE RESULTS: STEREOTYPES AND REPORTED LEADERSHIP

The gender stereotypes in leadership behavior hypotheses were tested by comparing the two means for concern for people and concern for production for both male and female leaders in a paired sample T-Test using the SPSS computer program. For a summary of the outcomes of all tests for all Hypotheses see Table 1. The correlation matrix for study one is presented in Table 2. Hypothesis 1 stated that the leadership behavior stereotype for female leaders was a higher concern for people than for production. The means for female concern for people and concern for production were compared in a paired sample T-Test, which showed a significant difference in scores for concern for people ($M = 11.32$, $SD = 2.86$) and concern for production ($M = 8.44$, $SD = 3.12$); $t(141) = 10.49$, $p = .00$. These results suggest that Hypothesis 1 is supported because the mean for concern for people is significantly higher than the mean for concern for production.

Table 1
SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES STUDY 1 AND STUDY 2

Number	Hypothesis	Results
H1	Both men and women report that female leaders have a higher concern for people than for production.	Hypothesis supported
H2	Both men and women report that male leaders have a higher concern for production than for people.	Hypothesis supported
H3	Subordinates report that female leaders have a high concern for people and a high concern for production.	Hypothesis partially supported
H4	Subordinates report that male leaders have a high concern for people and a high concern for production.	Hypothesis partially supported
H5	Female respondents report higher levels of satisfaction if their immediate supervisor is male.	Hypothesis not supported
H6	Male respondents report higher levels of satisfaction if their immediate supervisor is female.	Hypothesis not supported

Hypothesis 2 stated that the leadership behavior stereotype for male leaders was a higher concern for production than for people. The means for male concern for people and concern for production were compared in a paired sample T-Test, which showed a significant difference in scores for concern for people ($M= 6.20$, $SD= 3.75$) and concern for production ($M= 9.78$, $SD=3.36$); $t(141)= 10.29$, $p=.00$. These results suggest that Hypothesis 2 is supported because the mean for concern for production is significantly higher than the mean for concern for people.

The experienced gender leadership behavior hypotheses were tested by comparing the two means for concern for people and concern for production for both male and female leaders to the mean that was determined to represent the level of “high” as previously described, using a one-sample T-Test. Hypothesis 3 stated that the followers of female leaders would report their leaders having a high concern for people and a high concern for production. The one-sample T-Test determined there was not a significant difference in the female leaders’ concern for people ($M= 2.80$, $SD= .78$) and the static mean representing the level of “high” for concern for people ($M= 2.92$); $t(113) = -1.60$, $p = .11$. A separate one-sample T-Test indicated that there was a significant difference in the scores for a female leader’s concern for production ($M= 2.97$, $SD= .55$) and the static mean representing the level of “high” for concern for production ($M=2.64$); $t(113) = 6.43$, $p = .00$.

These results only partially support Hypothesis 3 because the mean for a female leader’s concern for people was below the cut-off for “high” of 2.92. However, because there was no significant difference found in the female leaders’ concern for people and the level of high mean, the test cannot show that female leaders have a high concern for people, but it also cannot show that female leaders have a low concern for people. Nonetheless, female leaders were not reported to have a high-high style of leadership. Additionally it is interesting to find that the perceived experience of those in the study is that their female leader is high in concern for production but not high in concern for people which does not agree with their reported stereotype of female leaders.

Hypothesis 4 stated that the followers of male leaders would report their leaders having a high concern for production and a high concern for people. The one-sample T-Test showed there was a significant difference in the male leaders’ concern for people ($M= 2.63$, $SD= .66$) and the static mean representing the level of “high” for concern for people ($M= 2.92$); $t(126) = -4.96$, p

= .00. A separate one-sample T-Test indicated that there was a significant difference in the scores for a male leader's concern for production ($M = 2.94$, $SD = .58$) and the static mean representing the level of "high" for concern for production ($M = 2.64$); $t(126) = 5.83$, $p = .00$.

Table 2
STUDY ONE CORRELATION MATRIX

Variables	N	Mean	S.D	1	2	3	4
1. Sex (female = 1)	134	0.61	0.49				
2. Age of Male Leader	119	35.40	12.69	.10			
3. Group Size of Male Leader	119	22.54	23.15	.08	.34**		
4. Organization Size of Male Leader	114	4265.83	33137.12	-.14	-.07	-.02	
5. Experience of Male Leader	117	2.00†	--	.21*	.55**	.32**	-.04
6. Age of Female Leader	109	33.86	13.14	.05	.62**	.16	-.06
7. Group Size of Female Leader	109	22.74	21.60	.28**	.17	.22*	-.03
8. Organization Size of Female Leader	104	3874.91	33709.18	-.14	-.04	-.01	.97**
9. Experience of Female Leader	109	2.00†	--	.06	.30**	.10	-.03
10. Stereotype of Female Concern for People	134	11.32	0.24	.21*	.16	-.02	-.04
11. Stereotype of Male Concern for People	134	6.20	0.31	-.37**	-.09	-.03	-.08
12. Stereotype of Female Concern for Production	134	8.44	0.26	.18*	.11	-.07	-.27**
13. Stereotype of Male Concern for Production	114	9.78	0.28	-.18*	.16	.01	.11
14. Reported Female Concern for People	114	2.80	0.07	.19*	-.15	-.13	-.13
15. Reported Male Concern for People	106	2.63	0.06	-.27**	-.11	-.01	.05
16. Reported Female Concern for Production	114	2.97	0.05	.28**	-.10	-.09	.06
17. Reported Male Concern for Production	106	2.94	0.05	-.11	-.04	.17	.16

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
† Median reported for experience of male and female leaders. No standard deviation reported.

Table 2 Continued
STUDY ONE CORRELATION MATRIX

Variables	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Sex (female = 1)							
2. Age of Male Leader							
3. Group Size of Male Leader							
4. Organization Size of Male Leader							
5. Experience of Male Leader							
6. Age of Female Leader	.34**						
7. Group Size of Female Leader	.26**	.11					
8. Organization Size of Female Leader	-.05	-.03	-.02				
9. Experience of Female Leader	.32**	.54**	.21*	-.03			
10. Stereotype of Female Concern for People	.08	.22*	.00	-.01	.09	(.81)	
11. Stereotype of Male Concern for People	-.12	-.12	-.12	-.08	-.04	-.18*	(.83)
12. Stereotype of Female Concern for Production	-.03	.08	-.12	-.22*	-.06	.40**	.33**
13. Stereotype of Male Concern for Production	.10	.19*	.01	.10	.08	.32**	.32**
14. Reported Female Concern for People	-.07	-.17	-.07	-.13	-.08	.13	.12
15. Reported Male Concern for People	.03	-.01	-.04	.06	.12	-.15	.36**
16. Reported Female Concern for Production	-.04	.00	.20*	.10	.00	.22*	-.08
17. Reported Male Concern for Production	.13	.00	.13	.20*	.06	-.09	.22*

Table 2 Continued
STUDY ONE CORRELATION MATRIX

Variables	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Sex (female = 1)						
2. Age of Male Leader						
3. Group Size of Male Leader						
4. Organization Size of Male Leader						
5. Experience of Male Leader						
6. Age of Female Leader						
7. Group Size of Female Leader						
8. Organization Size of Female Leader						
9. Experience of Female Leader						
10. Stereotype of Female Concern for People						
11. Stereotype of Male Concern for People						
12. Stereotype of Female Concern for Production	(.75)					
13. Stereotype of Male Concern for Production	-.05	(.80)				
14. Reported Female Concern for People	.13	-.04	(.87)			
15. Reported Male Concern for People	.02	.08	.01	(.78)		
16. Reported Female Concern for Production	.13	.00	.43**	.13	(.73)	
17. Reported Male Concern for Production	-.21*	.26**	.11	.41**	.26**	(.78)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Cronbach's Alpha is on the diagonal.						

These results only partially support Hypothesis 4. Although, a male leaders' concern for production was significantly higher than the mean, this statistical difference shows that a male leader's concern for people was reported to be significantly lower than the mean. Therefore, respondents reported that their male leaders had a high concern for production and a low concern for people and not the high-high style of leadership hypothesized. These results are more in line with the stereotype reported in this study.

STUDY TWO RESULTS: SEX OF LEADER AND SATISFACTION

Table 3 presents the correlation matrix for study two. Hypothesis 5 predicted that female respondents would be more satisfied if their immediate supervisor was male. See Table 4 for results. Model 1 includes only control variables and Model 2 includes the gender of the respondent's manager. This hypothesis was not supported even though the sex of the manager was significant at the $p < .10$ level. The beta coefficient for the manager's sex was positive meaning that female respondents were slightly more satisfied if their immediate supervisor was female.

Table 3
STUDY TWO CORRELATION MATRIX

Variables	N	Mean	S.D	1	2
1. Sex (female = 1)	396	0.64	0.48		
2. Age	397	1.56	.76	-.04	
3. Education Level	397	1.38	.84	-.05	.28**
4. Organization Tenure	397	3.44	2.04	-.03	.24**
5. Manager Sex (f = 1)	397	.53	.50	.30**	-.04
6. Manager Level	397	1.86	.62	-.01	.08
7. Satisfaction	397	4.59	1.04	.14**	-.03

Table 3 Continued
STUDY TWO CORRELATION MATRIX

Variables	3	4	5	6	7
1. Sex (female = 1)					
2. Age					
3. Education Level					
4. Organization Tenure	.13*				
5. Manager Sex (f = 1)	-.07	-.07			
6. Manager Level	-.05	.11*	-.16**		
7. Satisfaction	-.05	-.14**	.08	.15**	(.88)

***Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). Cronbach's Alpha is on the diagonal.*

This unexpected finding may be related to the sample used for data collection in study two. Given the younger nature of this sample, it may be that younger female employees are looking for a mentoring relationship with their immediate supervisor and that they felt more likely to gain this relationship with a female supervisor. However, this will need to be addressed in future research. It is also interesting to note that manager level was positively related to satisfaction and that time with the organization was negatively related to satisfaction.

Table 4
STUDY TWO OLS REGRESSION FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLE JOB SATISFACTION
(Female Respondents Only)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Manager Sex (female = 1)		.111† (.140)
Respondent Age	.028 (.092)	.022 (.092)
Respondent Organization Tenure	-.171** (.034)	-.160* (.034)
Manager Level	.132* (.104)	.150* (.105)
N	251	251
F-Test	3.899*	3.733**
Adjusted R Square	.033	.042

*†p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01. Beta coefficients are standardized. Standard errors are given in parentheses.*

Hypothesis 6 predicted that male employees would be more satisfied if their immediate supervisor was female. See Table 5 for results. Model 1 includes only control variables and

Model 2 includes the gender of the respondent's manager. This hypothesis was not supported, since the sex of their immediate supervisor was not found to be significant. It is interesting to note that the manager's level seemed to be most important to satisfaction in this analysis. Perhaps these younger male employees found satisfaction in working for managers with high level positions in their organizations.

Table 5 STUDY TWO OLS REGRESSION FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLE JOB SATISFACTION (Male Respondents Only)		
Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Manager Sex (female = 1)		-.050 (.170)
Respondent Age	-.037 (.103)	-.042 (.104)
Respondent Organization Tenure	-.152 [†] (.040)	-.148 [†] (.040)
Manager Level	.251** (.139)	.242** (.141)
N	143	143
F-Test	3.226*	2.496*
Adjusted R Square	.045	.040
<i>†p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01. Beta coefficients are standardized. Standard errors are given in parentheses.</i>		

DISCUSSION

The stereotypes that are presented in the literature on leadership were shown to still be held by the sample of students and professionals in this study. The leadership style stereotype for male leaders matched the reported leadership style of male leaders. However, the leadership style stereotype for female leaders did not match the reported leadership style of female leaders. These findings speak volumes about the strength of gender stereotypes in leadership, especially the stereotype of a female leader. There could be many reasons why this stereotype is still active for female leaders even though the actual experience of respondents with female leaders does not fit this stereotype.

One potential reason is the extensive length of time that these stereotypes about females in general have been in place and the early age at which they begin to be formed. Since these stereotypes have been around for so long it is not surprising that they would be highly resistant to change. Society is so accustomed to using these cognitive shortcuts that they can become second nature.

Another potential explanation for this mismatch between experience and stereotypes is the female leader's knowledge of the stereotypes and desire to change that perception. A female's struggle in management and leadership roles is widely documented (Adams & Yoder, 1985; Eagly et al., 2003; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Northouse, 2007). There are much fewer women holding CEO, board member, and political positions than men. Since these statistics are so publicly reported on, women may have a desire to prove that they are capable of being effective leaders. In the study conducted by Robinson and Lipman-Blumen (2003), one finding they reported on was the narrowing gap between male and female competitiveness. Although their male subjects were found to be more competitive than their female subjects, the gap between

these scores was shown to decrease between the years of the study: 1984-2002. This could indicate that women are becoming more competitive and more likely to adopt the stereotypical definition of an effective leader. Although some progress may have been made, researchers report that there are still significant barriers for female leaders (Duehr & Bono, 2006; Eagly et al., 2003; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rosener, 1990).

Subordinates of female leader's might also see their leader as an exception to the rule. Although the respondents reported that the general stereotype for all female leaders is to have a higher concern for people than production, they also reported that their female leader acted in the opposite manner. They may still hold their stereotype of female leaders because they know their female leader and see her as an exception to the stereotype they hold for female leaders in general. Another possible explanation is that a high concern for production may have a negative connotation for some people. For example, "ruling with an iron hand," is not how most people want their leaders to act. Whatever the reason this finding presents an opportunity for future research.

Another interesting finding that our study showed was the fact that male leaders fit their stereotypes pretty closely. We find this interesting because the most common definition of an effective leader would be one that has a high concern for people and a high concern for production. Our findings lead us to question the validity of women leaders being less effective than male leaders. The means for both a female leader's concern for people and production were higher than the reported male leaders, yet female leaders have a more difficult time being promoted and holding leadership positions (Eagly et al., 2003). This argues that factors other than individual ability may lead to this glass ceiling. These factors might include the stereotype of female leaders, or any situational factors such as the task to be done, or the resources available to the leader. Most importantly we found that these stereotypes may still be held by individuals who have experienced a female leader who does not fit the stereotype, and the stereotype may continue to affect this person's interactions with future female leaders.

Limitations

Study one had several limitations. The first limitation was the format in which the stereotype section of the survey was set up. The directions asked respondents to indicate if they felt that male or female leaders in general acted in the way the item described. There were also options for the respondents to circle both if they felt that both male and female leaders acted in the way described, and leave both blank if they felt that neither a male or female leader acted in a certain way. In hindsight, the survey could have been improved if there was an option to circle the word "neither" instead of just leaving an item blank to indicate that neither male or female leaders would act in the way described. The lack of an action to circle could have been laziness by the respondent, but the data were collected to indicate that this was how the respondent really felt. Additionally, some of the survey data collected from the online survey were incomplete. To include as much data as possible, we kept the usable data these respondents provided and discarded the incomplete portions.

Another limitation of this study was the method used to determine the levels of “high” for both concern for people and concern for production. We found no definition for the specific mean that should be considered “high” when interpreting these two scales. Therefore, we used the data from the three sample groups given in the manual (Haplin, 1957). The method we used to determine the level of “high” for these scales is not previously used by other studies. The method used to generate our cutoff for “high” impacted the results. However, we feel that the method we used was conservative and more likely to underestimate the number of leaders counted as high in either concern for production or people. Thus, our findings may underrepresent the number of leaders with a high-high style.

There were several limitations for both studies. First, all data were self-reported by the employee and thus there is the potential of mono-method bias. Although the study could have been improved if there had been input from other sources, we argue that the effects of this limitation are mitigated by the nature of the data collected. For example, employees are the best source of information concerning their own level of satisfaction and their stereotypes of male and female leaders. In addition, employees are also a good source for information regarding the leadership styles of their direct supervisor. Especially since their perception of their supervisors’ leadership styles affects their interactions with that leader. A second limitation for both studies was that the sample used was primarily or completely made up of college students. Some might argue that this sample would be less likely to perpetuate previously-held stereotypes due to their level of education and relative youth. Thus our sample may again be conservative in predicting the likelihood of present stereotypes continuing. However, overall we did not find this to be the case. Still alternate samples would be beneficial in future research. Another limitation was the cross-sectional design of the studies. A longitudinal study would have provided additional data that could have been used to test the results over time.

Future Research

Future research on this topic should include more information about the respondents’ explanations for the stereotypes they report. This could lead to additional insights into events that might alter these stereotypes at work based on experience. In any case, to answer the question of why the female leadership stereotype still exists, despite personal experience to the contrary, there is more research to be done. Data collection related to specific tasks or situations may help further explain stereotypes and why they persist when contradictory evidence is available. Also additional exploration about possible differences in the leadership stereotypes believed by females and males could give a more reasonable explanation of each gender leadership stereotype. It would also be interesting to ask the leaders themselves about their own stereotypes of leaders to determine if female leaders who do not fit commonly-held stereotypes hold these same stereotypes about other female leaders.

Additionally, research could look in more detail into preferences for male or female leaders. This might be more fruitful with female employees, since we found partial support for female respondents in our study preferring female leaders. For male respondents, the sex of the leader was not a significant predictor of satisfaction, which strengthens the view that the

differences in the stereotype of male and female leaders do not impact the experience of followers of specific leaders at least in job satisfaction. However, the persistence of the stereotype will likely affect the ability of females to attain leadership positions. So this area would benefit from additional research.

CONCLUSION

Leadership gender stereotypes are a valuable area for study. This study has found that the female leadership style stereotype is inconsistent with the actual reported leadership styles of female leaders. The results also show that the leadership stereotype for male leaders is consistent with their reported leadership style. Thus, it appears that the stereotypes are not based on actual experience, but perhaps on other factors such as portrayals of male and female leaders in the media. These results also give evidence that stereotypes are hard to change even when personal experience has shown them to be wrong. Continued research into these areas can increase our understanding and inform organizations of the impact of using inaccurate stereotypes to determine the access of females to positions of leadership in their organizations. As these stereotypes are allowed to persist, they will be reinforced by the lack of females in top leadership positions. Perhaps when these stereotypes are viewed as inaccurate, the prejudiced views and discrimination of females in leadership and management positions can begin to change.

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ATTITUDINAL AND BEHAVIORAL OUTCOMES OF EMPLOYEES' PSYCHOLOGICAL EMPOWERMENT: A STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODELING APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to examine the attitudinal and behavioral responses of psychologically empowered employees in a holistic nomological network model. Specifically, this paper investigates the impact of employees perceived empowerment on four attitudinal outcomes: affective, normative and continuance commitment and job satisfaction, and, their mediating impact on organizational citizenship behavior (OCB).

Design/methodology/approach – A two part questionnaire survey was administered to both employees and supervisors of a mid-south sporting goods distributor and five health-care services organizations. Data were analyzed using structural equation modeling after tests for invariance, confirming compatibility of the samples.

Findings – The results confirmed that psychologically empowered employees are more likely to adopt affective and normative commitment and are more satisfied with their jobs and these attitudes mediate the psychological-OCB relationship. Perception of empowerment will reduce the likelihood of employees adopting less desirable work attitudes such as continuance commitment.

Practical implications – The results of this study provided useful information for managers to understand the positive attitudinal and behavior outcomes that could accrue to psychologically empowered employees. The negative relationship between psychological empowerment and continuance commitment demonstrated the positive impact of empowerment on self-attitudes and possibly other work attitudes. This finding could reassure managers that empowered employees are more likely to adopt positive work attitudes and behaviors.

Originality/Value - This study redirects the focus of empowerment research to the employees' psychological state and empirically validated direct and indirect outcomes accrued to psychological empowerment. Further, the study provides empirical evidence of the negative relationship between psychological empowerment and continuance commitment which could seed future research of the impact of psychological empowerment with other negative organization outcomes.

Keywords – Psychological empowerment, Affective, Normative and Continuance Commitment, Job satisfaction, OCB

1. INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, management practitioners and researchers have perceived empowerment as the driving force in the organizational social structural interventions which are necessary to transfer power from supervisors to subordinates (Kmieciak et al., 2012; Randolph and Kemery, 2011; Jha, 2010;). Such interventions are believed to enable employees to gain better control over

resources and to optimize their capabilities in the work-environment (Huang, 2012; Zhang and Bartol, 2010; Thomas and Velthouse, 1990).

These studies, among others, sought to identify management practices that could provide employees with more control over decisions regarding how to accomplish assigned duties and responsibilities (Dewettinck and van Amejide, 2011; Meyerson and Kline, 2008; Bartunek and Spreitzer, 2006; Mathieu et al., 2006). A further review of the extant literature indicates that management's concern about the loss of control and power due to empowering subordinates who may engage in opportunism and other self-serving behaviors has not yet been addressed. Additionally, there is a dearth of literature presenting more holistic approaches towards the examination of the direct and indirect relationships of psychological empowerment with attitudinal and behavioral outcomes (Christens, 2012; Jiang et al., 2011) to more psychological aspects of empowerment (Ertük, 2012; Kim and Kim, 2013; Thomas and Velthouse, 1990; Spreitzer, 1995).

This study utilized a nomological network approach to validate the psychological empowerment construct and to help managers develop a better understanding of its consequences (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955). The theoretical model maps the direct and mediating indirect relationships of psychological empowerment with three types of organization commitment, job satisfaction and Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (OCB). To accomplish the stated objectives of this study, the authors will begin by providing readers with an overview of social exchange theory which provides the theoretical foundation for this study. This overview will be followed by hypothesis development, methodology, study results and managerial implications and conclusions. This study contributes to the literature in that it demonstrates the positive impact of psychological empowerment on employees' attitudes and behaviors. This study also contributes to the literature because it demonstrates the positive impact of psychological empowerment on employees' attitudes and behaviors in applied settings.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

2.1 Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory has been applied to social settings ranging from intimate relationships to work settings and focuses on the behavior of individuals when interacting with one another (Homans, 1958). This theory essentially posits that all human relationships are formed through subjective cost-benefit analyses with their corresponding outcomes (Lawler et al., 2008; Lawler, 2001) and has been used as the theoretical basis in various studies in the business literature (Biron and Boon, 2013; Wadja and Hall, 2012; Byrne et al., 2011; Chen, et al., 2010). Social exchange theory is further based upon three propositions; success, stimulus and diminishing returns which are easily tied to empowerment thereby supporting its use in this study (Kim and Kim, 2013; Jiang et al., 2011; Dewettinck and Van Amejide, 2011; Gregory et al., 2010).

- Success proposition: rewarded actions tend to be repeated.
- Stimulus proposition: the more often a particular action is rewarded the more likely it is that someone will respond to it in the future.
- Diminishing return proposition: the more recent the reward has been received the less valuable that particular reward due to demand saturation.

This review of social exchange theory thus provides the theoretical basis for the study hypotheses which are presented in the following section.

2.2 Psychological Empowerment And OCB.

A review of the literature on the relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB indicates that psychologically empowered employees are intrinsically motivated to adopt positive work performance behaviors when they perceive meaning, competence, self determination and impact from their work context (Krishnan, 2012; Taylor, 2013). Other research by both Spreitzer (1995) and Zhang and Bartol (2010) pointed towards the relationship between intrinsic motivation and the extent of psychological empowerment, which would subsequently generate a reciprocal response from the employees to the organization for its support. Additional support for this relationship is provided by Teh and Sun (2012) and Whitman et al. (2010) who observed that employees who perceived managerial support including empowerment, may, through the norms of reciprocity adopt discretionary behaviors like OCB. Similarly, a literature review provided evidence which suggested that OCB occurs more frequently under conditions of positive social exchange (Duffy and Lilly, 2013; Cohen et al., 2012; Jiao et al., 2011). Based on this support the logical outcome of such a relationship should be the adoption of OCB (Chiang et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2013; Suazo, 2011; Chan et al., 2008; Organ, 1988), therefore H1 is provided:

H1. There is a direct and positive relationship between the level of employees' perception of empowerment and the level of adoption of OCB.

2.3 Psychological Empowerment and Job Satisfaction

The proposed relationship between psychological empowerment and job satisfaction is not new and is believed to be linked with organizational performance (Dewettinck and Van Ameijde, 2011; Dickson and Lorenz, 2009; Wang and Lee, 2009). As such, one of the main objectives of empowerment is to enhance employees' job satisfaction by enabling them to have better control over their work which in turn is believed to lead to increased productivity and reduced turnover (Randolph and Kemery, 2011; Wang and Lee, 2009). Spreitzer, Kizilos and Nason (1997) observed that one of the earliest anticipated outcomes of empowerment which generates a social exchange relationship is job satisfaction. Other studies using the psychological empowerment construct have empirically demonstrated the existence of a positive relationship between an individual's cognition of empowerment and job satisfaction (Lin and Tseng, 2013; Messersmith et al., 2011; Butts et al., 2009). Based on this evidence, H2 is provided:

H2. There is a direct and positive relationship between the level of employees' perceptions of empowerment and their level of job satisfaction.

2.4 Psychological Empowerment and Organization Commitment

Organization commitment is a generally accepted outcome of empowering management practices (Randolph and Kemery, 2011; Jiang, et al., 2011; Kuo et al., 2010). Past research suggests that employees are more committed to the organization if they are given an "opportunity to do important and challenging work, to meet and interact with interesting people, and to learn

new skills and develop as a person” (Meyer and Allen, 1997; p.3). The relationship between psychological empowerment and organization commitment is also supported by social exchange theory which suggests that benevolent acts on the part of managers which empower employees will result in employees reciprocating through an increased willingness to remain with the organization (Elloy, 2012).

Organization commitment is further broken down into three components (affective, normative and continuance commitment). Affective commitment reflects an employee’s desire to be emotionally attached to and involved in the organization (Meyer and Allen, 1997). Affective commitment has been positively correlated with job challenge, degree of autonomy, the variety of skills the employee uses, participation in decision-making, support, fair treatment, and enhancement of personal importance and competence (Albrecht and Andreetta, 2011; Dewettinck and Van Ameijde, 2011).

Normative commitment is a consequence of an employee’s feeling of obligation to remain with the organization. Normative commitment, is based on an employee’s obligation to stay based upon the belief that it is the “right and moral” thing to do (Meyer and Allen, 1991). Vardi et al., (1989) found that employees whose organization’s mission is consistent with their cultural values exhibit a stronger normative commitment. This finding is more in keeping with the meaning component of psychological empowerment. Research has found that many of the work experiences that predict affective commitment are also related, although not as strongly, to normative commitment (Ambad and Bahron, 2012; Hashmi and Naqvi, 2012; Allen and Meyer, 1996).

Finally, continuance commitment is a calculated response of the employee to remain in the organization after considering the costs associated with leaving. Research on continuance commitment suggests that employees evaluate the benefit of staying against the cost of seeking a new job or moving to a new location (McDermott et al., 1996). However research found that the relationship between continuance commitment and empowerment was weak (Kuo et al., 2010; Ozag, 2006; Clercq and Rius, 2013). Therefore it is expected that employees who are empowered will adopt an affective attitude to the organization, similarly, empowerment is expected to dampen opportunism and reduce the desire to leave which are reflective of a continuance commitment attitude (Gbadamosi et al, 2007; Jain et al., 2009). Hence the following hypotheses are proposed:

- H3a. There is a direct and positive relationship between the level of employees’ perception of psychological empowerment and their levels of affective commitment.*
- H3b. There is a direct and positive relationship between the level of employees’ perception of psychological empowerment and their level of normative commitment.*
- H3c. There is negative and significant relationship between employees’ perception of empowerment and their level of continuance commitment.*

2.5 The mediating role of job satisfaction and organization commitment in the psychological empowerment→OCB relationship

A substantial stream of research has studied the relationship between job satisfaction and OCB (Beauregard, 2012; Fassina et al., 2008; Vigoda-Gadot, 2007; Organ and Ryan, 1995). The rationale for the existence of this relationship is twofold, resting within social exchange theory and the concept of reciprocity (Konovsky and Pugh, 1994). At its core, this relationship suggests that an employee who is satisfied with his or her job will engage in OCB in reciprocation for those

organization behaviors or outcomes that have benefited him or her (Fox et al., 2012; Munyon et al., 2010).

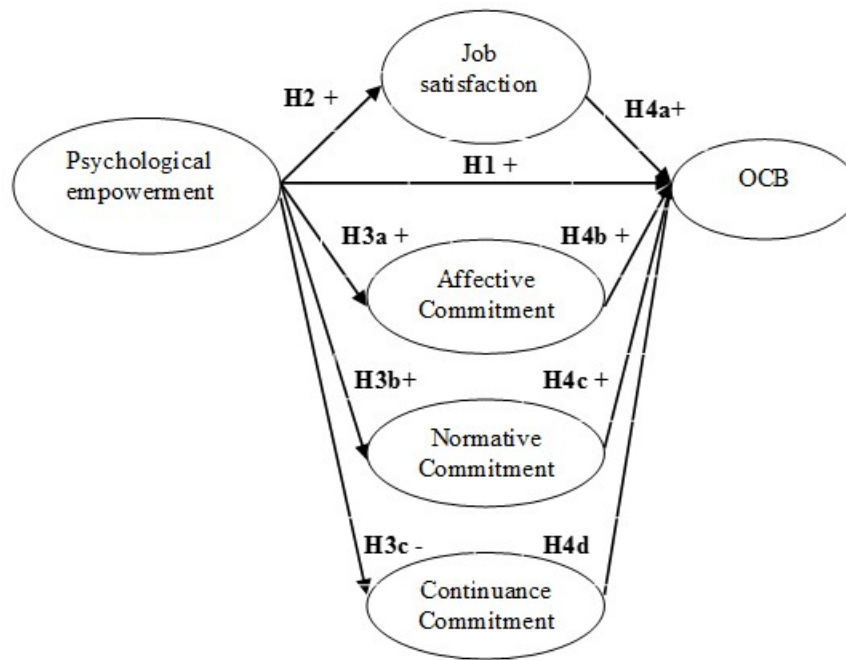
Research has also demonstrated the relationship between affective commitment and OCB (Allen et al., 2011; Liu, 2009; Meyer and Allen, 1997). Organ and Ryan (1995) reported significant average correlations between affective commitment and two forms of OCBs (i.e. altruism and generalized compliance). However, little research has been conducted to examine the relationship between normative commitment and OCB (Leong, 2008; Meyer and Allen, 1997). Meyer et al. (1993) and Meyer and Allen (1991) found that the relationship between normative commitment and OCB is weaker than those involving affective commitment. Continuance commitment, however, has been found to be unrelated to OCB (Meyer et al., 1993). In fact Shore and Wayne (1993) found a negative relationship.

Given that a stream of research has documented that job satisfaction and organizational commitment are the attitudinal outcomes of psychological empowerment, and are antecedents to OCB. It is posited that job satisfaction and organization commitment may be mediators of the psychological empowerment (independent variable) and OCB (dependent variable) relationship. Based on this theoretical and empirical support the following hypotheses are provides.

- H4a. The relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB is mediated by job satisfaction*
- H4b. The relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB is mediated by affective commitment.*
- H4c. The relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB is mediated by normative commitment.*
- H4d. The continuance commitment is not a significant mediator of the relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB.*

The following figure provides readers with an overview of the proposed model and supporting hypotheses.

FIGURE 1
Research model



3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Measures

Employee perceptions of psychological empowerment were assessed using a 12-item psychological empowerment scale developed by Spreitzer (1995). The items measure employees' assessments of the extent to which they derive meaning, self-determination, competency and impact from their assigned tasks and work context. The overall reported Cronbach alpha reliability of this scale is variously reported to be 0.74 (Spreitzer, 1995).

Organization commitment was assessed using the three dimensional 24-item organizational commitment scale developed by Allen and Meyer (1990). Coefficient alphas for affective (8 items), normative (6 items) and continuance (9 items) commitment scales were at acceptable levels of .85, .73 and .79 respectively.

Job satisfaction was assessed using a 5-item scale derived from the Job Diagnostic Survey (Hackman and Olham, 1975) and has been widely cited (Sledge et al., 2011; Pierce et al., 2009; Piccolo and Colquitt, 2006). Hackman, Pearce and Wolfe (1978) reported the scales' reliability to be around .80.

OCB was assessed based on a 20-item scale validated by Podsakoff et al., (1990) with reliabilities that range from .7 for civic virtue to .85 for altruism. Past OCB research (Babcock-Roberson and Strickland, 2010; LePine et al., 2002) aggregated the five types of OCB, categorized as altruism (4 items), conscientiousness (4 items), sportsmanship (4 items), courtesy (4 items) and civic virtue (4 items) into a global OCB construct (Sani, 2013; Erkutlu, 2010; Babcock-Roberson

and Strickland, 2010). Similarly, the five dimensions of OCB are aggregated into one global OCB construct for this study.

3.2 Sample and Procedure

A cross sectional research design was adopted using a dyad survey questionnaire to collect data from both subordinates and supervisors of an international sporting goods distributor located in the mid south (Group 1, $n = 369$) and from employees of 5 equal size health care homes (Group 2, $n = 263$). No distinction was made between empowering and non-empowering organization in the sample design since the extent of empowerment experienced by the employee was gauged by his or her assessment of assigned tasks and work context. The questionnaire was designed with Part A and Part B and was matched by numbers stamped on both forms. Part A solicits responses from employees while Part B collected the evaluation of respondents' OCB by supervisors.

Four hundred respondents from various departments out of 1000 employees employed by the sports goods distributor were randomly selected by the human resource manager to participate in this survey. Out of the total of 400 responses, a total of 369 responses with Part A and Part B matched, were obtained. Respondents were from the shop floor (60%) i.e. packing, checking, sorting and distributing sporting goods and from management positions (40%). The second sample yielded 263 usable responses out of 297 total responses received from 5 similarly sized health care homes (about 100 employees each). The responses obtained were from nurses (59 %), housekeepers and general helpers (19 %), dieticians (7 %), and managerial and administrative support (15 %).

4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Confirmatory Factor Analysis

A two-stage structural equation modeling process recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1988) was conducted to test the hypothesized relationships among the attitudinal and behavioral constructs and with psychological empowerment. Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to ensure construct validity, internal consistency (unidimensionality and reliability) and discriminant validity (Hughes et al., 1986). All the indicators reported a factor loading of above .70 and error variances of less than .50 and indicate adequate reliability of the indicators in measuring the constructs. The fit of the hypothesized models for psychological empowerment, job satisfaction, organizational commitment and OCB were compared with alternative one-factor models. Results indicated that the hypothesized models demonstrated a better fit with the measurement models and accounted for most of the variance compared to the inadequate one-factor alternative model.

4.2 Hypotheses testing

4.2.1 Testing for hypotheses H1, H2, H3a, H3b and H3c

As the samples were collected from a manufacturing type of organization and five health care services organizations, a measurement invariance test was conducted to ensure that the parameters of the structural equation for the observed variables are invariant across the groups (Vandenberg and Lance, 2000). The hypothesized relationships were tested by assessing the degree of fit, or the extent to which the hypothesized relationships in the base model (M_b) are

supported by the sample data. Table I reports summary statistics of all the parameters of M_b (Figure 1) and the standardized values of the various parameters in the best fit model analyzed by Chi-square statistics.

The fit between the structural model with the measurement model was acceptable ($\chi^2 = 148.22$, d.f. = 49, $p = .00$). Other fit indices were examined since Chi-square statistics are sensitive to sample size (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 2006) in order to provide added support to our initial findings. The theoretical model indicated a good fit to the data (NNFI = .97, NFI = .98, GFI = .97, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .05).

Table I. Model fit indices for the structural model			
Fit Indices for Base Model and Competitive Models			
Fit Indices			
Models	M_b	M_{fm}	M_{nm}
Chi-square	148.22	356.58	229.67
Df	49	65	53
RMSEA	.05	.08	.07
NFI	.98	.94	.96
NNFI	.97	.94	.96
CFI	.98	.95	.97

Hypothesis 1 predicted that psychological empowerment is positively related to OCB. As Table II illustrates, the gamma coefficient for the relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB is positive and highly significant ($\gamma_{51} = .18$; $t = 11.74$). The coefficient of determination (R^2) is .26 for the structural equation indicating that 26 percent of the variance of the latent construct OCB is directly explained by psychological empowerment. Hence Hypothesis 1 is supported.

Hypothesis 2 which predicted the positive and direct relationship between psychological empowerment and job satisfaction is supported. The gamma coefficient for this relationship is positive and significant ($\gamma_{11} = .39$; $t = 9.13$), confirming that psychologically empowered employees are more satisfied with their jobs. Psychological empowerment significantly accounts for 15 percent ($R^2 = .15$) of the variance in job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3a which predicted that psychological empowerment has a positive relationship with affective commitment (Table II). The significant gamma coefficient is both positive and significant ($\gamma_{21} = .35$; $t = 8.47$). Psychological empowerment accounted for 12 percent of the variance in affective commitment ($R^2 = .12$). Hence Hypothesis 3a is supported.

Hypothesis 3b predicted a positive relationship between psychological empowerment and normative commitment. As reported by Table II, the gamma coefficient is positive and significant ($\gamma_{31} = .37$; $t = 9.10$) and psychological empowerment accounts for 14 percent of the variance in normative commitment ($R^2 = .14$). Hence Hypothesis 3b is supported.

Hypothesis 3c predicted a significant direct and negative relationship between psychological empowerment and continuance commitment. As illustrated by Table II, the gamma

coefficient for the path Psychological Empowerment \rightarrow Continuance Commitment is both highly significant and negative ($\gamma_{41} = -.23$; $t = -5.60$). This supported the hypothesized negative relationship between psychological empowerment and continuance commitment and psychological empowerment accounted for 5 percent of the variance in continuance commitment ($R^2 = .05$). Hence, Hypothesis 3c is supported.

4.2.2 Testing for mediation, hypotheses H4a, H4b, H4c and H4d

Hypotheses H4a, H4b, H4c and H4d predict that job satisfaction, normative and affective mediate the relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB. Continuance commitment is hypothesized as not a significant mediator. The criterion necessary to infer a mediating relationship is by examining the change in Chi-square ($\Delta\chi^2$) between the best fitting base model (M_b) with two alternative competing models (M_{nm} , M_{fm}). Model M_{nm} is developed with no mediators and all paths from mediators (job satisfaction, affective, normative and continuance commitment) are constrained (Table 1). Model M_{fm} is specified as a full mediated model by constraining the direct path between the independent (psychological empowerment) and the dependent variable (OCB). According to James et al., (2006), one of the conditions for testing full mediation effect is to assume the paths from the initial variables to the outcome variables as non-significant and are usually not specified in the competing model (James et al., 2006). Referring to Table 1, we found significant difference in the change in Chi-square when we compare the base model M_b ($\chi^2 = 148.22$; $d.f. = 49$; $RMSEA = .057$) with the two competing models M_{nm} ($\chi^2 = 229.67$; $d.f. = 53$; $RMSEA = .073$) and M_{fm} ($\chi^2 = 356.58$; $d.f. = 65$; $RMSEA = .084$) and the fit indices of the competing models deteriorate compared to the base model (M_b). Baron and Kenny Lashin (1986) observed that rather than eliminating the relationship between independent and dependent variables (psychological empowerment to OCB) altogether, there are justifiable reasons to take into account the significance of the direct path between the antecedents and outcome variable when the mediator is applied. Thus the base model (M_b) which included a positive and significant path between antecedents (psychological empowerment) and outcome (OCB) indicated the best fit for the measurement model, and is the most parsimonious model supporting a partial mediated relationship. Except for continuance commitment all paths between the initial variable (psychological empowerment) and mediators (job satisfaction, affective commitment and normative commitment) are significant. Similarly, the relationship between each of the mediator and outcome variable (OCB) is significant. There is a non-significant relationship between continuance commitment and OCB as we have predicted.

As we predicted in Hypothesis 4a, job satisfaction mediates the relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB, as evident from the significant and positive beta coefficient ($\beta_{51} = .30$; $t = 7.2$) reported between job satisfaction and OCB, in Table II. Hypothesis 4a is supported. However, this is only a partial mediated relationship as the relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB is significant and positive, accounting for some of the variances attributable to job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4b which specified that affective commitment mediates the relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB is supported. The beta coefficient of affective commitment \rightarrow OCB is both positive and significant ($\beta_{52} = .30$; $t = 7.75$) as reported in Table II and illustrated by Figure 2.

Hypothesis 4c predicted that normative commitment acts as a mediator between psychological empowerment and OCB is supported. As is evident from the data reported in Table

If the beta coefficient is both positive and significant ($\beta_{53} = .28$; $t = 7.09$). Hence Hypothesis 4c is supported.

TABLE 2: Parameter estimates for structural model M _b			
Parameter		Estimates	Conclusion
γ Structural coefficient			
Empowerment	OCB	.18 ($R^2 = .26$; $t = 11.74$)**	H1 supported
Empowerment	Job Satisfaction	.39 ($R^2 = .15$; $t = 9.13$)**	H2 supported
Empowerment	Affective	.35 ($R^2 = .12$; $t = 8.47$)**	H3a supported
Empowerment	Normative	.37 ($R^2 = .14$; $t = 9.10$)**	H3b supported
Empowerment	Continuance	.23 ($R^2 = .05$; $t = -5.60$)**	H3c supported
β Structural coefficient^a			
Job Satisfaction	OCB	.30 ($t = 7.20$)**	H4a supported
Affective	OCB	.30 ($t = 7.75$)**	H4b supported
Normative	OCB	.28 ($t = 7.09$)**	H4c supported
Continuance	OCB	-.04 ($t = -1.05$)	H4d supported
Aggregate R^2 of Job satisfaction, Affective commitment, Normative Commitment and Continuance commitment is .48			
<i>The parameter estimates are standardized coefficient. The t-statistic for each estimate is in parenthesis.</i>			
<i>** $p \leq 0.05$; $t = 1.645$; $N = 632$</i>			

Hypothesis 4d specified a non significant relationship between continuance commitment and OCB. Results reported in Table II and illustrated by Figure 2 shows that the relationship between continuance commitment and OCB is negative and non significant hence continuance commitment is not a significant mediator of psychological empowerment and OCB. Hence Hypothesis 4d is supported.

5. DISCUSSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

5.1 Discussions of the Results

Empirical evidence from this study supported the hypothesized relationships between psychological empowerment and both affective ($\gamma_{21} = .35$; See Figure 2) and normative commitment ($\gamma_{31} = .37$; See Figure 2). Consequently this study makes a significant contribution by demonstrating that psychological empowerment distinctively accounted for variances separately in both normative and affective commitment, and that the strength of influence of psychological empowerment on both are about the same ($\gamma_{31} = .37$ and $\gamma_{21} = .35$ respectively). The distinctiveness of these two commitment constructs has been a topic of debate in organizational commitment research (Bergman, 2006; Blau and Holladay, 2006; Meyer and Allen, 1997). The results of this study empirically support this conceptual distinction and provide support to the theoretical placement of these two constructs as outcomes of psychological empowerment, thus contributing to the understanding of the psychological empowerment nomological network as advocated by Spreitzer (1996).

The results of this study also found, per expectation, that there is a direct and negative relationship between psychological empowerment and continuance commitment ($\gamma = -.23$; Figure 2). This finding implies that employees who perceive that they are empowered are less likely to adopt self-serving attitudes. Meyer and Allen (1997) support this finding and provide additional

insight into this relationship as they observed that positive experiences that contribute to the development of affective commitment are the “same experiences [that] were found to be unrelated or negatively related to continuance commitment” (p. 33). Since the psychological empowerment construct has a positive relationship with affective commitment, it could lessen the intensity of continuance commitment or reduce employees’ attitude of putting their self interests above those of the organization. This study also provide support for Laschinger, et al., (2001) who found that psychological empowerment is negatively but weakly related to continuance commitment.

This study’s results also confirm that psychological empowerment directly and positively predicts job satisfaction ($\gamma_{11} = .39$; Figure 2). This result further supports the use of psychological empowerment as a motivational construct and finds that employees who experience high psychological empowerment should be more satisfied with their jobs.

The hypothesized relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB in this study is couched in the discussion of the theory of social exchange. Per expectation, this study found that employees who are intrinsically motivated by higher levels of psychological empowerment will be more inclined to reciprocate to the empowering organization with OCB. This finding was empirically verified by the significant relationship between psychological empowerment and OCB ($\gamma_{11} = .18$; Figure 2). Psychological empowerment is therefore a significant predictor of OCB.

Although Organ (1990) has always insisted that organizational commitment is related positively to OCB-type behaviors, there has been no empirical consensus reached in the many research studies to unequivocally validate this relationship. Results of this study confirmed affective and normative’s commitment relationships with OCBs. Affective commitment, normative commitment and job satisfaction are strong predictors of OCB with a high multiple correlation coefficient (R^2) of .48 indicating that 48 percent of variances in OCB is accounted for by these three variables.

5.2 Research and Theoretical Implications

From the academic perspective, our nomological network research model provides a more holistic understanding of how psychological empowerment impacts OCB through job attitudes. It confirms the relationship of employees’ attitudes as the bridge between employees’ psychological state and behaviors. Our findings of a partially mediated psychological empowerment-OCB model add further depth to the current knowledge of the empowerment process. Moreover this study also demonstrates that psychological empowerment has a negative and significant relationship with continuance commitment ($\gamma = -.23$). This could stimulate further research into other self-serving negative attitudes in organizations.

5.3 Practical Implications

Most management practitioners understand empowerment as implementing structural interventions while little is known about empowerment as a psychological process experienced by employees much less, the predictive role of empowerment on employees’ attitudes and behaviors. For these reasons, the findings of this study will provide valuable insights to increase managerial confidence to empower their employees or to fine tune their empowerment programs to include measures to influence employees perception of meaning, self-determination, competence and impact in their work. Such measures could include disseminating information about the company’s mission, vision, availability of resources support such as training to equip employees with competence for job enrichment and enlargement, and constant updates of organizational

performance and the role they play in organizational successes.

This study also demonstrates that employees who are satisfied with their jobs and are affectively and normatively committed to the organization are more likely to adopt OCB. Behaviors that can be expected from OCB oriented employees are altruism, conscientiousness, civic virtue, sportsmanship and courteousness. Moreover, psychological empowerment reduces the intensity of continuance commitment, which implies that the empowered employees are less likely to place their self-interests above that of the organization.

6. CONCLUSION

Our research makes three contributions to the pool of knowledge on psychological empowerment. The most significant contribution afforded by this study stems from our testing of a holistic model of the psychological empowerment process from the perspective of those who are empowered rather than those who empowered. The results demonstrated that psychologically empowered employees are more likely to be intrinsically motivated to adopt OCB and this relationship is partially mediated through normative commitment, affective commitment and job satisfaction. Secondly and more specifically, psychological empowerment is found to be negatively related to continuance commitment. This result could seed further research in other negative work attitudes and behaviors. Finally, the test of measurement invariance conducted to determine the compatibility of diverse sample groups of our study, strengthens the validity of generalizing the findings to both manufacturing and services related sectors.

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APPENDIX

FIGURE 2
Structural Equation Modeling Results of Psychological Empowerment Outcomes

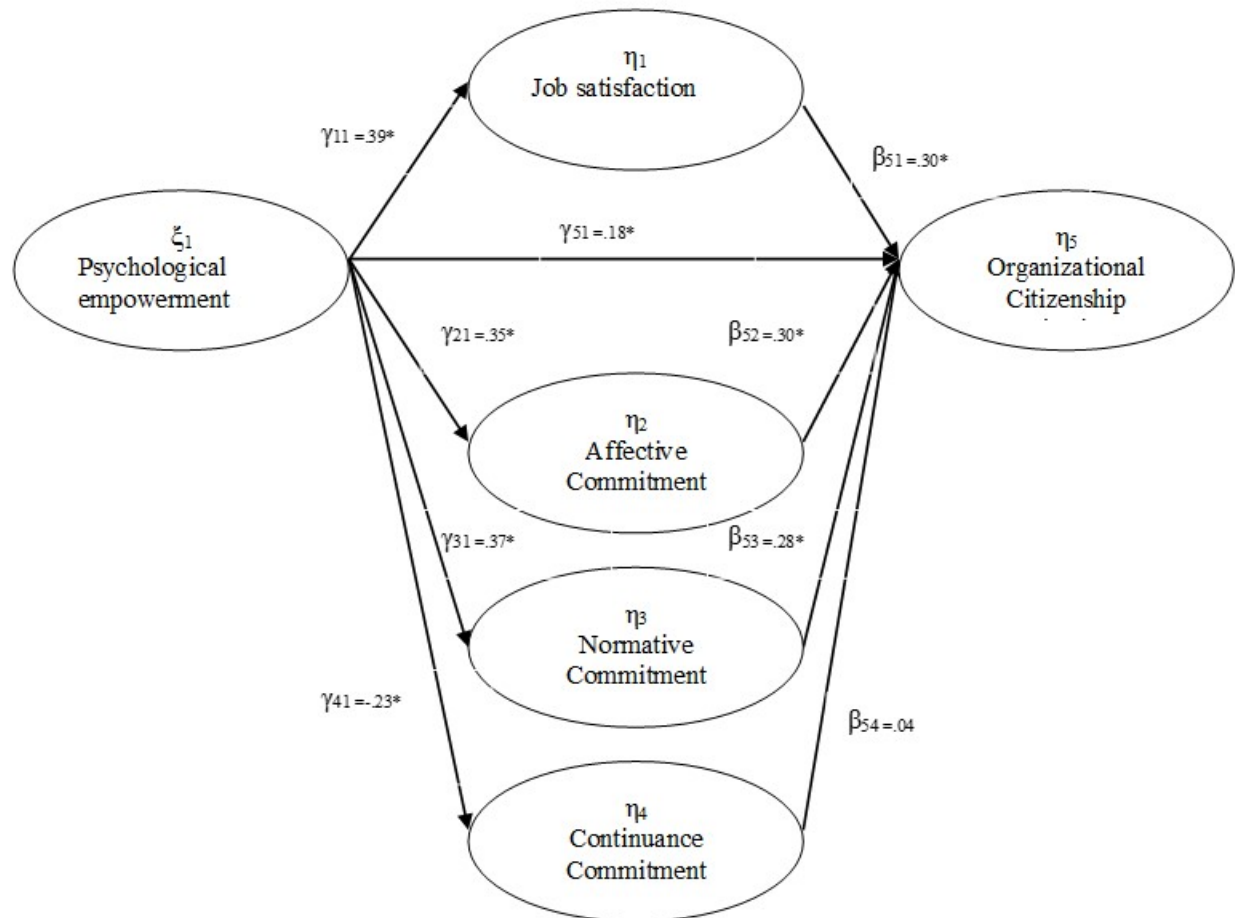


TABLE 2
Composite Factor Reliability And Total Factor Variance Extracted

Latent Variables	Composite Factor Reliability	Total Variance Extracted	Aggregated λ or β	Error Variances
1. Psychological Empowerment				
i. Meaning	.95	.88	.98	.05
ii. Competence	.93	.82	.96	.07
iii. Self determination	.91	.78	.95	.09
iv. Impact	.92	.79	.96	.08
2. Organizational Commitment				
i. Affective	.94	.72	.96	.07
ii. Normative	.91	.67	.96	.08
iii. Continuance	.92	.64	.95	.09
3. Job Satisfaction	.85	.76	.92	.15
4. Organizational Citizenship Behaviors				
i. Altruism	.87	.70	.94	.13
ii. Courtesy	.85	.67	.92	.15
iii. Sportsmanship	.89	.83	.94	.11
iv. Conscientious	.93	.76	.96	.07
v. Civic virtue	.89	.72	.94	.11

STRATIFICATION, COMMUNICATION TACTICS, AND BLACK WOMEN: NAVIGATING THE SOCIAL DOMAIN OF NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the experiences of Black women working in the nonprofit industry in an urban setting in the state of Minnesota, as well as the targeted strategic communication tactics they utilize to achieve upward mobility in their respective nonprofit organizations. Academic literature on racial and ethnic stratification, nonprofit leadership and intercultural communication is explored in addition to original research results of Black women in the nonprofit industry. Discussion includes the utilization of strategic communication tactics by Black women as a response to experiences of institutional racism and challenges navigating informal social networks.

Black women inhabit a unique space in the nonprofit industry. While the available literature confirms the racial and ethnic disparities in nonprofit leadership across organizations, there is a paucity of research focused on how people of color strategically navigate within the existing power structure and how they communicate with one another to increase their individual success in the nonprofit field (Brown, 2002; Cohen, 2011; DeVita & Roeger, 2009).

The goal of the following research study is to understand the experiences of Black women working in the nonprofit field and to learn what strategic actions they utilize to maximize their success in the field. A secondary goal is to learn about how Black women communicate with their peers throughout their nonprofit career.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Nonprofit organizations devoted to serving communities in need are led overwhelmingly by white non-hispanic individuals, despite generally having an overall diverse staff of professionals (Adetimirin, 2008; De Vita & Roeger, 2009; Ostrower, 2007). The race stratification that occurs in the nonprofit industry can be understood as the grouping of one racial group at the leadership and decision-making level within a nonprofit and the grouping of another at the front-line and entry-level positions within an organization. Despite nonprofit organizations being devoted to doing good work, financial backers are now much more interested in seeing racially and ethnically diverse individuals at the decision-making table (Cohen, 2011). Some scholars have suggested that securing minority representation in leadership roles produces generally positive results for nonprofit organizations (De Vita, 2009). However, despite knowing that obstacles exist for people of color in their pursuit of nonprofit leadership, there remains the question of what kinds of actions people of color have taken to maximize their career success

and how they strategically communicate to achieve upward career mobility within the nonprofit field.

Stratification & Diversity in Nonprofits

Defining diversity is integral to understanding the racial and ethnic stratification of leadership in the nonprofit industry. Some researchers investigated the main question of whether minority employees were represented in top-tier decision making roles in nonprofit organizations (Adetimirin, 2008; Ostrower, 2007). When examining the concept of diversity in organizations, it is important to pay special attention to how one defines diversity.

In one study, a group of researchers tasked with determining whether a more diverse decision-making group increased overall transparency defined diversity simply as “[the] level of ethnic and gender heterogeneity within the community’s leadership structure” (Armstrong, 2008, p. 809). A report in the *Nonprofit Quarterly* discussed diversity in more quantifiable terms, stating that to be diverse, an organization’s board of directors needed to have at least 50% minority involvement, along with a clearly expressed mission statement with goals that would directly serve minority communities (Cohen, 2008). A report on the racial-ethnic diversity in California’s nonprofits discussed three separate definitions of diversity, with one model reflecting the 50% minority board member rule, and a second model which required the target population to be predominantly minorities in addition to the requirements of the first model. The report’s third definition of diversity focused on minority-led organizations that were comprised of a minority leader, majority-minority board and staff members, and a mission statement devoted to serving and empowering minority communities (De Vita & Roeger, 2009).

Nonprofit organizations have defined diversity in a variety of ways; however, even though organizations often tout their diverse staff, funders have an overall preference for what they call “real diversity, not token demographics” (Cohen, 2011, p.2). Despite the desires of funders to have an authentic representation of diversity in nonprofit organizations, some organizations appear uninterested in change. An article on a proposed law intended to reduce ethnic and racial discrimination at the foundation level put into more succinct words the attitude towards diversity in nonprofit organizations: “It is [a] policy conundrum [for proponents of AB 624]...whose diversity approaches reflect a framework of “valuing” diversity but do not alter the power relationships within institutional philanthropy” (Cohen, 2008, p.6).

A national study conducted by researchers from the Commongood Careers and Level Playing Institute (2011) examined diversity in nonprofit organizations with the goal of learning about what actions nonprofit organizations should take in order to build and sustain high functioning and diverse organizations. Their study concluded that of the organizations analyzed, the current composition of nonprofit employees was about 80 percent white, with the remaining 20 percent comprised of minority employees. The institute’s researchers suggested that the racial composition of nonprofit organizations had already fallen behind in being representative of the demographic shift happening in the United States. Of the over 1,600 current and former nonprofit employees surveyed, many respondents stated that there was a lack of willingness from their nonprofit organizations to ensure that their diversity values were tangibly realized through actions like professional development, training and internally promoting qualified minority employees (Schwartz, Weinberg, Haganbuch & Scott, 2011).

Effects of Diversity in Nonprofit Leadership Roles

People of color are inadequately represented in decision-making roles within nonprofit organizations (Adetimirin, 2009; Brown, 2002; Cohen, 2011; DeVita, 2009; Ostrower, 2007). The available research suggests that the lack of diversity may decrease the ability of nonprofit organizations to respond appropriately and proactively to the needs of their target populations, many of which are largely comprised of racial and ethnic minorities (Ostrower, 2007). Adetimirin (2009) suggests that incorporating diverse individuals in leadership positions in nonprofit organizations may ultimately benefit both agencies and those they serve. LeRoux (2009) explained that having racially and ethnically diverse nonprofit boards influenced both policy priorities and service delivery of nonprofit organizations. She went on to argue that nonprofit organizations who have racially diverse boards tend to exhibit more enhanced organizational performance and are more sensitive to the political interests and concerns of their stakeholders (as cited in Brown, 2002 p. 17).

Understanding the overall ethnic composition of nonprofit organizations is integral to understanding the impact of racial and ethnic stratification at the leadership level within the industry. Researchers attempting to understand nonprofit organizations in California discovered that while minorities and women made up the majority of nonprofit employees in the state, only 25% of nonprofit organizations were minority-led. Researchers also discovered that in cases where nonprofits were minority-led, there was greater racial and ethnic heterogeneity in higher-level positions than in their white-led counterparts, and more general diversity among all levels of management (De Vita & Roeger, 2009). The 2007 nationwide study led by the Urban Institute also supported this general trend. Their researchers discovered that minority representation at the board level was oftentimes positively correlated with overall minority representation in nonprofit organizations, while low levels of minority representation at higher levels was negatively associated with diversity among nonprofit employees (Ostrower, 2007).

The demonstrated preference of majority white nonprofit officials to hire whites over hiring qualified individuals of color for decision-making roles has likely, though indirectly, led to the creation of a variety of different professional networking groups such as the African American Nonprofit Network. Such networks are possibly being created in response to low numbers of minority representation in the more impactful positions within nonprofit organizations. A study on nonprofit leadership in the United States revealed that newly hired executive directors were still equally as likely to be white as their minority counterparts that had served in the nonprofit field for many years (Adetimirin, 2008). Overall, the literature suggested that the hesitance of nonprofit organizations to support minority involvement at higher levels is likely to remain constant without intentional and strategic action.

Racial and Ethnic Stratification in Other Industries

Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) data from the 2010 census was not yet available at the time of the review of academic literature. However, data from the 2000 census provided some interesting information about employment and diversity that may lead to some insights about the race stratification in nonprofit leadership positions. Numbers from the Minnesota EEO Data Packet reflected that workers in management-level positions were comprised of 61 percent male and 38 percent female workers. The reported gender balance reflected the state's workforce at large, with 52 percent male and 47 percent female workers across each industry. However, the

data regarding diversity was particularly interesting, with 93 percent white management-level workers to only six percent non-white minority workers (Minnesota Dept. of Employment and Economic Development, 2000). In 2012, Minnesota again led the nation in the unemployment gap between whites and blacks (Gilbert, 2012). The large disparity between white management-level employees and non-white employees in the overall workforce suggests that race stratification at the leadership level is likely occurring in Minnesota's nonprofit industry.

However, it is important to note that the large gap between white management-level employees and minority employees at the same level may be due in part to the limited geographical distribution of people of color in Minnesota. In 2011, whites made up nearly 87 percent of all individuals in Minnesota, with the remainder being made up largely by Black or African Americans, Native Americans, Asian and Hispanic individuals (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Understanding the geographic distribution of people of color is integral to understanding how they are represented in their chosen areas of employment. For example, the 2010 census revealed that people who self-identified as Black or African-American made up 13 percent of the total United States population but were largely represented in only 10 states (Drewery, Rastogi, Hoeffel & Johnson, 2011).

Many of the cited reasons for stratification in corporate industries may relate to and intersect with those facing the nonprofit industry. In a 2006 study of minority women facing racism in the corporate sphere, research participants overwhelmingly identified race as the factor holding them back from their career advancement, despite having the necessary educational and experiential qualifications. Participants identified a distinct gap in mentoring practices, in which white employees actively mentored their white subordinates but avoided offering the same sort of support and guidance to their employees of color (Brinson, 2006). A different study focusing on how Black women cope in the workplace also identified the lack of mentorship as a strong stressor (Everett, Hall & Mason, 2012). Mentoring practices and preferential treatment of white employees over employees of color is a theme that likely appears in the nonprofit industry.

A 1999 Atlanta research study that examined white managers' perceptions of their minority employees, revealed that over two-thirds of the white interviewees had characterized their Black employees negatively, typifying the Black women in particular as lazy and unmotivated and the Black men as shiftless. Additionally, white managers expressed frustration at their Black employees' claims of discrimination or maltreatment, arguing that such complaints were groundless. Some of the managers interviewed had extremely limited contact with their employees of color, but still negatively characterized them during interviews. The researcher surmised that the white managers' answers invoked stereotypes that helped them to better support their already-formed perceptions of their minority employees' deficiencies and shortcomings (Kennelly, 1999).

Some scholars suggest that talking about incorporating diversity within a company or organization may not be sufficient, and that intentional action must take place in order to stimulate positive change. Becker (1980) ascertained that the ability to develop peer, non-hierarchical social relationships may positively affect both majority white employees and racial or ethnic minorities in that the current opportunity structure which maintains discrimination may be altered.

Black Women and Communication at Work

Understanding the career experiences of Black women, in particular, may lead to some insights about precisely what kinds of obstacles hinder them from realizing success in their careers. Navigating the informal social networks within organizations and battling historical stereotypes about people of color have been considerable barriers to the upward career mobility of Black women (Combs, 2003; Mor Barak, 1998; Reynolds-Dobbs, 2008; Wilson, 2012).

Wilson (2012) found that African-Americans in general have a much lower rate of mobility in their career than that of whites, due in part to having to rely solely on more formalized processes for promotions or obtaining more complex job duties. A 1998 study on gender and diversity perceptions within organizations found that white men in particular believed minorities had an equal or better chance for mobility within organizations, while people of color and white women believed they had lost job opportunities because they did not fit in with the normative white male career experience. The people of color and white women interviewed cited difficulties navigating the informal processes within their organizations (Mor Barak, 1998). Another study conducted with Black women in managerial positions revealed that the women had expressed feelings of isolation and exclusion, stating that they felt that their professional advancement had been inhibited by not being a part of the informal networks and social systems within their workplaces (Combs, 2003).

Friedman (1998) conducted a study on the effect of networking groups geared toward women and people of color within companies. He suggested that while networking groups have benefits such as increased mentoring opportunities, there is minimal effect on the upward career mobility of Black employees and the groups do not necessarily decrease the feelings of discrimination felt by Black employees within their respective companies. Friedman also argued that networking groups do not change the tendency of people to gravitate towards others who reflect the same background, likely leaving the probability of organic intercultural informal networking unchanged.

A majority of the available literature assessed employees' workplace experiences by looking at either women and racial minorities, or women and men without respect to ethnicity (Friedman, 1998; Szafran, 1982). There is limited quantitative data on the effects of Black women's dual experiences of racism and sexism in the professional world. However, Wilson (2012) found that all other things being equal, Black women fared worse than their white counterparts, with a slower rate of upward mobility and much fewer paths for attaining a higher career status.

Perception also plays a large role in the career success of Black women. A number of scholars argued that once Black women reach leadership positions, they continue to encounter a number of difficulties related to how they are perceived in the workplace (Karambayya, 1997; Reynolds-Dobbs, 2008; Byrd, 2009). They must contend with being a "double-outsider", experiencing exclusion from informal networks that are more easily entered by white women and men of color, respectively (Gaetane, 2009). Khosrovani and Ward (2011) argued that Black employees must also combat dangerous stereotypes, including the idea that leadership is an inherent trait in whites, but a trait which must be developed in people of color.

Reynolds-Dobbs (2008) identified a number of stereotypical images which Black women in the workplace must battle in order to be successful in their workplace. She identified five images: the Mammy, Jezebel, Sapphire, Crazy Black Bitch and Superwoman, with each image influencing how Black women are perceived in their careers. Black women who had to contend

with the Mammy image ended up being placed in supportive and consistently less-mobile positions. Black women who were cast as Jezebels or Sapphires dealt with being perceived as sexually promiscuous in the name of achieving upward career mobility and being dramatic or hostile. Black women termed as Crazy Black Bitches were characterized as vindictive, emotionally immature and unstable, while the Superwoman image characterized Black women as superhuman employees whom employers expected to be high achieving despite receiving considerably less support than other employees. Reynolds-Dobbs argued that though each image has different features, they are all ultimately harmful to Black women and can be detrimental to their career development.

Some researchers have suggested that Black women who achieve career success in the form of leadership positions may feel compelled to drastically change their presentation in order to better navigate the existing power structures in their organizations. Karambayya (1997) wrote that women of color must make a decision about how to fit into the majority culture of the organizations in which they work, explaining that they often have to live a “bicultural lifestyle”, in which women of color manage participation in two separate worlds: their professional world and their private lives. Additionally, Black women’s constant awareness of their “other” status may negatively impact their ability to get through work without undue personal stress (Durr, 2011). The feeling of being watched or being set up for failure by white co-workers or superiors is consistent with a number of Black women who reach positions of leadership and power in their organizations (Byrd, 2009). Black women’s heightened awareness of how others perceive them at work likely influences how, when and with whom they choose to communicate.

Conclusion

Despite research from the Urban Institute, there appears to be a limited amount of research related to racial and ethnic stratification in nonprofit leadership on a regional or state basis. Pursuing a research endeavor localized to the American midwest, specifically Minnesota, may provide information about the extent of racial and ethnic stratification in nonprofit leadership from a different perspective. Similarly, the literature regarding the experiences of Black women pursuing leadership within their careers is remarkably consistent, with scholars agreeing that Black women in particular face unique and difficult obstacles. The following study of Black women’s experiences with leadership-level race stratification in the nonprofit industry may aid in stimulating conversations about the current nonprofit landscape.

Discovering what constitutes as diversity in decision-making roles within the nonprofit industry is one factor which researchers have yet to definitively answer. However, irrespective of which definition is employed in assessing racial and ethnic stratification, researchers agreed that having representation of members from marginalized groups at higher levels in nonprofit organizations is ultimately beneficial from a financial standpoint as well as for the populations being served. The key difficulty in solving the issue of racial and ethnic stratification in nonprofit leadership may lie in the potential disinterest of current nonprofit leadership members in mentoring employees of color. Additional research is needed to develop a more detailed understanding of how Black women working in the nonprofit field operate within existing power structures as well as what, if any, actions should be taken to alter how nonprofit organizational leadership operates.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The primary goals of the research study were to understand the experiences of Black women working in the nonprofit field, as well as to identify the strategic communication tactics they utilize to maximize their success in the field.

METHODOLOGY

Understanding the experiences of Black women in the nonprofit field was best carried out by using qualitative research methods. The following is a discussion of how subjects were selected for the study, the methods for collecting data and the analysis of the results.

Research Design

Preliminary field observations revealed that Black women working in the nonprofit field, network largely through informal means. Study participants were secured informally through mutual professional contacts. Additionally, random study participants were secured by interacting with Black women at structured, generally employer-mandated, events such as training and workshop opportunities focused on emerging best practices for serving people in poverty.

Primarily, an ethnographic approach was utilized as researchers' had increased opportunities for participant observation. Additionally, the researcher's position in the target area allowed for greater access to Black women working in the field who were more willing to provide feedback about the types of experiences they had with race stratification in their nonprofit careers. Though there has been some doubt on the efficacy of ethnography as a research method, there are a number of benefits to utilizing ethnography (Monahan & Fisher, 2010). Being immersed in the research environment allowed for a more comprehensive and holistic look at the phenomenon at hand. Additionally, forming relationships with informants enabled the researcher to identify issues that may not have been immediately apparent in initial contacts and observations. It is important to note that results may have limited generalizability. There is also some limited potential for researcher bias in the present study, as the researcher reflected the industry and racial and ethnic background of the target population.

Procedure

Research was conducted using participant observation, surveys and semi-structured interviews. The bulk of participant observation occurred at two local nonprofit organizations in an urban setting in Minnesota. The researchers connected with Black women by attending training workshops and networking events geared toward nonprofit professionals. Several social media platforms were utilized to reach potential study participants. They included LinkedIn, a professional networking website, Facebook, About.me and direct e-mail. Study goals were also informally communicated to Black women in person. Observations of Black women in the nonprofit field were recorded on a regular basis. With permission, the researchers recorded participant interviews and direct quotes about their work experiences.

The study involved 30 Black women working in the nonprofit field in the target geographic area. A participant survey was sent via e-mail asking study participants about their

experiences working in the nonprofit field. The survey was made available for a three-week period. The survey asked respondents if they would be open for a one-on-one follow up interview to ask additional questions. Survey respondents who opted for a follow up interview were contacted via phone or e-mail to schedule personal interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were held in private at mutually agreed-upon locations. Participants were provided with an Informed Consent Form to sign. They also received a personal copy for their own records. Interviews were audio recorded and did not identify interviewees by name, location, or nonprofit organization. The researchers loosely followed an interview question guide, though additional follow up questions were incorporated in interviews as necessary.

Participants

Nine nonprofit agencies in the target area were represented in the respondent data and there was a 21% overlap in the number of agencies represented in the study. The majority of study participants fell in the 41 - 55 age range (60%), though they were also represented in the 25-40 (20%) and 55+ (13%) age ranges. It is notable to mention that the number of Black women in the 18 - 24 range pursued for the study were largely unrepresented and had a zero percent survey return rate.

Study participants were largely represented in the housing and employment departments within their nonprofit organizations. Interestingly, survey respondents were entirely comprised of entry and mid-level employees, with 47% of study participants falling in entry-level positions and the remaining 53% were represented in mid-level positions. The median length of time for study participants working in the nonprofit field was 12.5 years; the longest amount of time a study participant worked in the nonprofit field was 35 years, while the least amount of time represented in the study was an entry-level professional with less than one year of experience working in the field.

Educational background of participants included 27% having bachelor's degrees, 13% with two-year degree, and 7% with a master's degree. The remaining 53% of the participants had some postsecondary education though a degree was not obtained.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Survey respondents generally agreed that their current work position reflected their level of education and experience (53%), though most felt that they did not receive adequate compensation for their jobs (53%). A majority of survey respondents (93%) viewed communicating with other Black women in the field as important, while 80% made a point to communicate within their cultural group often. Black women's career satisfaction varied greatly, though most survey respondents landed in the middle of "somewhat satisfied" category (60%).

In addition to the survey results previously mentioned, interviewing study participants proved to be useful in understanding the experiences of Black women working in the nonprofit field. However, observing the functions of nonprofits and how Black women fit into the overall structure was also illustrative. The following are significant themes from observations and interviews.

Communication Tactics

The women observed made a point to communicate with one another cross-departmentally and throughout different levels. This was seen in action when a young Black intern was approached and subsequently invited to lunch by fellow Black women during her first week at an agency. It was observed that Study Participant B briefed her on the culture of the agency and ways to stay safe during her time there. The principal researcher personally experienced this initiation tactic, as Study Participants J and C both provided her with the same kind of briefing at different agencies. It is notable to mention that while both study participants identified specifically which white management-level supervisors were dangerous, Study Participant C also identified two employees of color to avoid, explaining that they were cultural double-agents, so to speak. Study Participant B provided the most comprehensive set of instructions on how to stay safe:

You need to learn how to go into a meeting and be a plant. [Researcher: What does that entail?] You need to go in, be quiet and observe. Look at the players: Who's in control? Who's supposed to be in charge, versus who's actually running things? Keep it moving. Speak to everybody, but that's it. Personal things stay personal.

Participant A echoed this advice, stating, “Be *polite*, not *friendly*. Do you know what that means? Don’t tell your business!”

While the Black women observed made it a priority to reach others within their group, it was rare to see them communicating with one another in open spaces. Most opted to remove themselves from their immediate work surroundings, which were often comprised of cubicle workstations. When movement wasn’t possible, the researcher observed study participants’ heightened awareness of time, sound and their general surroundings. Many utilized coded speech when discussing issues like racism and heavily relied on nonverbal language cues as well as vocalics and terms rooted in African-American Vernacular English (AAVE), likely employed to evade the understanding of those around them. This observation was not unique only to Black women, however; the few Black men employed at nonprofit agencies were observed engaging in similar behavior. One agency in particular had a number of Somalia-born immigrants working in the employment assistance department. The researcher observed these employees taking advantage of their Somali-English bilinguality to safely interact with each other, as well.

The principal researcher’s cultural identity likely served to make some of the study participants feel more at ease about sharing their experiences. When interviewing Study Participant C, the researcher initially neglected to have the participant sign the Informed Consent Form before beginning the recorded interview. The first few minutes of the interview consisted of neutral, succinct answers to each open-ended question. Upon realizing the error, the researcher went through the Informed Consent Form and prompted the participant to sign. Almost instantly, Study Participant C’s entire demeanor changed. She exclaimed, “Oh, well now I can tell you how it *really* is! [laughs]”. It is important to consider that such experiences suggest that research being conducted by individuals outside of the target cultural group may in fact elicit answers that study participants view as more palatable, rather than honest descriptions of their realities.

Perception, Power and Stratification.

Study participants' perceptions of their positions within area nonprofits impacted how they chose to navigate the existing power structure. Study Participant B, a mid-level employee, provided her reasoning for why Black women were so sparse in the leadership levels of nonprofit organizations:

I worked at an agency that believed minorities had to be trained to be leaders [scoffs]. Nonprofits will filter out people of color to justify not letting them into leadership spots. They'll bring on only one Black manager - usually a man, to meet their quota. That one Black person is all they need! [laughs]

Study Participant S reflected on Black women's perceptions of individual power and fitness for higher performance:

We don't think we can...the dominant society - we don't have that kind of power. We're victims of believing things said about us...we believe it, too - how could we not? We've been taught a doctrine that says we're not good enough.

Study participants also discussed the difficulties associated with feeling unsafe in their respective positions. The majority of participants cited having strong relationships with their fellow Black women in the field, though some cited difficulties with initially establishing these relationships. Study Participant J, a nonprofit professional of nearly four decades, acknowledged an ongoing culture of self-preservation among professionals of color in the field, stating, "There's infighting among Black people here. People don't want to rock the boat - they're grateful just to *have* a job! There's brainwashing from slavery times on both sides". Study Participant C, an entry-level administrative assistant, provided another perspective on why some Black women in the nonprofit field might be hesitant to establish relationships with new Black women who enter organizations:

I know two women of color - Black women, who are high up but I'm always afraid to talk to them. I don't have the communication and trust built enough...they may not have my back. I've seen it happen! You don't know which...who you can trust. You wonder: were they hired to find...tell secrets about the other workers [of color]?

Study participants also shared a common perception that nonprofit organizations were amoral institutions. Several study participants expressed frustration over the perceived ineffectiveness of nonprofit organizations. Most cited racism or discrimination as the primary factor in the functions of nonprofits in the target area. Participant J mused, "Nonprofits make it seem like there will be help and support, but that isn't the case". Participant X expanded on this basic idea:

[Interviewer: What would make your time working in the nonprofit field more rewarding for you? What's missing?]

Sensitivity to the fact that...well, for African American culture to be valued. African American workers who are trying to work within the system and from the impact of the system...It's the realization that the system was never made for us...and the inability of ...[pause]... white people to see Black people as solutions instead of problems. White people have a high tolerance for Black discomfort... I think that was Al Sharpton that said that.

Participant B posited that majority white-led nonprofits in the area cause harm to the people they are dedicated to serving:

Nonprofits are hypocrites! Their missions are about serving the community...their toxicity and...[fades]...they're destroying people's lives because they allow that level of ignorance...they allow their managers to destroy people.

Participant J succinctly characterized her perception of the ultimate goal of nonprofits: “There’s an insidious plan to annihilate us. These programs weren’t developed to help our people...it was to cripple them”. When answering questions specifically about the racial and ethnic stratification in nonprofit leadership, Participant B shared, “Nonprofits’ grant-writing is totally unrelated to the community’s needs, but they [white leadership] are unwilling to ask for input from the front-line workers”.

The wealth of experiences and perspectives study participants identified were generally in line with the results of similar research endeavors. Byrd’s (2009) research highlighted some of the concerns women of color may have about the intentions of those around them, while Khosrovani and Ward’s (2011) work confirmed that there may indeed be a perception that Black employees must be trained to become leaders rather than recognizing inherent leadership traits.

Challenges Facing Black Women in Nonprofits

Study participants identified a number of challenges that made it difficult for Black women to realize upward mobility in their nonprofit careers. The perceived need for self-preservation was a central theme sometimes leading to moral dilemmas. Participant A discussed being pressured by her white supervisor to commit what she perceived as an unethical act by posing as a formerly-homeless person in order to further the agency’s political and funding agenda. She stated, “Sure, I played along. I went and testified, telling them I was homeless to help make her [the white executive director] look good. I know *I’ve* never been homeless though, and that’s what matters”.

Another key challenge identified by study participants was how to navigate real and perceived racism and discrimination within their respective nonprofit organizations. It is important to note that every study participant interviewed described experiencing or observing discriminatory treatment during their time in the nonprofit field. Study Participant B described the culture shock she experienced after transitioning from a for-profit corporate environment the nonprofit field:

I only dealt with sexism when I worked in the for-profit industry. People were business-oriented. I’d never had to deal with the level of racism, unprofessionalism...before entering the nonprofit field. They’re [nonprofit management] conniving, and dealing with their insecurity about themselves has interfered with and affected my own job.

Study Participant A discussed her experience with being a mid-level employee in a nonprofit organization working alongside her white counterparts: “Managers in this field show truly how they feel about working side by side with a person of color”. Study Participant A went on to share that when she secured a senior-level position in a new agency, one of the white employees chose to quit her job rather than directly report to a person of color. When asked, “What experiences in your work stand out to you on a personal level as a woman of color

working in the nonprofit field?”, Study Participant X stated, “The immoral and unethical behavior of white women in particular towards Black women and men, [both] the clients and those working in the field”.

A number of study participants cited discrimination or maltreatment in their jobs specifically at the hands of white women in nonprofit leadership positions. Participants told stories of facing down white supervisors and coworkers and described the long-term effects of being characterized as “Angry Black Women”. Participant S shared a story about a white female supervisor who consistently singled her out by poring over her mileage records, intent on finding errors, while accepting mileage records from white employees without similar scrutiny. Participant S assumed an optimistic stance and stated, “It’s a game! But you know what? I play it. You can’t take it too seriously”. Participant J described a similar experience. An industry veteran boasting a formidable record of education and experience, Participant J was the first choice for a leadership position at her agency. The agency in question had acquired a residential property to help rehabilitate individuals addicted to drugs. However, despite Participant J’s qualifications and demonstrated interest in the position, the agency chose to enlist a white employee who lacked the adequate experience. The project failed, losing the agency thousands of dollars. Participant J reflected:

They let that program flop rather than use me...You [the agency] wanted to shine, and let it fail rather than have a person of color there? In Minnesota, they’d rather sacrifice the professional. People of color don’t count for very much in these nonprofits.

Despite the considerable challenges facing Black women in the nonprofit field, nearly all of the study participants interviewed shared positive reasons for entering and staying in the field. When reflecting about why she entered the nonprofit field rather than remain in the corporate industry, Participant X stated, “I saw value in nonprofit work. Money was the only value in corporate work...I wanted to focus my energy on something other than just that”. Participant B also came from corporate beginnings and explained that her desire for nonprofit work was born out of volunteering for company-sponsored service events. She shared, “[It’s] the joy in giving back to the community with fellow Black women, and even minority women as a collective.”

Strategic Tactics Utilized By Black Women in Nonprofits

When asked about how they strategically communicated with others in their field to be more successful, study participants suggested a variety of different tactics. Participant X suggested incorporating qualifying phrases that emphasize one’s individual experiences:

Always use phrases like, ‘It’s been my experience’, because white people can’t argue down your own experiences. Instead of saying, ‘You need to’, say, ‘Have you thought about’, to allow people choices. White people lose sight that our experiences are different. Using the above tactics take a lot of fight out of ‘em!

Study participants overwhelmingly cited education as a strategic tactic as well, reinforcing the well-known adage that people of color must have extra education in order to be seen as equally-qualified. Study Participant B emphasized the importance of being proactive and self-aware:

You see, that's the most important rule. The first rule: Don't you ever get too comfortable! They [white employees] have different rules than we do. You don't get to do the things that they do. You need to always be two steps ahead. [Interviewer: How is that possible?] It's possible because they're so damn predictable!

Participant B went on to discuss self-awareness, stating, “Always pay attention to what’s going on in the room, both verbal and nonverbal. Listen. People love to talk too much! White people will talk about *all* their business...we [Black people] were raised not to do that. Just listen to what’s going on.” Study Participants also emphasized the importance of seeking out mentors. In response to a question about how to become more successful in the field, Participant J proposed, “[Black women need to] Educate and equip ourselves...form an alliance with people in higher levels”.

Interestingly, study participants suggested that Black women working in nonprofit organizations must ultimately be open to leaving the industry. Participant A warned, “You get your education. Squeeze everything you can, but don’t you stay here!”. Participant J held similar sentiments:

If you stay here, know that you'll be a puppet. You must know ahead of time that if you're gonna make your mark, it has to be in your own organization. But on the business side, it ain't even worth it! [laughs]...there are so many unfair playing fields out there; Minnesota's nonprofit scene happens to be one of 'em. If you do stay and fight, what's the cost? Yeah, you might make it better for the next one after you, but what about you?

The strategic tools utilized by Black women striving toward higher-level leadership positions in the nonprofit field were characterized differently by study participants. However, each tactic fell into one of eight key areas. Consider the following table:

Strategic Action	Description	Key Insights from Study Participants
Be Present	Volunteer for opportunities that will allow you access to the people and situations needed to advance your status in the organization	“Always be present for opportunities. If we are not <i>at</i> the table, we are <i>on</i> the table. They [white leaders] need to see that we’re here...that they can’t speak for us. Speak up, intelligently. Know that you have a voice. They will immediately try to take your voice away” - Study Participant B
Be Aware	Invest in proactive safety measures at all times	“Always pay attention to what’s going on in the room, verbal and nonverbal. Acknowledge your part in the situation and the role you play. Be strategic in your moves” - Study Participant B
Seek Mentorship and Consult	Widen your boundaries and seek out individuals who may be willing to invest in your personal growth	“Identify and network with other women of color...develop a circle of educators” - Participant J
Consider Your Personal Path	Be open to mobility. Consider whether your organization is in line with your own goals and ethics.	“You won’t be saved by anybody. You have to save yourself...when we see resistance, it isn’t about us. Maybe it’s the universe telling us it isn’t the direction we should go [in]” - Participant X
Be Proactive	Stay aware. Observe the patterns of communication between nonprofit leadership professionals. Capitalize on your	“Be in touch with...stay true and honest to your inner self, but don’t discard the things you hear. See yourself as a solution and not a problem. Commit to

Strategic Action	Description	Key Insights from Study Participants
	ability to predict organizational communication trends.	your own self growth...spiritually and intellectually” - Participant X
Adapt Your Communication	Identify how to make your communication more palatable to different segments of your audience.	“[When talking with leadership] Connect. Try to better relate to people.” - Participant S
Invest in Education	Seek out additional training to boost your individual repertoire of skills. Additionally, educate those around you.	“Give education, no matter how high up they are. Develop relationships with higher ups to show them real Black people. They[...]white folks may not know they’re prejudiced. Educate by having people get to know you” - Participant C
Commit to Difficult Decisions	Be aware of the trends for Black women in the nonprofit field. Decide if and when it is time to leave	“Minnesota is still in the dark ages. You’ve gotta ask, ‘Do I make my own product or do I keep helping you make yours?’” - Study Participant J

CONCLUSION

The experiences of Black women in nonprofit agencies are largely punctuated by difficulties related to navigating a system steeped in institutional racism and inequality. In some cases, study participants’ work experiences impacted other areas of their lives. In the extreme, this materialized as job losses and layoffs, home foreclosures and the loss of livelihood in the face of discrimination from their respective agencies. The utilization of strategic, targeted actions to mitigate the challenges associated with navigating dangers in the nonprofit industry may serve to encourage upward mobility for some Black women; however, the overarching issue remains that Black women in the nonprofit industry exist in a state of perpetual uneasiness.

The potential hesitance of Black women in the nonprofit field to speak frankly with their white counterparts and superiors may make it difficult for researchers to further understand the underlying factors of their experiences, as well as the social implications of having members of a singular group assume primary control of such a sensitive field of service. Collaborative work involving researchers of color as well as white researchers may provide more insights about how to approach the systemic issues in the current nonprofit landscape.

Suggestions for Future Research

While the current research endeavor was a contained study, it is important to look forward to future research pursuits and opportunities to increase awareness about the realities Black women face in the nonprofit field. Possibilities include the development and implementation of a strategic communication workshop targeted toward Black women and other women of color in the nonprofit field as well as a targeted training for nonprofit leadership professionals on intercultural communication and the impact of positive and negative informal social relations with individuals of different backgrounds. Additionally, research focused on the majority-white leaders of nonprofit organizations in the area may uncover some of the working attitudes and beliefs that white nonprofit leaders harbor about their colleagues of color in the industry.

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DOES COHESION POSITIVELY CORRELATE TO PERFORMANCE IN ALL STAGES OF A GROUP'S LIFE CYCLE?

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ABSTRACT

Existing research has provided evidence that group cohesion impacts the task performance of the group, which validates the need to understand the concept of group cohesion, but it does not specify whether the correlation occurs in all stages of a group's life cycle. This research intends to bridge the gap in the literature by accepting the hypothesis that group cohesion positively correlates to group performance and exists within the various stages of a group's life cycle or development.

Using the questions from three validated scale measurements, the model tests the correlation of group cohesion based a scale developed by Dobbins and Zacarro (1986) to a scale measuring group performance by Carmeli and Waldman (2010). The results are then applied to the categorical defined stages of a group's life cycle as presented by Tuckman (1965) to test the research hypothesis. The following tests were performed: a) Box's test of equality of covariance matrices, b) Levene's test, c) Wilks' Lambda, d) Between-subjects effects, e) effect size, and f) multivariate normality.

DOES COHESION POSITIVELY CORRELATE TO PERFORMANCE IN ALL STAGES OF A GROUP'S LIFE CYCLE?

Although organizations recognize the importance of groups and their abilities to perform tasks, the effectiveness of a group first begins with the individual and the formation of group cohesion. The interaction between group members has a bearing on the exchange of information, the formation of coalitions, and the response to group leaders. Bales (1953) established an interaction process analysis method that measured behavior among group members. Schutz (1967) emphasized that interactive expression is a precondition for effective task performance. This correlation is unidirectional, as the research does not support that effective task performance is a precondition of satisfactory expressive interaction within groups. This research provides evidence that group cohesion impacts the task performance of the group, which validates the need to understand the concept of group cohesion, but it does not specify whether the correlation occurs in all stages of a group's life cycle.

Linking group members together to form a unique bond with each other, and the group as a whole may or may not develop simultaneously. In fact, Tuckman (1965) argued that groups needed to experience a series of stages before the group reached a level of maturity than enabled group performance to exist. Tuckman's (1965) research labeled the stages of a group's life cycle as: a) forming, b) storming, c) norming, and d) performing. His view, not supported by all

theorists, contradicted the claim in which effective task performance might be attained at other points within a group's life cycle and not just in the performing stage (Gersick, 1988; Ginnett, 1990; McGrath, 1991). Regardless of these points of view, the researchers did not dismiss the fact that a group life cycle existed, just the point in time when group effectiveness was realized.

Accepting the concept that group cohesion impacts task performance, and that groups have a life cycle, the literature calls out an absence of research directed to the dynamics of cohesion and performance relative to the different stages of a group's life cycle (Greer, 2012).

GROUP COHESION

The bonds that link group members to one another and to their group as a whole are not believed to develop spontaneously. Over the years, social scientists have explained the phenomenon of group cohesiveness in different ways. From this viewpoint, understanding how the individual behaves within the group is important to determining group cohesion (Drescher, Burlingame, & Fuhrman, 1985). Research on group cohesion began in the early 1950's with the intent to determine group cohesion's effect on group performance (Seashore, 1954; Schacter, Ellertson & McBride, 1951; Berkowitz, 1954). From an experimental study of cohesiveness and productivity, Schacter, Ellertson, and McBride (1951) defined group cohesion in two parts. The first impacted the degree of cohesiveness and referred to the characteristics of groups such as morale, efficiency, or esprit. Their second definition dealt with attractiveness of group for its members and impacted the direction of group induction. Developing over time, researchers explained the group cohesion phenomenon using a variety of definitions, which expanded the original research findings. Stokes (1983) identified four main components in his work to include: a) social relations, b) task relations, c) perceived unity, and d) emotions.

The vast amount of research offered on this topic validated the importance and relevance of group cohesion to group performance. For the purposes of this research, the components of the variable group cohesion consist of attraction, individual need, and commitment and belonging (Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1963; Lott & Lott, 1965; Hoffman & Maier, 1961, Schutz, 1967; Dobbins & Zaccaro, 1986; Dion & Evans, 1992).

Attraction

Individuals attracted to other individuals within a group create a form of group cohesiveness (Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1963; Dobbins & Zaccaro, 1986). Lott and Lott (1965) suggested interpersonal attraction within groups is sufficient to account for group cohesion. In other words, group cohesion exists when members have mutual, positive feelings towards one another. Other researchers, Turner and Brown (1978) posited the social identity theory explained group cohesion. It is the concept of being attracted to the group itself through the process of looking at another individual's similarities and differences. Through a process called self-categorization, the individual makes a mental note of whether to align with that individual or not. In this manner, the self-categorization theory serves as a basis for the contextual understanding that group cohesiveness develops from the social attraction between

the individuals within a group (Hogg, 1992; Turner, 1999). A tenet of the theory exposes that self should not be considered an aspect of cognition; instead, it is a product of the cognitive system at work.

Individual's Needs

How individuals fit in terms of needs and abilities fueled research and theory formation for Schutz, (1967) and Hoffman and Maier (1961). For these theorists, an important determinant of group effectiveness relied on group composition relative to skills needed to perform, the level of positive interaction between group members, job experience and job knowledge of standard operating processes and procedures. Pescosolido and Saavedra (2012) argued that the complexities of group cohesion could not be simplified as a single element or generalized across groups. This view, although appearing contradictory to generalizing group cohesion to all groups, still supports the contextual attribute of an individual's needs to belong to a group. The basis for Pescosolido and Saavedra's (2012) argument was grounded on the fact that how the "team" bonds is indicative of the individual's need for group association or in their case "group play." It does not preclude the possibility of correlating group cohesion and performance within all stages of a group's life cycle.

Task Commitment and Belonging

Yukelson, Weinberg, and Jackson (1984) stressed that the commitment of individuals within a group working on collective tasks or goals work together cooperatively by sharing tasks and resources. These individuals assert interdependence and possess feelings of responsibility for the outcomes of the group as a whole. Within the context of these dynamics, a bond of unity forms connecting the achievement of goals to group cohesion. This deep sense of belonging emerges from individual's recognizing similarities and alignment of values and work ethics. It explained the ability for a group to bond through belonging. This bond of commitment sustained cohesion and manifests itself as group pride (Owen, 1985; Bollen & Hyde, 1990).

GROUP PERFORMANCE

Stewart, Manz and Sims, Jr. (1999) and Carmeli and Waldman (2010) defined a group as one that consists of at least three members, has a common goal and identity, and exerts substantial time and effort in developing knowledge and technologies. Evans and Carson (2005) asserted that high quality productive relationships are a key determinant in the performance of cognitively diverse groups. Findings from the research provided a theoretical framework, which demonstrated that assets embedded in the social structure of group member relationships impacted group performance.

From more recent research, Carmeli and Waldman (2010) studied groups within the defense industry in Israeli using a scale of five-items to assess group performance for these factors: a) the group performs its work tasks well, b) the group completes its work tasks on time,

c) there is a high level of satisfaction with the way the group functions, d) the group contributes significantly to the whole organization, and e) the group produces a high quality of products/services. These multiple dependent measures are important to evaluating group performance and in some way relate to one another (Carmeli & Walden, 2010).

TUCKMAN'S STAGES MODEL

Building upon Bales (1953) equilibrium model, which defined a group's existence as continuously dividing its attention between task and social needs, Tuckman (1965) defined four stages of group's life cycle or development. In later research (Tuckman & Jensen, 1977), a fifth stage identifying termination of the group called adjourning was added. Each stage of the group's development clearly stated an observable and quantifiable list of characteristics and attributes. The five stages include: a) forming, b) storming, c) norming, d) performing, and e) adjourning.

Forming Stage

The first stage, forming, begins the development of the group and is the time when group members learn about each other and the task(s) at hand. Observable or quantifiable indicators of this stage may include, but not limited to, unclear objectives, non-committed involvement, confusion, low morale, hidden feelings, and poor listening. Members during this stage will assess group performance based on tasks, social behaviors, and norms within the group. It is possible that members will determine the resources needed due to limitations and boundaries of the task that are identified (Miller, 2003). With the newly formed group, the ability for individual group members to assess attraction, to develop task commitment, or to have a sense of belonging is expected to be low.

Storming Stage

As group members continue to interact, they will engage in discussions about group structure and power. Often during the storming stage, conflict arises due to the emotional connection individuals have regarding status in the group (Tuckman, 1965). Some of the defining attributes of this stage of group development includes, but not limited to, subjectivity, hidden agenda, conflicts, confrontation, volatility, resentment, anger, inconsistency, and failure. It is in this stage that individuals tend to express emotional responses to one another (Stokes, 1983; Owen, 1985).

Norming Stage

Tuckman (1965) described this stage under the concept that rules, whether implicit or explicitly stated, are established for the purpose of goal achievement. Group members identify and agree upon the structure for healthy and productive communication as related to group

performance. Some of the characteristics of this stage include, but not limited to, reviewing and clarifying objectives, changing and confirming roles, assertiveness, listening, testing boundaries of engagement, identifying strengths and weaknesses. Through this process, individuals work as an entity, develop productive group feelings towards each other, and work to extend the life of the group (Bonebright, 2010). This level of group development required individuals to exhibit trust and a willingness to cooperate. As interpersonal relationships are developed, new norms are established, which in turn strengthens group cohesion (Miller, 2003). Moreover, because group members work through conflicts that occurred in the storming stage, they showed high levels of trust to other members, commitment to the group, and willingness to cooperate (Wheelan, Davidson, & Tilin, 2003). Furthermore, norms developed in this stage facilitate the development of interpersonal relationships, which in turn enhances group cohesiveness, openness, and information exchange (Miller, 2003).

Performing Stage

The performing stage, or final stage, (Tuckman, 1965) is characteristic of group members showing flexibility and adaptive tendencies in terms of roles and functions. With this stage, groups reach a conclusion and implement a solution, or complete the task(s) assigned (Miller, 2003; Bonebright, 2010). As the group has resolved many high profile relational issues, there exists a high expectancy of group productivity and accomplishment. Hackman and Oldham (1980) stressed that often task accomplishment, seen as part of the performing stage, elicited more effort from some group members than others.

THEORETICAL MODEL

The research intends to bridge the gap in literature showing that group cohesion positively correlates to group performance and exists within the various stages of a group's life cycle. It answers the question: "Does cohesion and performance positively correlate in all stages of a group's life cycle?" This inquiry and its findings matter to the field of small group research, as group cohesion and performance remain an important aspect of it. According to Greer (2012), the findings over the past 60-years claim that group cohesion is moderately positive for group performance. Again, because the research does not specify whether this correlation exists in all stages of a group's life cycle or development, the model adds value to this research's importance.

There are three components of the model to include: a) identifying the current stage of the group's life cycle, b) measuring group cohesion and group performance, and c) correlating group cohesion and group performance. The stages model by Tuckman (1965) was selected from among various group development theories and models because it remains today one of the most recognized models for group development in literature (Guzzo & Shea, 1992; Miller, 2003). Although the stages model was revised (Tuckman & Jensen, 1977) to include a fifth stage called the adjourning stage, this stage will not be tested due to the lack of value such a study would provide. Generally speaking, a group in the adjourning stage is disbanding and its sole purpose at that juncture of development contradicts the contextual meaning of cohesion.

Using the questions from three validated scale measurements, the model tests the correlation of group cohesion based on a scale developed by Dobbins and Zaccaro (1986) to a scale measuring group performance by Carmeli and Waldman (2010). For a measurement scale to be meaningful and useful within the field of research, it is based upon existing work that meets the standards for validity and reliability. This author understands that it is not just a process of making sure to cite another's work, but *that* work must meet the same guidelines for validity and reliability. In the absence of such efforts, the new measurement tool may not be able to withstand scrutiny, nor meet expectations for future use and application. The effort of all good research is to further the gaps within the literature on the specific subject being researched.

With this understanding, the results of the group cohesion and group performance scales are then applied to the categorically defined stages of a group's life cycle as presented by Tuckman's (1965) work in order to test the research hypothesis:

H1 Group cohesion and group performance positively correlates within all stages of a group's life cycle or development.

METHODOLOGY

This study aims to use a questionnaire formed from the following three validated research methods: a) Miller (2003) to determine each stage of Tuckman's (1965) group development model, b) Group Cohesion Scale developed by Dobbins and Zaccaro (1986), and c) Carmeli and Waldman's (2010) scale measuring group performance. Nunally (1967) suggested standardized scales represent the by-product of process involved in translating a construct into a set of procedures using a deductive approach. Furthermore, Nunally asserted that a scale display qualities consistent with uni-dimensional assumptions measuring one construct. Even though several scales comprise this study's questionnaire, each individual scale measures only one construct using a multiple item design. A good scale produces measurement numbers assigned to interpersonal variations of a construct or attribute and therefore produced numbers corresponding to individual differences in the attribute (Nunally, 1967).

The first aspect of the research is important as it establishes each stage of Tuckman's (1965) model as a categorical variable. This simple assignment of category or nominal scale positions the research to test the hypothesis. The intent of the research is to determine that group cohesion and group performance positively correlate within all stages of a group's life cycle or development. From the determination of the categorical independent variable of group life cycle, group cohesion (dependent) and group performance (dependent) are separately measured and correlated using a multivariate approach. This strategy best fits the research design as the multiple dependent variables are combined statistically and analyzed with a single statistical test (Cabanda, Fields, & Winston, 2011). "Multivariate statistical techniques take into account the correlations among your dependent measures and, in most cases, use them to the researcher's advantage" (Cabanda, Fields, & Winston, 2011, p.284).

Data Collection

The research questionnaire will be administered to groups participating within the 12-area credit unions that comprise the Charleston Chapter of Credit Unions in South Carolina. The CEOs of these organizations would receive a solicitation request asking them to participate in this research. Because of the researcher's affiliation with this group, a sample size of 90 to 95% confidence level will be attained in order to generalize the findings over a population (Winston, Fields & Cabanda, 2011). South Carolina Federal Credit Union, a not-for-profit financial institution located in Charleston, SC will fund this research.

Onwuegbuzie and McLean (2003) asserted that the most prevalent error made in quantitative research refers to effect size. This threat involves the incorrect interpretation of statistical significance and the failure to report and interpret confidence intervals and effect size (Nix & Barnette, 1998). The impact of this threat leads to the under-interpretation of p-values in small sample sizes with large effect size and an over-interpretation of p-values when sample sizes are large and effect size is small. Hedges (1982) investigated the estimation of effect sizes from a series of independent experiments. The study's findings revealed that large-sample distributions of the weighted estimator and the homogeneity statistic are quite accurate when the experimental and control group sample sizes exceed 10 and the effect sizes are smaller than about 1.5.

Measurement Tools

Group's Life Cycle Stages

Miller (2003) produced a 13-item scale to measure the constructs of Tuckman's (1965) stage development model. Reliability and content validity analyses of the model built from work validated by Hinkin (1995) substantiated evidence that supported this method as a tool to evaluate group development stages. Miller developed the scale through Hinkin's three-step process: a) item generation, b) scale development, and c) scale evaluation. Through the process Miller defined and refined Tuckman's stages while validating and evaluating each stage's meaning. This important process established the foundation allowing Miller's work to measure the constructs of Tuckman's stage development model.

Group Cohesion

The Group Cohesion Scale taken from the measurement for Leader Behavior on Subordinate Satisfaction Survey (Dobbins & Zaccaro, 1986) contains eight questions. This scale was developed as a mix of items from several previously used cohesiveness scales. Based on the responses from a seven-point Likert scale, the eight questions are summed to form a measure of group cohesiveness. Mudrack (1989), based on an examination of thirty-four cohesiveness studies, recommended use of the Dobbins and Zaccaro scale. The coefficient alpha on the Group Cohesion Scale was .91 (Dobbins & Zaccaro, 1986).

Group Performance

Carmeli and Waldman (2010) used a five-item scale to assess group performance. The study aimed to examine how leader expectations and supportive behaviors facilitated behavioral integration and enhanced the performance of work groups engaging in the development of advanced technological products. The results of a factor analysis of the group performance measure yielded a one-factor solution, which explained 58% of the variance for the research findings. The Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .81 (Carmeli & Waldman, 2010).

Data Analysis

The first aspect of the analysis is for respondents to determine the categorical variable of stage development as defined by their current position within the group's life cycle. This data defines the respondent's individually determined group stage. Next, before performing a correlation analysis, a scatterplot will be generated to check for violation of the assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity. Additionally, it provides an idea of the nature of the relationship between the variables that will be helpful in the final analysis (Pallant, 2010). Once the scatterplot has been reviewed, the 8-question group cohesion scale is summed for each respondent. Then the five-question group performance scale is summed. Using correlation analysis within Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS) software, group cohesion and group performance are analyzed. Their values are compared using the Pearson correlation coefficient to determine the correlation and the direction between group cohesion and group performance. When the p-value is greater than .05, then a positive correlation exists and the relationship can be generalized to a population (Winston, Fields & Cabanda, 2011). From this information, a determination can be made if group cohesion positively correlated to group performance existing within the identified stage. The results from all stages area are compared to accept or reject the hypothesis.

Internal Validity

Researchers Huck and Sandler (1979) and McMillian (2000) argued in favor of evaluating all forms of quantitative research designs for threats to internal validity. Gay and Airasian (2000) stated the condition for internal validity relied on the observed differences of dependent variables as a direct result of the impact from independent variables and no other. This meant that a threat to internal validity existed when plausible rival explanations could not be dismissed.

From the perspective of ensuring this study takes efforts to maintain internal validity, four specific threats were considered. Taken from Campbell and Stanley's (1963) and Girden's (2001) work, they included: a) history, b) maturation, c) measurement and d) statistical regression. To identify the condition of history, which may directly or indirectly affect the behavior being measured, the researcher will make a notation and assessment of any event that occurs within the time the questionnaires are delivered and received back for evaluation. As neither pre-testing nor specifically selecting participants because of those scores are part of the

data collection process, there should not be a threat to internal validity in the realms of maturation, instrumentation or statistical regression.

Reliability

According to Cabanda, Fields and Winston (2011), “reliability is most likely to be achieved when researchers use careful measurement procedures” (p. 68). This research study utilizes the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. The data collection and analysis process will involve two or more scores on measures from many participants. Reliability is met when the two scores are very similar. In other words, a Pearson correlation coefficient that relates the two scores should be a high positive correlation (Cabanda, Fields, & Winston, 2011).

ASSUMPTION TESTING

Before proceeding, assumption testing validated that the data conformed to the assumptions used for multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). The assumptions tested included: a) sample size, b) multivariate normality, c) outliers, d) linearity, e) multicollinearity and singularity, and g) homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices.

For this study, the four cells exceeded the minimum requirements for sample size of two cases. Testing for multivariate normality and outliers involved comparing the Mahalanobis distance for normality and referring to the Mahalanobis Distance row and Maximum column in the output tables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Generating a scatterplot visually shows the linearity, which refers to the straight-line relationship between each pair of the dependent variables. Since MANOVA works best with moderately correlated dependent variables (Pallant, 2010), the data is tested to ensure variables are not highly correlated; thus, avoiding the issue of multicollinearity. Finally, the output produced the Box’s Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices, which tests for homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices. As a result of the assumption testing, the data was found compliant with the requirements to proceed with the multivariate analysis of variance.

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

Six tests conducted through a MANOVA analytical procedure using SPSS software evaluated the hypothesis: “Group cohesion and group performance positively correlates within all stages of a group’s life cycle of development.” The following tests were performed: a) Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices, b) Levene’s test, c) Wilks’ Lambda, d) Between-subjects effects, e) effect size, and f) multivariate normality. Results from the tests are validated as all three MANOVA assumptions for this study were met. First, observations for the study were independent. Secondly, the variance-covariance matrices were equal for all treatment groups. Lastly, the set of dependent variables followed a multivariate normal distribution.

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices

The Sig. value of 0.068 represented on Table 1 is larger than the acceptable standard of 0.001 and therefore does not violate the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices. This tests the null hypothesis that the observed covariance matrices of the dependent variables are equal across the groups of the study (Pallant, 2010).

Table 1 BOX'S TEST OF EQUALITY OF COVARIANCE MATRICES	
Box's M	16.422
F	1.770
Sig.	.068

Levene's Test

As represented in Table 2 for PerformanceSum and CohesionSum, the test evaluates those values less than the alpha of 0.05 to determine if the assumption of equality of variance for that variable had been violated (Pallant, 2010). Both of these variables reported values larger than the required benchmark with 0.091 for PerformanceSum and 0.076 for CohesionSum. Because this test validated the assumption, a new alpha level was not needed.

Table 2 LEVENE'S TEST OF EQUALITY OF ERROR VARIANCES				
	F	df1	df2	Sig.
PerformanceSum	2.191	3	166	.091
CohesionSum	2.331	3	166	.076

Wilks' Lambda

The Wilks' Lambda test directly measured the proportion of variance in the combination of dependent variables that was unaccounted for by the independent variable. For the test conducted, the Wilks' Lambda value is 0.698 with a Sig. value of .000, which is less than the alpha of 0.05 (Refer to Table 3). Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude there is a difference among the groups.

Table 3 WILKS' LAMBDA MULTIVARIATE TEST				
	Value	F	Sig.	Part Eta Sq.
Group Life Cycle	.898	10.840(b)	.000	.165

Between-subjects Effects

Pallant (2010) suggested that the tolerance for the alpha level should be increased to avoid or reduce any chance of a Type 1 error. The most common method is the Bonferroni adjustment and it is calculated by dividing the original alpha by the number of analyses intended (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). This study investigated two dependent variables, so the result of the new alpha is 0.05 divided by two or 0.025. With the new alpha, the between-subjects effects Sig. value must be lower than 0.025 to be considered significant. Referring to the Sig. values for the PerformanceSum and CohesionSum as listed on the Tests of Between-Subjects Effects in Table 4, the results were 0.000 for both and below the new alpha. That allows for the conclusion there is no significant difference between the two for GroupLifeCycle.

Table 4 TEST OF BETWEEN-SUBJECTS EFFECTS			
GroupLifeCycle	F	Sig.	Part Eta Sq.
PerformanceSum	16.112	.000	.226
CohesionSum	2.331	.000	.176

Effects Size

The Partial Eta Squared value represents the proportion of the variance in the dependent variable that can be explained by the independent variable (Pallant, 2010). The values for PerformanceSum and CohesionSum are 0.226 and 0.176 respectively as found on Table 4. This translates to the variables having 22.6 percent and 17.6 percent of the variance for GroupLifeCycle, which is considered an acceptable level of effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Multivariate Normality

Mahalanobis distance measures the values of a particular case from the central area of the remaining cases (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The results of this test displayed on Table 5 determined the maximum Mahalanobis Distance was 14.528. This number is compared to a critical value by using a chi-square table. The chi-square value for two dependent variables is 13.82. Since the maximum Mahalanobis Distance value within this study is 14.528, there exists an outlier(s) in the file. From a Casewise Diagnostics approach, respondent number 205 is the only outlier found in the research. Because the number of outliers is one and it does not pose a threat to the outcome, this file will remain as part of the data included in the reported results.

Table 5 RESIDUAL STATISTICS				
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Mahalanobis Distance	.009	14.528	1.988	2.371

DISCUSSION

There were 212 participants in the survey of which 39 did not complete all of the information. Hair, Black, Babin and Anderson (2010) suggested a general ratio rule should not fall below 5:1 based on the number of independent variables. A desired level of 15 to 20 observations would also be acceptable. From the 173 responses, an approximate 82 percent completion rate, and three independent variables posed in the research, the sample size adequately met the requirement to generalize the results over the population.

It was expected the results would show that a correlation of group cohesion and group performance does exist for each stage. Within the forming stage, the group is still gathering expectations and boundaries for social interaction. Due to the ambiguity of expectations and interpersonal relationships and the desire for group stability, individuals within the group would exhibit moderate levels of cohesion (Tuckman, 1965; Wheelan, 1994).

Inherent in the formation of groups, individuals understand that an implied future expectation is for group members to interact collaboratively. This expectation has the potential to drive individuals behavior to work positively with one another, and to develop helpful habits for the good of the group. For the storming stage, conflicts are deemed interpersonal by nature and not task related. Since conflicts between individuals within the groups have a negative impact on task commitment and belonging, low levels of group cohesion are expected in this stage of group development. During the norming stage, group members emphasize shared values, traditions, rituals, and agree on effective work methods (Tuckman, 1965; Bonebright, 2010). With the group functioning toward high levels of effectiveness, performance and achievement, it would be natural for group members to experience high levels of group cohesion. Finally, within the performing stage, task accomplishment likely results in increased effectiveness because it requires more skill, communication among group members, and provides opportunity for individual autonomy and decision-making to complete certain aspects of the task (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). Based on high levels of group performance within this stage of group development, one might expect a strong correlation between cohesion and the performing stage.

CONCLUSION

Findings on group life cycles date back to the 1950's and this research augments the literature on the topics of a group's cohesion and performance. From sample size and outliers to the search for homogeneity and multicollinearity, the data passed the assumption testing necessary to proceed with MANOVA procedures. Clearly the results from the tests of Box's, Levene's, and Wilks' Lambda validated that group cohesion and group performance existed within all stages of a group's life cycle. With Sig. values of 0.000 for all variables as reported on the Multivariate and Between-Subjects Effects tests, the researcher declares the null hypothesis is rejected. Therefore, group cohesion and group performance positively correlates within all stages of a group's life cycle or development

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CYBERSNOOPING: I SEE WHAT YOU DID THERE

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ABSTRACT

Electronic Social Networks (ESN's) have grown tremendously in size and scope over the past decade; Facebook now boasts over 1 billion users. Individuals supply personal data directly to ESN's, and more data is generated as a result of using ESN's to communicate with others. Recently, employers have begun to use ESN's to obtain data about applicants that may not be apparent during the traditional screening process or in a job interview. ESN users must take care to safeguard their data, but even very careful users may have trouble navigating the wide variety of privacy settings that exist among different networks and software platforms. In this paper, we describe the different types of data that are available on ESN's and the privacy controls that are available to safeguard it. We then describe factors that limit the effectiveness of these privacy controls. We also discuss the results of a survey of undergraduate students regarding ESN's and privacy. Finally, we prescribe some recommendations for individuals that want to safeguard their ESN data.

INTRODUCTION

Facebook, the world's largest electronic social network (ESN), reached its 10th birthday in February 2014. Beginning with a few hundred users at a single U.S. university, Facebook now boasts over a billion members worldwide (Stone & Frier, 2014). Facebook's growth is emblematic of the growth of ESN's in general. Billions of people and organizations use Twitter, Instagram, Linked In, Pinterest, and other ESN's to connect, communicate and share information. Much of the data stored and communicated through ESN's is personal in nature, but also of great interest to organizations. Facebook sells data to companies largely for marketing purposes, and many businesses use Facebook and Twitter to market to individuals based on the personal data they have provided (Stone, 2010).

Another area attracting increased interest is the use of ESN data by HR departments for screening and hiring purposes. Employee turnover is costly and employers are looking for ways to minimize their losses through better selection and hiring practices. Employers and recruiters are looking for more economical and efficient ways of recruiting and hiring prospective job candidates. Recent studies reveal an increasing trend in the use of ESN's by prospective employers and recruiters as a tool to screen applicants (Lorenz, 2009). The traditional tools, applications, interviews and references may provide a one dimensional view of the candidate who may have been thoroughly coached about how to create a winning resume, dress for success and interview in order to obtain an offer. Thus, hiring managers are using ESN's to evaluate candidates' character and personality outside the confines of the traditional interview process. According to a 2009 survey conducted by Careerbuilders, the main reasons that hiring managers use ESN's to conduct background research were: to see if the candidate presents themselves professionally, to see if the candidate is a good fit for the company culture, to learn more about the candidate's qualifications, to see if the candidate is well-rounded, and to look for reasons not to hire the candidate (Lorenz, 2009). Some employers have indicated that the reasons why they

would not hire a candidate includes posting provocative or inappropriate photographs, information about drinking or using drugs, poor communication skills, badmouthing a previous company or fellow employees, using discriminatory remarks related to race, gender, religion, or lying about qualifications (Wiley et al, 2012). In summary, ESN's may give employers a fuller sense of the types of decisions a job applicant will make once hired (Brandenberg, 2008).

Concerns about the use of ESM data are raised because ESN's contain pictures, comments and other personal information that would not be gleaned from a face-to-face interview. Stringent guidelines imposed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission severely limit the information an interviewer may solicit. During interviews, employers may not ask questions regarding race, religion, sexual preference or marital status; yet all of this information can easily be uncovered by looking at a candidate's ESN profile. The use of acquired information in a way that would eliminate an applicant may give rise to a claim of discrimination in violation of federal laws (see Table 1). Applicants voluntarily divulge personal information to ESN's without an appreciable understanding of how that information can be accessed, viewed and used by a prospective employer. Thus, ESN's may allow employers to be "undetectable voyeurs to personal information and make employment decisions based on that information (Clark & Roberts, 2010).

Table 1 Federal laws applicable to ESN's and data privacy	
Information Obtained	Applicable Federal Laws
Age	The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (ADEA), which protects individuals who are 40 years of age or older. [29 U.S.C. § 621 through 29 U.S.C. § 634]
Race, religion, sex and national origin	Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin. [42 U.S.C. §§ 2000e–2000e-17 (2006)]
Disability	Title I and Title V of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA), which prohibit employment discrimination against qualified individuals with disabilities in the private sector and in state and local governments. [42 U.S.C. §§ 12111–12117]
Hereditary disease or disorder	The Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act of 2008 (GINA) prohibits the use of genetic information in health insurance and employment (prohibits the use of individuals' genetic information when making hiring, firing, job placement or promotion decisions). [42 U.S.C. 2000 Title II § 202 (a)]

ESN's may also allow employers to assess the candidate's personality to determine if there is a good organizational fit. Face-to-face interviews afford the interviewer a brief period of time to judge how the applicant presents himself, and whether the candidate possesses the personality characteristics that the organization has identified as desirable and appropriate. Job interviews are individually designed to measure those work-related characteristics for a given position (Van Dam, 2003). The application of the Five-Factor Model of personality may allow for an assessment of traits in a way that may lead to an ultimate employment decision. The Five Factors include: extraversion (talkative, dominant vs. silent, submission); agreeableness (good-natured, kind vs. hostile, selfish); conscientiousness (reliable, persistent vs. undependable, careless); emotional stability (calm, steady-natured vs. nervous, moody); and openness to experience (curious, inventive vs. superficial, unimaginative; Van Dam, 2003). The significance of evaluating personality traits is appreciated when applying the characteristics to predict training success. Conscientiousness and emotional stability, extroversion, openness and agreeableness have been recognized as predictors of training success (Salgado 2002). Recent ESN research has revealed a connection between personality traits and self-reported Facebook behavior and

observable profile information, which may impact how an applicant is perceived by a hiring manager (Gosling et al, 2011). New software is also being developed which may allow employers to construct personality profiles from Twitter feeds (“No Hiding Place”, 2013).

Individuals who are concerned about what their online data might reveal should therefore take care to secure it properly. However, this is easier said than done. Each ESN has different types of data and different mechanisms for securing it, and these change over time. Terms of Use and Privacy Settings also change over time, so data that is considered private today may no longer be considered private a month from now. This presents an issue for individuals applying for new positions, and a challenging legal environment for organizations that want to use ESN data in the hiring process. Recent reports of employers asking applicants or employees for their ESN passwords has led to a flurry of state and federal legislative activity prohibiting employers from asking for this information. As of 2014, legislation has been introduced or is pending in 26 states that would prohibit an employer from asking job applicants and employees for their passwords. There are appreciable ethical and legal risks associated with using ESN’s as a prescreening tool including invasion of privacy concerns, authenticity issues about the data and materials and legal issues concerning how the ESN was accessed and how the information is used in the decision making process (Jones & Behling, 2010).

In this paper we will examine the different types of data that are available on ESN’s, and the privacy controls that are available to limit access to that data. We will discuss issues that can limit those controls from being effective, and propose some suggestions for mitigating these issues. We will also present the results of a survey describing students’ attitudes and behaviors toward securing their data online. The survey results are particularly relevant to our context since students are heavy ESN users, are often preparing to enter the workforce, and may find themselves subject to employer screening based on their available ESN data.

DATA COLLECTED BY ESN’S

ESN’s contain multiple types of personal data. We categorize this data into two main groups, according to source: Data that is supplied *directly* and voluntarily by the user, and data that is generated *indirectly* as a result of the user’s activity on the ESN. This distinction is useful because it has implications for privacy controls that are available.

Voluntarily Supplied Data

Personal data is usually entered directly into profiles by users. This may include date of birth, contact information, current and former addresses, current and former places of employment, and hobbies or interests. In career-oriented ESN’s like Linked In, profile data may also include skills or areas of expertise. Perhaps most famously, Facebook provides the ability to list a “relationship status” as well as the ability to build a family tree with other Facebook users.

Status data can be entered at any time and frequency. Most ESN’s limit the amount of words or characters that can be entered during one update, but not the total amount of data entered across multiple updates. Status updates can include anything, but common entries include what the user is doing at a particular moment, the user’s opinion on a particular topic, and the user’s response to others’ content. Users may also include photos or videos in status updates, or links to other sources. “Tweets”, the common form of communication on Twitter, would be considered status data.

Photos have additional security considerations. First, photos often contain metadata that could enable anyone to determine when and where the photo was taken. From an ESN perspective, photos may also be “tagged” to a particular user ID. For example, Bob could post a photo that displays both Bob and Pat. This photo would be tied to Bob’s user ID by default. However, Bob could potentially tag Pat in the photo without Pat’s knowledge or consent. Individuals searching for Pat on the ESN could easily find the photo, even though Pat did not post or approve it.

Activity Generated Data

One of the most important categories of activity-generated data is the user’s indication of affinity for content that others have posted. The clearest illustration is the Facebook “Like” button, by which users indicate that they like or are interested in something. On Pinterest, this takes the form of a “Pin” that other users can examine or “re-pin”. Closely related to affinity expression is the act of becoming a “Fan” or a “Follower” of a particular person or organization. Doing so indicates that a user has an affinity for that person or organization, and also ensures that the user receives future content from that entity.

Another type of activity-generated data is reciprocal relationships. Users on Facebook or LinkedIn send relationship requests to other users, who must agree to establish the relationship. The relationship itself constitutes data about the user, but more importantly it plays a role in controlling access to the user’s information, as we will describe later.

Many ESN’s have applications such as games, surveys, and other tools for activities like drawing and social network analysis. A few of these applications are created by ESN’s themselves, but most are created by third-party companies or research organizations. Some of these games, such as Words With Friends or Farmville, are collaborative. ESN’s store data about the applications that users install and execute. In addition, most applications request access to a user’s personal data and relationships the first time the application is executed. Some applications also request permission to post updates on behalf of the user. Most applications make this posting optional, but some make it a required condition for execution.

Finally, many ESN’s include location-based data or “geolocation tags”, allowing the user to “check in” at registered physical locations like restaurants or stores. This indicates both where the user is and what the user is doing at a particular time. Similar to tagging photos, one user can potentially “check in” another user without that user’s knowledge or consent. Geolocation tags present another security issue: indicating where a user is also indicates where the user is not. If Bob were to check in at a golf course for example, there would be a high likelihood that he will not be home for the next four to five hours.

Table 2 lists each of the aforementioned types of data for some of the most popular electronic social networks. For each network, we have categorized the potential for each type of data is indicated as high, medium, or low (H/M/L).

Table 2 Available data by ESN								
ESN	Personal	Status	Photos	Photo tags	Affinity	Reciprocal relationships	Applications	Location-based data
Facebook	H	H	M	M	H	H	H	M
Twitter	M	H	L	L	H	L	L	M
LinkedIn	M	H	M	L	H	H	L	L
Pinterest	M	L	H	L	H	L	L	L
Instagram	M	M	H	H	M	M	M	M
Google+	H	H	M	M	H	L	H	H

PRIVACY CONTROLS

There are some privacy and security controls that are common to virtually every ESN. All of the ESN's listed in Table 2 require the user to authenticate via a logon ID and password, and only allow the user to change his or her own personal data once authentication is complete. Most other privacy controls and settings differ according to the ESN.

Facebook has the widest range of privacy settings, which is sensible given that it also has the widest range of data types. Facebook controls many settings through the use of roles or identities. For example, access to status data and tags are controlled through four identities: the user, friends of the user, friends of the user's friends, and all Facebook users. Each user can decide what types of voluntarily supplied data are viewable by each of these groups. Each user can also choose to allow any of these identities to post status updates on their behalf or to tag photos on their behalf. Additionally, Facebook and Instagram allow the user to decide whether or not to review these updates or tags before they are posted. Google⁺ does not allow users to control whether they are tagged, but users can specify whether or not they are notified when they are tagged.

Facebook also uses identities to control who may send the user relationship requests – all Facebook users, or only friends of friends. In either case, the user must give explicit approval. LinkedIn uses a similar mechanism. Other ESN's generally do not provide a mechanism to restrict the sending of requests. However, they do provide a choice as to whether relationship requests must be approved. On Twitter and Pinterest, for example, the user may decide whether they want anyone to be able to form a relationship without approval or whether each request must be approved. This choice is often driven by popularity. For example, if the user is a fashion designer or musician and wants to obtain as many followers as possible for marketing purposes, it would be inconvenient to have to approve every request. Google⁺ handles relationships slightly differently – they are essentially one-way instead of reciprocal. A user can add another user to a “circle” without that user's knowledge or consent. However, Google⁺ users can control what data appears in their profiles based on whether the relationship is reciprocated with another one-way relationship.

Relationship data is very important to ESN's. It is a bit surprising, then, that few ESN's provide a mechanism for users to restrict access to relationship data. For example, one can go to Facebook and view every one of a friend's relationships, and even for individuals who are not friends one can see relationships that are held in common. Pinterest, Twitter and Instagram also allow individuals to view users' relationship networks with no restrictions. This is true of both reciprocal relationship data and affinity relationship data. Of the primary ESN's, only LinkedIn allows users to control access to relationship data. Users can decide whether to allow anyone to view their relationships, or only users with whom a relationship has been established.

Location-based data is relevant to several ESN's. Within Twitter and Google⁺ the publication of location-based data is a global setting; by default, each update contains location-based data or it does not. (Twitter allows this setting to be temporarily changed with each update). Within Facebook, users must provide location data on a case-by-case basis. Surprisingly, while Facebook is the only ESN that allows users to check other users in, it does not provide a specific mechanism to limit this functionality. A user can specify that he or she wants to approve tags, including location-based tags, but cannot restrict approval to location-based tags explicitly.

Applications that are used within ESN's may also have the ability to access data or to post updates on the user's behalf. In most cases, the application requests permission to conduct these activities at the time the user initially installs the application. These settings can be changed after the initial installation, but many applications will not work as designed unless they have access to user data.

Occasionally, individuals on ESN's – even ones with whom a user has established a reciprocal relationship – may post content or make requests that are offensive or unwanted. Consequently, most ESN's provide some blocking capabilities. Facebook for example allows a user to block other individuals from viewing content or from sending requests. Users can also choose to block applications from obtaining personal data.

Users can also choose how they want to be notified when changes to data are made. Most ESN's ask the user to provide an email address, and most have a mobile application available. The user can decide whether he or she wants to receive notifications only on the ESN, through email, or on a mobile device. In some cases, notifications can also be restricted by category (e.g., relationship requests vs. tags). On Twitter, users can choose to receive an email when someone responds to a tweet, when a tweet is resent, when the user receives a new follower, and several other activities. Pinterest offers similar notification options.

PRIVACY ISSUES

The fact that ESN's have different types of data and different privacy controls is sensible from a use case perspective; otherwise multiple ESN's would be redundant. However, the abundance of controls and the different ways these are implemented may render them ineffective. For example, Facebook has 38 general security and privacy settings, plus additional settings for each individual application that integrates with Facebook. Other ESN's have similar sets of controls that may be specified differently from the way Facebook specifies them. Furthermore, there may be differences by platform: the privacy settings for LinkedIn's web application may differ from those for its mobile application, for example. ESN users must spend a significant amount of time understanding the nuances of these controls and implementing them in order for them to secure their data effectively. This leads to the primary issue: many users do not fully understand these controls, and even those that do sometimes fail to implement them carefully. Additionally, even informed, conscientious users make mistakes. With dozens of different settings across many ESN's, the likelihood that something will be missed is significant.

Compounding the confusion that arises from the variety of settings is the fact that they may change over time. Like any websites that collect personal data, ESN's may repeatedly choose to change their privacy policies. Facebook for example has received criticism from privacy advocates for changing their privacy policies without giving users adequate notification (Stone, 2010). ESN's may also change the security mechanisms and procedures used to enforce their privacy policies, and the way in which users access those mechanisms. For example, a user may set some initial privacy settings when creating a Google⁺ account, but the way in which these settings are accessed the next time the user accesses the account may be different. Over time these settings may go through several changes as the ESN's themselves evolve. For example, most of Facebook's settings are based on three identity groups: "friends", "friends of friends", and "everyone". Recently though, Facebook launched a new category called "trusted friends". It is easy to imagine that Facebook will eventually integrate this category into its

privacy controls, but unless a user is aware of the change and goes in to verify his or her settings, the privacy implications are likely to be overlooked.

A final concern is passwords. Any privacy control mechanism will be rendered ineffective if a user is able to authenticate with someone else's identity. This can be an issue for any information system, but particularly for ESN's, for several reasons. First, as described earlier ESN's store a vast repository of voluntary data and activity-generated data. Second, there are many ESN's, each with its own password. The more popular ESN's listed earlier do not impose many restrictions on what users can use as passwords, so users tend to use the same password for multiple ESN's. This makes it easier for users to remember their passwords, but also has the implication that if a password were to be discovered it could likely be used to access multiple ESN's. A safer approach would be to have a unique password for each system, but this approach increases the likelihood that a user would forget or mistype a password and get locked out.

While most of the privacy mechanisms we have discussed are technical in nature, it remains the user's responsibility to properly implement these mechanisms. However, users operate under certain cognitive constraints that may limit their effectiveness in safeguarding their data. The first is the idea of cognitive load, or bounded rationality (Simon, 1984). Individuals have a limited mental capacity for storing things like passwords, or for remembering which privacy settings apply to which ESN's. One solution is to record this information either electronically or physically, but this recording itself provides an additional security concern. The alternative is that individuals will eventually forget this information, leading to mistakes resulting in potential breaches of privacy. This is one reason that individuals use the same password or username for multiple systems; it is simply one less thing to remember.

Another cognitive constraint is that individuals tend to operate under decision-making biases or heuristics. A well-known heuristic is that when people are given multiple choices and do not possess full information about those choices, people overwhelmingly tend to choose the default option (Madrian and Shea, 2001). As a result, ESN's generally choose one of two overarching security philosophies: whether to have users "opt in" to a particular privacy protection or to "opt out" of a particular privacy protection. For example, Facebook gives users a relatively loose set of privacy controls on personal data by default, forcing users to opt in if they want tighter control. Thus, if the user does not pay close attention to these settings – or if Facebook were to decide to change the settings in the future – by default the user would have relatively little data privacy. Each ESN has different potential settings with different defaults, creating further confusion. Even within a single ESN, the defaults may not be consistent. For example, with applications on Facebook the user has to opt in to sharing his or her data; in other words, the default state is a higher level of privacy.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PRIVACY

Prior research suggests that awareness about privacy and security online is increasing. However, older adults remain much more concerned about security issues than teenagers and college students (Baker & White, 2011; Braun, 2013). We conducted a survey of undergraduate students ($n = 54$) about their ESN attitudes and behaviors in order to better understand their thoughts about data privacy as they are preparing to enter the workplace. Some of the key findings are listed below.

Facebook is the most commonly used ESN (98% of subjects), followed closely by Twitter (79%) and Instagram (75%).

- 71% of subjects contribute text content to ESN's either daily or weekly, while only 48% contribute photos daily or weekly.
- 76% of subjects generally allow others to tag them in photos.
- Only 6% of subjects generally allow applications to post updates on their behalf.
- 85% of subjects infrequently or never use ESN's to "check in" at specific locations.
- Subjects are significantly more likely to follow retailers or other companies on ESN's than to follow religious or social organizations ($F[106,1] = 31.24$; $p < 0.001$).
- Subjects are significantly more likely to follow retailers or other companies on ESN's than to follow political organizations ($F[106,1] = 27.38$; $p < 0.001$).
- 54% of subjects review their ESN content once a month or less, and 11% never review it.
- 68% of subjects review the privacy and security policies of the ESN's they use once a month or less, and 17% never review them.
- 49% of subjects generally take the default privacy and security options when creating a new ESN account.
- 65% of subjects are concerned about ESN's changing privacy or security settings without their knowledge.
- Only 34% of subjects are concerned about employers viewing their data on ESN's. However, subjects who are planning to graduate within the next year are significantly more concerned than other subjects about employers viewing their ESN data ($F[52,1] = 5.12$; $p < 0.05$).
- 44% of subjects are concerned about other people posting inappropriate photos or other content about them. Subjects who are planning to graduate within the next year are marginally more concerned than other subjects about others posting inappropriate photos or other content about them ($F[52,1] = 3.00$; $p < 0.09$).
- Subjects who are planning to graduate within the next year do not review their own ESN content more regularly than other subjects ($F[52,1] = 0.02$; $p = 0.89$). They also do not review ESN privacy and security policies more than other students ($F[52,1] = 0.04$; $p = 0.85$).

Some encouraging conclusions may be drawn from these results. A majority of the students surveyed stated that they were concerned about privacy or security settings being changed, and less than half stated that they accept the default privacy and security options. The vast majority of students do not regularly use geolocation with ESN's. In addition, students who are closer to entering the workplace were relatively more concerned about employers viewing their content and about others posting inappropriate content. However, the results indicate that concerns do not always translate to behaviors. Students that are closer to entering the workplace do not review their data more frequently than other students, and also do not review ESN policies more often. The majority of students allow others to tag them in photos, and proximity to graduation also does not appear to affect this behavior.

One interesting finding is that subjects more frequently "like" or "follow" retailers or other consumer-goods companies than they do political, social or religious organizations. This may simply be a matter of interest, or of students' desires to receive free products or discounts for expressing affinity for companies. However, one alternative explanation may be that students are less willing to express an affinity for organizations that may be construed as controversial or whose views may conflict with the views of others, including potential employers. In fact, students who are planning to enter the workplace within the next year stated that they were marginally less likely to follow a religious or social organization than other students ($F[52,1] = 3.32$; $p < 0.08$). This suggests that students in some respects may be conscious of the "image" they are presenting to employers on ESN's.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ESN USERS

The simplest solution for individuals who want to protect their data would be to not use ESN's at all, or to take care not to create any content that could be construed negatively.

However, even this solution may not be complete if other ESN users can tie objectionable content or photos to these individuals' profiles. ESN users, particularly those who are about to enter the workplace, should take appropriate procedural measures to safeguard their data. In this section, we offer a few suggestions for ESN users concerned about data privacy.

Somewhat ironically, one way to ensure the privacy of data on ESN's is to become a more frequent user. Looking at one's data more regularly can help an ESN user to ensure that nothing inappropriate appears on his or her profile. The user will also be more likely to notice when changes to privacy or security settings are made with more frequent use. About one in six users we surveyed never review their ESN's privacy and security settings, and about four in six users review them monthly or less. For many ESN's, particularly those that are in early stages of development, this may not be enough. A corollary is that if someone is not using a particular ESN often enough, his or her user profile should be wiped of data and deleted.

ESN users should also be judicious when deciding who they allow to post data or images for them. Subjects in our survey were pretty evenly split on whether to allow ESN applications to access their data, and very few allowed applications to post on their behalf. However, a vast majority of users (76%) allow other users to post and tag photos of them. Unless users are very diligent about checking their profiles regularly, objectionable images may be seen and reposted numerous times. At a minimum, users should set their profiles so that they have to approve any tags that refer to them. Users also usually have choices about what types of roles or identities have access to data; these should be made as restrictive as possible while maintaining usability.

Individuals who are seeking employment have additional responsibilities regarding their ESN data. Being aware that employers are screening ESN data is the initial step; although this practice is on the rise, only 34% of our subjects expressed concern. Potential applicants must take even greater measures to ensure that their ESN data portrays a desirable image. Individuals seeking employment should also be aware of federal and state laws governing how their ESN data may be used. Table 1 shows some applicable federal laws. These are not specific to ESN's, but are particularly relevant because the data to which these laws pertain may be available through ESN's when it may not be available otherwise. Much like ESN privacy controls, laws governing ESN usage are continuously updated and must be monitored vigilantly.

CONCLUSION

Knowledge about the types of data that exist within ESN's, and how this data is collected and secured, has become extremely valuable to employers, marketers, and individuals. In this paper, we have attempted to consolidate some of this knowledge. We categorize data into two main categories – voluntary and activity-based – and explain some of the mechanisms available to secure it. In spite of the available mechanisms, the volume of different controls and the rate at which they are updated make it challenging to keep ESN data private. A variety of cognitive biases and other factors may also lead ESN users to not secure their data as much as they perhaps should.

The survey results indicate an incongruity between privacy attitudes and behaviors in some cases. While students expressed some concern about inappropriate ESN content and changing privacy policies, they do not monitor their own content and ESN policies sufficiently. More worryingly, students who are closer to entering the job market do not monitor their own content, or ESN privacy policies, more closely. Our hope is that the information presented in this paper may be helpful to prospective job candidates and those who educate them.

We also point out that there are many aspects to securing ESN data that go beyond the mechanisms that we have discussed here. Network controls and infrastructure, password policies, and web browser architecture all play important roles in ensuring that data is secure. While these mechanisms are beyond the scope of this paper, their interactions with ESN controls present an interesting opportunity for future research.

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CAREER ASCENSION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN EXECUTIVE POSITIONS IN POSTSECONDARY INSTITUTIONS

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ABSTRACT

Few studies exist regarding the factors and career paths that might be of value to African American females seeking an executive leadership position in a postsecondary institution. The essence of becoming a leader in postsecondary institutions was captured through face-to-face, semistructured interviews of 10 African American women at the executive leadership level within Georgia postsecondary institutions. The identification of life experiences, career development, and accession factors for African American females might provide leaders with information needed for leadership development, mentoring programs, and accession strategies that might add new knowledge to the literature.

AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

Since the 1990s, the visibility of women in powerful leadership and executive roles has steadily increased. Currently, there is a female president at Harvard University, a female Secretary of State, a female Secretary of Labor, a female Secretary of Health and Human Services, female U.N. Ambassador, EPA Administrator, and a female Director of Homeland Security. For the first time in history, two women recently presented themselves as candidates for the Vice Presidency and President of the United States. In most colleges and universities, female college students currently outnumber male students, and the results are visible in corporate America (Hamrick, 2009).

The relatively low number of African American women college administrators indicates that leaders of Georgia colleges and universities might be overlooking talent, intellect, and motivation from within its workforce. To stay abreast of the ever-changing and challenging environment, colleges and university administrators must employ effective and diverse leaders in contemporary higher education (Bisbee, 2007). Yet the employment conditions and terms have become worse for minorities in education within the last decade (De Los Santos, 2008).

Background

As of Spring 2010, fewer than 100 African American women were serving as college leaders in an executive or administrator position in Georgia. Most of these women assumed leadership roles in junior, technical, and community colleges. The others represented state-university campuses or Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Only two women were identified as college presidents. One president served at a technical college, while the other served at an HBCU women's college. Although the number of African American female college presidents across the United States remains relatively small, more women have emerged into

leadership roles within the last decade, doubling the population of female administrators (Reddick, 2008).

In the 21st century, organizational leaders realized that diversified teams were valuable in meeting the needs of stakeholders. "Diversity is a global reality. America's status as a world leader and its ability to compete in the next century could well turn on its response to the challenges of diversity" (Aldridge, 1994, p. 11). Leaders of colleges and universities potentially could benefit by implementing development programs, including mentoring and leadership training programs, to increase the presence of African American female executive administrators in postsecondary institutions in Georgia. Aldridge (1994) commented, "Ironically, the very organizations that should be best prepared to meet the challenge of diversity, colleges and universities, seem least able to rise to the occasion" (p. 11). Many colleges and universities have made strides in diversifying their course outlines, faculty, and managerial positions, yet few have applied diversity to executive leadership and administration roles. The efforts to diversify and include women in the ranks of tenured faculty positions have not made much progress (Reddick, 2008). Minorities are still behind in education. African Americans currently earn bachelor's degrees at half the rate of Caucasians. This gap is critical because education is one entry point to holding an executive leadership or administrative appointment.

College leaders have a duty to serve within their respective communities as a reflection on corporate social responsibility, ethical leadership, and civic responsibility (Hartman, 1997). Leaders have the responsibility to encourage innovations and educational opportunities. "Administrative leaders of a minority racial, ethnic or gender group may also provide inspiring role models for student, employees, and community residents" (Phelps & Taber, p. 10). Developing a partnership within the community, addressing workforce issues and economic development is imperative and valuable when serving the community to meet the needs of stakeholders.

The Glass Ceiling

Barriers that hinder career advancement of women are complex and come in myriad forms. The "glass ceiling symbolizes a variety of barriers that prevent qualified individuals from advancing higher in their organization" (Adair, 1999, p. 17). The term *glass ceiling* was introduced in 1984. Women have continued to make strides in leadership equality with men in the workplace. Despite this, women are still underrepresented in the upper echelons of organizations. In 2005, the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission released a report stating that only 7%–9% of senior managers at Fortune 1000 firms were women (Catalyst, 2006; 1993; Korn-Ferry, 1993). The numbers are compelling, considering women make up almost one half of the nation's workforce. Highly educated and experienced women face their biggest challenges at upper levels of corporations. As a result, they have been known to disproportionately cluster in *White collar ghettos* or the bottom tiers of management and lowest paying industries. Well-qualified women face barriers spawning from stereotypes or preconceptions (81%), employers who have an aversion to taking a risk by hiring a female (49%), or not carefully planning their careers or job assignments to benefit them.

Mentorship and Networking

Two methods found helpful to break through the glass ceiling are networking and securing a mentor. Brown (2005), in a study of 91 female college presidents, found mentoring and professional development programs to be important for recruitment and preparation (p. 659). Brown reported that the majority, 63.1%, had one to three mentors. The majority, 64.4%, served as mentors themselves to both men and women. Brown found that 72.5% had also attended one or more professional development programs designed to develop or enhance skills in college administration (p. 662).

Women have been excluded from *good old boy* networks, the traditional male circle of power within the business world (Kanter, 1977). In response to this exclusion, women formed their own networks (Morrison & Van Glinow, 1990). Some women reported that these networks were beneficial to their careers, whereas others found them to be lacking in value (Knapp, 1986). Some women have perceived that they face barriers to obtain mentors, that is, individuals who provide psychological and social support as well as career developments to others called protégés (Knapp, 1986). The situation is surprising because research consistently showed that women in organizations obtain mentors at the same rate as men and experience the same benefits as male protégés. Many women who have secured high-level corporate positions have acknowledged the help of their mentors (Knapp, 1986).

Differences in Managerial Styles

Fisher and Koch (1996) stated that very little reliable and replicable research has been done on African Americans and managerial styles. Much of the discussion involving managerial styles related to African American managers and college presidents has been impressionistic and anecdotal (Fisher & Koch, 1996). Evidence indicated that the managerial styles of men and women differ to some degree (Bass, 1990; Eagly, Makijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Women administrators have been known to be more sensitive and caring, compassionate, responsive, democratic, and participative while developing a variety of ways to deal with certain issues and opportunities than their male counterparts. Women administrators are said to listen well, have fewer ego problems, and be less inclined to protect their turf. Many studies revealing this difference are not replicable, and the conclusions are highly debatable (Fisher & Koch, 1996, p. 89). Some terms used to describe the stereotypical male administrator are different from the terms used to describe the female administrator. Terms such as *dominant*, *assertive*, *aggressive*, *stern*, and *competitive* were used to describe male administrators' behaviors in an administrator's role (Fisher & Koch, 1996, p. 90).

Leadership

Several leadership theories relating to women's experiences attaining executive leadership roles on postsecondary institutions are presented. The great-man theory of leadership lays the foundation between leadership and men (Bass, 1990). Burns's introduction of transactional leadership, Hershey and Blanchard's (1969), and Yukl's (1994) research on the significance of followers and the environment complemented Bass's (1985) study of transformational leadership. These researchers facilitated a deeper understanding of leadership roles, responsibilities, and the impact their actions have on others, as well as the organizations' climate and culture they support.

Leaders' changing roles, including views on feminine leadership, are explored. Gender differences in leadership style and effectiveness, including Loden's (1985) masculine and feminine leadership models, were also presented.

Leadership and Gender

Throughout history, many have believed that leadership should traditionally involve only males. Kanter (1977) posited that if women in organizations are to emerge as leaders, they must be perceived as individuals who can influence or motivate others. Kanter also discovered that no significant differences between leadership styles were exhibited by each gender. Prior research has shown large amounts of gender bias with regards to women's achievements in Corporate America.

Gender and leadership styles have always been stereotyped. The stereotypically male leadership has been classified as influential and demonstrating organizational success, whereas stereotypically female leadership has been seen as more compassionate and relationship-oriented (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Wohlers, 1986). Many authors and researchers have asked why women are underrepresented in leadership, executive, and top-level positions. Eagly and Johnson (1990) provided an answer in a comprehensive meta-analysis that included a large number of organizational, laboratory, and assessment studies. In their study, Eagly and Johnson revealed some reliable (albeit small-effect size) gender differences in leadership style, whereby women leaders emphasize both interpersonal relations and task accomplishment more than do men.

Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2003) found distinctions between a manner in which men and women responded to each situation. Eagly and Johnson (1990) studies uncovered that, compared to men, women had a more democratic leadership style. Stereotypically feminine leadership behaviors were found to disappear if women were measured against other women. Eagly and Johnson proposed that this occurred because of dictated behaviors required for specific roles. They also concurred that men and women tend to display similar behaviors, and they exhibited fewer stereotypically masculine or feminine behaviors in leadership roles with established guidelines and expectations.

Loden (1985) asserted that comparing one gender to another only perpetuated assumption that each gender should display the same behaviors. According to Loden, recent studies did not detect gender differences in style because women conformed to the pressure to adopt existing organizational leadership styles. Without elaborating on specific gender-related differences, Statham (1987) hypothesized each gender preferred a leadership style that harmonized with his or her gender. Loden identified two distinct leadership styles and then created a masculine and feminine leadership model that included: (a) the leader's primary operating style, (b) the leader's problem-solving style, (c) the purpose, (d) key characteristics of the leadership style, and (e) typical organizational structures.

Loden's (1985) masculine leadership model included many attributes previously associated with masculinity, such as assertiveness and a desire for power (McClelland, 1975), as well as a focus on competition (Friedan, 1963). Tannen (1990) identified several verbal strategies associated with men and masculinity, including speaking louder, for longer periods, and with confidence and self-assurance. Loden identified a rational, analytical, and strategic operating and problem-solving style; a need to win; a desire for strict controls with little emotion; and a typically hierarchical organizational structure as part of the leadership model.

Using the same categories as the masculine model, Loden (1985) developed the feminine leadership model. Contrasting the findings, Loden's feminine leadership model identified the following: (a) cooperative operating style; (b) rational or intuitive problem solving; (c) the desire for a quality output; and (d) a focus on collaboration, empathy, and high-performance standards. Loden determined this style of leading was more typical and generally used in a team setting. Feminine verbal cues included speaking more slowly, and with higher pitches, for less time, and often phrasing thoughts as questions (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Tannen, 1990). Two reasons for style dissimilarities were offered by Loden (1985). First, she posited biological factors, such as differences in men and women's brains (Durdin-Smith & DeSimone, 1983), contributed to leadership style disparities. Second, Trinidad and Normore (2005) concurred with Loden's assertion that each gender was socialized toward specific leadership behavior. Organizations, industries, and society perpetuated specific leadership styles and gender-roles in the same manner.

African Americans and Caucasians are psycho-culturally close (Cunningham, 1984 as cited in Bass, 1990). Gump (1975 as cited in Bass, 1990) found that female African American college students were oriented more toward roles as wives and mothers, whereas Caucasian female college students were oriented more toward their own career development than fulfilling the traditional women's role (Bass, 1990, p. 738). These cultural differences might have contributed to the under-representation of female African American administrators, leaders, and presidents. The majority of African American women college presidents were not appointed to their positions until the 1990s. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, African American females with doctoral degrees were commonly working blue-collar jobs. After the Civil Rights Movement, opportunities began to open for women and job opportunities expanded (Fisher & Koch, 1996). Women were excluded from leadership positions based on their sex; men were excluded based on their education. This discrimination led to the enactment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was amended in 1972. Women did not benefit from enforcement of the sex discrimination provisions until 1973 (Robnett, 1997).

The greatest challenge for college presidents today is to live up to the former renowned African American college presidents such as Benjamin E. Mays (Morehouse College), Mary McLeod Bethune (Bethune-Cookman University), and Mordecai Johnson (Howard University). These people changed the meaning of American education and African American history by helping to develop great leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr., Marian Wright Edelman, and Thurgood Marshall (Jones, M., 1992). Minority presidents led the majority of all HBCUs, along with one third of Hispanic-serving institutions. Since the early 1990s, of the 46 African American college presidents, 36 were males, and only 10 were female (Jones, M., 1992). African American women have made a few advancements since the 1990s. M. Jones (1992) identified 28 African American females within the college presidency roles in spring, 1991. Today, 3,600 accredited higher education institutions are in the United States (American Council on Education [ACE], 2006). Currently, African American women have represented no more than 1% of the college leaders since 1991 (ACE, 2006). Other reasons attributed to the underrepresentation of African American women college presidents are appointments of many of these presidential positions as political rewards. Glenn (2010) discussed the politics of public campus administration. In Florida, five of 11 public universities were seeking new presidents, but currently, three have hired, or are in the process of hiring, state political leaders. Many politicians were appointed as university presidents. The question has been asked: Are political connections behind these appointments?

Perceptions about Women and Minorities in Postsecondary Institutions

Sokoloff's (1992) study of African American women college presidents documented how sexism and racism operate to give the illusion that African American women are making significant progress, but they remain in traditional women's occupations. The field of education is specific in gender. Despite the progress that made, women in the twenty-first century face as much opposition as women in earlier times. Primary research has shown that although women are making strides in key academic leadership roles, they are still underrepresented in top leadership roles in major colleges such as the University of Georgia, Georgia State University, Georgia Technical College, and many other major Georgia colleges and universities. The presidential progress of African American women has been much more limited than that of Caucasian women. In 1993, fewer than 5% of all American college presidents were African American (Fisher & Koch, 1996). African Americans have succeeded to the presidencies of this nation's more than 90 HBCUs, plus a few majority public institutions in metropolitan areas with large African American populations.

Fisher and Koch (1996) acknowledged that gender and race affect the selection process of executive leaders and college presidency candidates. The most popular image of a college executive leader or president is that of a Caucasian male (Fisher & Koch, 1996). In 1991, the literature showed 28 female African Americans holding college presidencies (Sturnick, Milley, & Tisinger, 1991). Since 1986, the percentage of women college presidents and leaders has doubled from 9.5% to 19%, and the percentage of minority presidents and leaders increased from 8% to 10% during the same period (ACE, 2006).

According to the 2006 ACE study, 23% of college presidents were women. Although that percentage has increased from 9.5% in 1986, clearly, women are still underrepresented in this realm of academia. Yet, because more than half of all university presidents in the United States in 2006 were older than 60, compared with 14% in 1986, the future for women's leadership in academia is considered promising.

Minorities accounted for just over 10% of the college presidents (ACE, 2006). In 1995, minorities accounted for just over 14% of faculty and senior staff (ACE, 2006). In 1998, 6% of all presidents were African American, representing more than half of all minority presidents. Another 3% were Hispanic, and 1% was Asian-American and Native American (ACE, 2006). Despite the slight increases in women and minority presidents, Ross (as cited in ACE, 2006) said the profile of the typical college president has changed little once this series began in 1986.

The culture of the environment is changing at colleges and universities; therefore, the organizational structure allows more women to become presidents of community colleges, but not 4-year colleges with research programs (ACE, 2006). The statistics from The University System of the State of Georgia Factbook (2001) reveal that African American women in higher education are underrepresented. The university system of the Georgia Board of Regents was created in 1931 as a part of a reorganization of Georgia state government. Public higher education in Georgia was unified for the first time under a single governing and management authority consisting of a Board appointed to 7-year terms by the Governor of Georgia.

Minorities and Transformational Leadership

A number of research studies have been conducted regarding gender influences and leadership. Race is rarely considered and, even less frequently, is the possible influence of race

and gender on the concept of leadership discussed. Waring (2003) explored the interaction of race and gender influences in African American female college leaders and the concepts of leadership. In Interviews with 20 African American female college leaders, Waring discussed the role that social class, educational background, and the process for emerging as leaders has had on their views of themselves as leaders. Several researchers confirmed the importance of race to women's identities and as a motivator for assuming leadership positions (Waring, 2003). Jung and Yammarino (2001) have asserted in their study the theoretical framework of transformational leadership and its effects on several processes and outcomes among Asian Americans and Caucasian Americans. Many relationships among the constructs of interest were tested. The study results indicated that variations in perceptions of transformational leadership and other measured variables within the two ethnic groups ideally differed from the nonminority leaders in terms of their leadership styles, presumably the minority leaders represented within the federal government (Jung & Yammarino, 2001).

African Americans Completing Doctoral Degrees

In 1987, only 787 African Americans earned doctorates in the United States. By 2004, 1869 African Americans earned doctorates, representing 7% of all doctorates granted that year, an all-time high. In 2005, there was a 10% decline in doctoral degree awards to African Americans and a further 2% decline in 2006. In 2007, 1,821 African Americans received doctoral degrees (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2010).

The profile of African American doctor is strikingly different from most Caucasian doctorates. On average, African Americans take 12.5 years to earn a doctorate after receiving their bachelor's degrees, compared to 10 years for Caucasians. The average age of an African American doctoral recipient is 36.7 years, compared to 33.4 years for Caucasians. As the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (2010) noted,

Apparently, the predominantly Caucasian faculties of major research universities prefer Caucasian teaching assistants over African American teaching assistants. About 16.7% of White Americans who earned doctorates in 2009 served as teaching assistants during their doctoral study, compared to only 6.9% of African American Ph.D. students. Many Caucasian doctorates plan to use the doctorate degree in private business more than African Americans do. More than two thirds, 68% of all African American doctoral graduates plan to obtain jobs in higher education, compared to only 57% of Caucasians. More than 15% of Caucasian doctors expect to obtain employment inside industry and business; only 9.1% of African American doctors have similar plans (*Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 2010).

Trends Involved In the Appointment of College Presidents

The rate of increase in the number of women and minorities serving as college presidents slowed during the past 3 years according to The American College President (Corrigan, 2002). The number of presidents recruited from outside higher education nearly doubled. Since 1986, the percentage of minority presidents increased from 8.1% to 12.8%, according to the report. However, the rate of growth has slowed in recent years, increasing only 1.5 percentage points for minorities since 1998 (Corrigan, 2002).

As previously stated, the statistics reveal significant inroads for women at two-year colleges. Women hold 27% of the presidencies. This is a huge increase from 8% in 1986. The

report shows minority presidents led virtually all HBCUs and more than one third of Hispanic serving institutions (HIS) (Corrigan, 2002). When HBCUs and HIS's are excluded, the number of colleges and universities minority presidents led drops to 10%. In 1986, minority presidents led 4.7% HBCUs and HIS's (Corrigan, 2002).

According to Corrigan (2002), the increase in women and minority college's presidents remains constant. The criterion for searching for new campus leaders has changed. In 1998, one in four presidents had experience as a president. In 2001, one in five presidents had experience as a president before his or her current position (Corrigan, 2002). The report also revealed that 15% of the immediate prior positions held by presidents were outside higher education, nearly twice as many as reported in 1998 (8%). In 2001, 19% of private college and university presidents came from outside higher education, compared with 9% of all presidents in the public sector (Corrigan, 2002).

The study revealed how the college presidents obtained their jobs and what common traits they shared. According to the data from this report, the profile of the typical president has changed very little. The typical president in 2001 was a White male, age 57, married, with a doctoral degree, who had been in office 6.6 years, and previously served as a campus executive (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2001).

In 1986, the typical president was a White male, age 52, married, with a doctoral degree, who had been in office 6.3 years, and served previously as a chief academic officer or provost (Corrigan, 2002). Other findings from this report conducted by the American Council on Education (Corrigan, 2002) revealed that the primary challenges for college presidents were relations with faculty, legislators, and governing boards. The top two challenges for public sector college presidents were relations with legislators or policy makers and faculty. The private sector presidents listed relations with faculty, governing boards, and alumni as the top challenges (Corrigan, 2002). The four areas occupying the most significant amount of a president's time were (a) planning, (b) fundraising, (c) budget issues, and (d) personnel issues (Corrigan, 2002), which is important to this study, supporting that the problem is not a dearth of qualified candidates. The problem is that the qualified are either self-selecting out of the process because they do not think they stand a chance or simply do not want to go through the political process. What makes the African American women who have reached the top different from their counterparts sitting on the sidelines?

The 2006 survey that led to ACE's 2007 edition of *The American College President* discovered at the time that 21.1% of presidents were in at least a second presidency. Most presidents, however, had previously served as chief academic officer or in another senior academic officer position before moving to provost and then president (for 43.8%) (ACE, 2006). The survey found that women led 23% of the regionally accredited institutions in the United States, an increase of 13.5% over 20 years; just 0.7% per year. Female presidents were more likely than male presidents were to be racially diverse in every category.

Over the past 20 years, the percentage of female Caucasian presidents has dropped by 8.3%, but that of male Caucasian presidents has decreased by only 2.4%. As a group, women of color have advanced among women slightly faster than men of color have among men. Among recently hired presidents, 11.7% were African American females. The percentage of Caucasian males increased, but the number of Caucasian females decreased. Males of color still outnumber females of color by a margin of almost 2 to 1 (ACE, 2006) (see Table 1).

The Flight of African American College Presidents

Since 1990, 85 of the nation's 102 Black colleges and universities have installed new presidents (Slater, 2003). Johnnetta Cole was the first African American female president of Spelman College from 1987–1997. She was also president of Bennett College from 2002–2007 and offered her assessment of a college president. “A college president is someone who lives in a big house and begs for money, and that ain’t funny” (Slater, 2003, p. 10). Cole knew that an important reason Bennett College trustees recruited her was to capture her talents in fundraising. Bennett College was operating with a \$2 million annual deficit, and Cole had a legendary ability to raise funds. As president of Spelman College in the 1990s, she spearheaded and completed a successful \$114 million capital campaign (Slater, 2003). According to Slater (2003), increasing pressure to raise money is causing many presidents of Black colleges and universities to leave their post.

Table 1 Race of College Presidents by Gender (2006)		
Race	% of Female	% of Male
Caucasian	81.1	88.0
African American	8.1	5.3
Hispanic	6.7	3.8
American Indian	1.5	0.5
Asian American	1.0	0.9
Other	1.7	1.5

Economic recession and, in several cases, declining enrollments have created some of the HBCU's financial woes. According to a survey by the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (JBHE) research department, since the beginning of 2000, 44 Black colleges and universities. Nearly one-half of all HBCUs have inaugurated a new president. Since 1990, all but 19 HBCUs have installed a new president. According to the JBHE article, civil rights laws have damaged Black colleges. As opportunities for African American students open up at predominantly White state universities and at select private institutions, many Black colleges struggle to maintain enrollment levels, which further strain the financial position of Black colleges (Slater, 2003).

More than 30 years have passed since the Civil Rights and Women's Movement. Women continue to find themselves under represented in higher education, as well as in the corporate sector (Marable, 2003). There is not equal representation of women in all segments of the labor force. They dominate in what are considered traditional female occupations such as secretarial, clerical, and nursing fields. In 1991, for example, women constituted 80% of all administrative supportive workers, 99% of all secretaries, 94.8% of registered nurses, and 66.7% of retail and sales workers (U.S. Department of Labor, 1992). The statistics about women show a high concentration in the medicine, health, personnel, labor-relations, and education-administration areas. The number of degrees awarded to women has risen so it now equals the number awarded to men each year and is projected to exceed the number awarded to male recipients soon (U.S. Department of Education, 1990).

Mobility of Women

The attributes that seem to characterize the successful manager are those that men and not women have been socialized to possess and display (Brenner & Tomkiewicz, 1989). Representations by society of women as competent managers need to become part of the status quo. Researchers proved that stereotypes thrive in situations in which very little information about individuals is known beyond social-group categorical data, for example, race and gender (Kanter, 1977). The process is even worse when a minority group is isolated from or has very little opportunity to associate with members of the majority group (Kanter, 1977). Some women try to balance family while pursuing a career in management, which results in a great deal of stress both at home and on the job for women. Upward mobility might require changes in residence, associates, and patterns of living as well as changes in relationships with friends, associates, and former coworkers in the organization. Another barrier in which women might fall short is in networking (Davidson & Cooper, 1986).

Stereotyping and preconceptions of women managers are primary factors that impede the ability of women to rise to the top of corporations or institutions of higher education (Knapp, 1986). Women have difficulty overcoming these biased perceptions. The images of women presented in books, television programs, and movies overwhelmingly depict women as less competent than men (Faludi, 1991). Eagly and Karau (2002) asserted that seeing a woman as Secretary of State, police officer, chief, firefighter, principal of a public high school, manager of a corporate department, dean of a university college, or anchor on a local newscast is no longer surprising or incongruous. Women have made their entry into such positions in concert with a general acceptance in traditional gender-roles, as well as changes in public perceptions of what leadership entails. Yet in contexts such as military command, high corporate office, the presidency still perceived as requiring masculine qualities, women face tough barriers stemming from the difficulty of simultaneously transcending and accommodating to gender stereotypes.

Eagly and Karau (2002) also shared that women in leadership roles elicit a mixture of positive and negative reactions, pointing out that women in leadership positions produce a tendency for polarized reactions. An example would be Hilary Clinton as first lady. According to Cox (2006), many Americans viewed Ms. Clinton as popular, but extremely polarizing. Many agreed that they, like most professional women, are popular, favorable, and intelligently impressive but polarizing figures in leadership. While many viewed Secretary of State Clinton as being a likeable person and knowledgeable in many areas, others had major concerns regarding her competency in the position of Secretary of State.

The profile of the typical administrative leader of executive in postsecondary education has changed very little. The typical leader, executive, or college president in 2001 was a White male, age 57, married, with a doctoral degree, who had been in office for 6.6 years and served previously as a senior campus executive (Corrigan, 2002). The value of the present study may lie in the predictive ability for candidates in comparing themselves to a taxonomy of characteristics that has helped other college executives and leaders become successful at major institutions.

Population Demographics

The population for the current research study came from Georgia where the African American population that increased between July 1, 2007, and July 1, 2008, equaled 31%. The population is composed of African Americans, excluding ethnic peoples from other Black nations.

The participants selected for the study included 10 women who met the criteria and reflected the history of African American administrators in higher education in Georgia with regard to some general characteristics. The participants ranged in age from 38 to 67, had more than 10 years' experience in administration in higher education, and a graduate degree (master's versus doctoral degree) (see Table 2). Each participant offered her age except for participant 10. Although she did not offer her age, she mentioned that she came to Georgia in 1971 and has more than 20 years in higher education and research. She commented that she was somewhere between 55 and 65 years. All participants had more than 10 years of higher education experience. Although all participants have tenured experience for more than 10 years, only seven participants held an earned doctorate degree, while three participants held a master's degree.

Table 2 Demographics of College Executive and Leadership Positions in Georgia in 2009 and in 1989		
Demographic Characteristic	% 2009	% in 1989
Women	23.0	9.5
Black	5.9	5.0
Hispanic	4.6	2.2
Asian American	0.9	0.4
American Indian	0.7	0.5
Other or multiple race	1.5	-
All minority	13.6	8.1
Age 50 or younger	8.1	41.6
Age 51-60	42.6	44.4
Age 61 or older	49.3	13.9
Average years in position	8.5	6.3

Note. Georgia postsecondary executive leadership demographics distributed by race or ethnicity 1989 to 2009.

Data Analysis Procedures

The present qualitative phenomenological study involved merging codes with data to discover relationships among the qualitative data. NVivo software allows for coding and associating terms and themes between interview documents. By analyzing the words and themes, the researcher understood more clearly the problem under examination.

Major Themes

After phenomenological reduction and horizontalization of data, 10 themes emerged, including (a) lack of African American representation in postsecondary institutions and (b) lack of African American mentors. Other themes included (c) influence of upbringing, (d) mentoring, (e) work-life balance struggles, (f) networking, and (g) the role a manager played in their career advancement. The final themes were (h) the need to take risk, (i) strong work ethic, and (j) the importance of leaving a legacy.

Theme 1. Lack of African American Representation In Postsecondary Institutions.

Of the 10 participants, eight noted the scarce representation of African Americans at the administrative level of the postsecondary institution created a barrier. Many of the participants have seen improvements over the last 3 years. During the first decade of the 21st century, many institutions in higher education have implemented diversity programs and plans to add to the number of minority staff and educators in postsecondary institutions that are predominately Caucasian (Benjamin, 1997; Kayes, 2006). Although many of the changes have provided new leadership, particularly in terms of gender diversity (Marable, 2003), African Americans continue to be underrepresented in postsecondary administration (De Los Santos, 2008; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Quezada & Louque, 2004; Williams, 2005). Higher educational leaders who continue to progress in hiring employees from various cultures can model the effects of diversity to resolve dilemmas and disparities in culture and ethnicity (Jones, W., 2007). Creating and implementing diversified leadership within higher education administration may result in an undulating effect throughout the community and society.

Theme 2. Lack of African American Mentors.

Fifty percent of the participants expressed that although mentoring programs exist within higher education, African American mentors in administration are still lacking in postsecondary institutions, creating a barrier for African Americans to become leaders. The African American female students who look forward to and need a mentoring rapport find the relationship with Caucasian staff members and administrators tough because of the ethnic differences (Patitu & Hinton, 2003). Gardiner, Enomoto, and Grogan (2002) stated that the experiences of African American administrators can lead to profound knowledge exchange because the student enrollment numbers and dedication to obtaining a degree for African American students positively correlate to the number of African American employees and administrators in higher education institutions consisting of predominantly Caucasians. If leaders within higher education would be more open to implementing, amending or adjusting mentoring programs including not only minority people but also culturally competent people, higher education will prosper both internally and externally.

Theme 3. Influence of Upbringing.

Five of the 10 participants referenced aspects of their upbringing and the impact that it had on their lives. All women had positive memories of their upbringing. They all indicated that they had secure feelings about themselves and received positive influences, praise, and the motivation to excel in life. They all indicated that if not for family, they would not be as successful and motivated in their careers. They also indicated that having strong faith and spiritual guidance kept them encouraged and focused on their goals. Findings from this study support literature concerning the way each gender learns society's expectations early in life (Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Fagot & Leinbach, 1994). While some of the participants with male influences in their lives thought there would be pressure to accept gender specific roles, many of them were held to the same standards as their male siblings. A small percentage of women in this study began their careers in gender-consistent administrative roles to gain entrance in the industry, even though they had college degrees and the ability to contribute at higher levels--a common activity (Levinson, 1996; Nussbaum, 1995). Women in this study did not express feeling pressured to accept gender-aligned roles or enter gender-specific industries. The women felt that becoming senior executive leaders was solely based on the manner in which they were raised

Theme 4. Mentoring.

Half the participants indicated that even though mentoring programs existed in higher education, African American mentoring is still lacking in postsecondary institutions. The lack of African American mentors creates a barrier for African Americans to earn positions in administration and leadership positions successfully. The need for continuous mentoring and gratitude for being mentored was shared by the participants on this study. Fifty percent of the women in this study agreed that mentorship is essential for success as a leader while the other 50% indicated they regretted not choosing a mentor early in their career. Significantly, fewer female senior leaders are available to mentor others (Levinson, 1996; Linehan & Scullion, 2008) because few women hold senior leadership positions in academia (Catalyst, 2006).

Theme 5. Work-Life Balance.

All the women interviewed indicated that they had difficulty finding a work-life balance they needed for success. They discussed the sacrifices that were made in addition to the stress they endured as women in academic leadership roles. Their challenges typically related to either: the ability to fulfill society's expectation of raising a family and maintaining a household in addition to having a successful career (Edwards & Wajcman, 2005; Levinson, 1996) or satisfying their personal need to feel fulfilled (Cornelius & Skinner, 2005; Hewlett & Luce, 2005). The one commonality the participants shared was having children, although many of the women without children still expressed difficulty in finding the balance between work and life. All of the women expressed that they were encouraged to have a successful career and become accomplished. Many of the participants were able to overcome challenges in an effort to have successful careers and healthy personal lives.

Theme 6. Networking.

The majority of the women agreed that networking was imperative in a leadership role. Most participants emphasized the positive benefits of networking. The majority of the women agreed that networking was imperative in a leadership role. Although Schein (1983) believed as individuals entered organizations they were taught its culture, most participants in this study contended they learned about the culture and need to network later in their careers. Lineman (2001) suggested excluding women from informal networks was one tactic people in the majority used to keep tokens segregated. Consistent with the literature, a number of women indicated they experienced negative repercussions such as being excluded, because they did not network with colleagues (Gallagher & Golant, 2000). Consistent with Eagly and Johnson's (1990) work, women in roles that required networking said they engaged in it often, believing they were equally as effective as their male colleagues. Each participant realized the importance of networking within the cultural community and they were fully prepared to become engaged.

Theme 7. The Role A Manager Has Played In Career Advancement.

Half the women interviewed mentioned support and opportunities their former or current managers provided throughout their careers in academia. Some participant's managers encouraged them to follow their dreams, reach high, and do what was needed to succeed, supporting them in the things they wanted to do. Other participants talked about the roles their managers played in their careers by helping them with challenges and making difficult decisions. Some had female managers, although the majority had male bosses. For some women, having

only male bosses as role models resulted in negative perceptions emerging similar to those Friedan (1963) highlighted feminists incurred. The participants received guidance and incorporated feedback from their bosses until they established their own leadership styles. Their experience reflected the comments of Trinidad and Normore (2005) who noted that managers often made lasting impressions by providing supportive environments so participants could discover their leadership style without fear of repercussions.

Theme 8: The Need To Take Risk.

Most women agreed that they should have taken more risks throughout their careers. The responses were phrased in different ways, but the women all shared some idea that playing it safe had cost them the means of advancement. Most women in this study developed strong work ethics believing their efforts eventually would be recognized. Their experiences revealed most women only concentrated on working assiduously. Eventually, virtually everyone in this study learned to take risks to move up the organization. Subjects in this study continually balanced gender-related expectations with leadership expectations (Dawley et al., 2004; Heller, 1982; Reed, 1983). Throughout their careers, many of these women faced the challenge of breaking from gender-related customs (Schwartz, 1989) as well as experiencing repercussions if they did not act according to societal gender-norms (Gallagher & Golant, 2000). A number of women began to take more risks only after they experienced challenges and setbacks to career advancement.

Theme 9: Strong Work Ethic As A Driving Force For Success.

The strong work ethic of the participants reflected their upbringing. All of the participants believed that their family members gave them the desire to work and make good choices in order to be successful. They all agreed that hard work and persistence pays off. In addition to hard work, many participants considered acting ethically as an important element of their leadership positions. They also knew that staying true to themselves and acting responsibly would pay off. For many of the women, continuing education made their jobs more enjoyable. They all agreed that hard work and persistence pays off. This theme encompassed the impact of internal motivation, as well as the effect of participants' personal beliefs on their rise to senior leadership roles. While growing up, women's role models instilled strong work ethics and subsequent role models reinforced established beliefs.

Theme 10: The Importance Of Leaving A Legacy.

The participants had positive views about the importance of leaving a legacy, regardless of whether their prior organizational leaders acknowledged contributions or afforded them promotional opportunities. The findings within the present study showed that barriers do exist in postsecondary institutions in terms of African American females acquiring leadership administration. In general, 90% of the women interviewed agreed that myriad barriers for African American women to succeed exist in postsecondary institutions. Of the participants, 80% believed that lack of African American representation existed in postsecondary institutions as a barrier. Of the participants, 50% were positive that a lack of African American mentors existed, while 100% of the women felt that their influences within their upbringing brought about positive results. With regard to work-life balance struggles, 100% of the women felt such struggles comprised a huge barrier relative to being successful in their industry. Of the participants, 70% felt that networking had a profound impact on African American females gaining leadership positions within postsecondary institutions in Georgia. Of the women interviewed, 50% insisted that the role of

manager was needed for success, while 50% of the same group felt that taking risk leads to success in academia leadership positions. All women felt that having a strong work ethic is a driving force for success in any industry, while 50% agreed that they felt the importance of the ability to leave a legacy and powerful impact on those they were responsible for at some point within their career.

Recommendations for Postsecondary Institutions

Implementation of the recommendations to aid in advancing African American women and minorities into higher education administration may change the practices of hiring in higher education. The goal would be that all qualified staff, educators, administrators, and stakeholders can work in a collaborative manner, allowing the vision, mission, and goals of the institution to be achieved. The recommendations include creating a sound diversity board to help promote African American women in higher education, implementing a diversity awareness program, regulating professional development to emphasize diversity and employing a diverse mentorship and leadership program.

Create A Diversity Board.

Administrative executives and leaders are the foundation of an institution. A sound diverse board should consist of community leaders, faculty, administrators, alumni, stakeholders, and students. Their input provides a different perspective than the internal staff, which is more involved with the day-to-day processes. Although the external and community leaders are outside the institution, they still provide pertinent information in terms of how the educational entity can meet the goals and missions involving all stakeholders. Higher education leadership is not only a reflection of the entire student body but also the educational society intertwined with the local community. Faculty and administrative leaders need to become engaged more culturally and accustomed to the changing diverse global society. The alumni of postsecondary institutions are an integral part of the institution's history. Education is a political and economic process; however, the students should be the main beneficiary and focus. Students who see employees, staff members, and executive leaders who look like them or are similar to them in many ways may develop a sense of comfort, resulting in the ability to provide the institution with sound advice and to make appropriate decisions on a diverse board with connections to the community. Students who do not see employees, staff members, and executive leaders who look like them may indulge in a negative state of mind that creates less confidence, resulting in the question of why the status quo remains the same in terms of lack of people of color in higher education. A diverse educational board consisting of a myriad of cultures and people may provide confidence not only for African American students but also for all minorities, such as the disabled, immigrants, and women. Allowing students to participate on the diversity board might also allow them to comprehend leadership skills by demonstrating sound judgment and decision making that includes diversity. A diversity board would be efficient as it influences social development, prepares individuals for work in a global society, and helps with interactions with people of different cultures, ethnicities, and areas of expertise.

Develop Nondiscriminating Institutional Processes.

After creating the diversity board, members should ensure that the recruiting, hiring, and retention processes are nondiscriminating and sufficient in terms of acquiring and maintaining a diverse group of employees. The board should emphasize the importance of diversity in recruiting,

fair and equitable hiring, specific and detailed job responsibilities, and any other duties that a position should entail. Many of the participants felt that unfair hiring processes were some of the barriers to obtaining a position in higher education. Having a diverse board in place will help to eliminate discriminatory practices in selection and retention.

Implement A Diversity Awareness Program.

Success within an educational institution starts with executive administrative leaders who exhibit professional leadership skills. Leaders of educational institutes should consist of a blend of people who come from different heritages and experiences with a range of cultures, perspectives, and talents. Differences are important; a diversity awareness program would help leverage individual talents, tap into unique insights, and attract and retain the best talent possible. The objective of the Diversity Awareness Program would be to integrate diversity into every aspect of the organization's activities, from growing the business and increasing shareholder value to maintaining the ability to attract and employ talent.

People of color must represent colleges and universities to create institutions culturally proficient in terms of leadership (Quezada & Louque, 2004). Administrators of postsecondary institutions have started to concentrate on developing educational institutions that understand the importance of different people and their customs (Cook & Cordova, 2006). Implementing a culturally diverse educational environment with a diversity of educators is the result of the diverse populace entering higher education (Cora-Bramble, 2006).

In addition to implementing a diversity board, administrators need to ensure proper institutional processes. Leaders within the institution should stress the importance of diversity through the postsecondary institution society. The overall curriculum, orientation, professional development, which includes diversity and leadership training, should be detailed and relevant. Many postsecondary institutions do not have enough minorities in leadership positions for curriculum, mentorship, and the total development of the educational institution (Reyes & Rios, 2005). The need for minority leaders highlights the need for more minority leaders in postsecondary schools in terms of the overall education process in America as a result of global changes and diverse student populations (Chun & Evans, 2008).

Advocate Professional Development To Emphasize Diversity.

Incorporating diversity into all aspects of unit operations and thinking and recognizing diversity as an essential element of excellence may assist with aligning professional development and diversity practices. Professional development programs may be inaugurated to help leaders, students, and the community to understand more clearly different cultures while increasing diversity awareness. Seminars focused on diversity should be offered to help individuals build relationships with those who do not share language, race, socioeconomic status, or culture, benefitting the universities.

Promoting ongoing staff development opportunities is important for expanding awareness and increasing knowledge of diversity issues. Through diversity programs and trainings offered, the goal would be to improve the institution's climate surrounding issues of diversity and high quality customer interactions across cultural boundaries and issues of difference. The administrators should work closely with the director of human resources, training and development manager, and the diversity board to support ongoing professional development programs to emphasize diversity.

Employ A Diverse Mentorship And Leadership Program.

Most of the participants believed that lack of African American female representation in higher education was a problem in addition to the lack of mentoring programs and mentoring leadership. Sound leadership is crucial and results in the success of any program or institution (Al-Mailam, 2004). Educational leaders need to create learning environments that focus on diversity awareness in the everyday routine (Amey, 2006). The diverse mentoring and leadership program should meet the needs of all minorities, in addition to supporting the needs of the disabled, immigrants, older workers, African Americans, and all other minority individuals.

African American educators believed that minorities need to be represented in postsecondary institutions in Georgia to an equitable degree. The administrative leaders who seek and take action to change must show a creative style different from the norm while taking on the associated risk (Valverde, 2003). Diversity leadership and mentoring programs will help promote an identity in society that mirrors change in colleges, universities, and communities (Arocena & Sutz, 2005). Diversity mentorship and leadership programs within Georgia colleges will help individuals to understand and utilize the unique contributions of all employees by creating an inclusive work environment.

In a diversity-driven mentoring and leadership program, preparation for career success while gaining the qualifications necessary to be an effective leader may be valuable for the institutions. Administrators and leaders may learn the value of a culturally diverse environment, experience cultural and gender differences, and gain perspective in the value of including those factors in their daily decision-making process. The program is designed to provide a broader appreciation of diversity principals with emphasis on integrating those values and beliefs in the daily operations of the institution. The appreciation of diversity is especially important today in Georgia colleges and university where a lack of African American mentorship and leadership is evident.

Summary

Ten common themes emerged in terms of barriers to African American females acquiring a position in higher education administration. The focus of previous research was on the barriers that caused Hispanic women not to acquire placement in postsecondary schools (De Los Santos, 2008). For example, the De Los Santos (2008) study involved scrutinizing the experience and perceptions of Hispanic women in higher education administration from the State of Texas. The present study involved the experience and perceptions of Hispanic women in higher education administration from the State of Georgia. A greater understanding of the administrative participants might help higher education to create models of diversity involving leadership and develop a strategic plan to mentor Hispanics as well as other minorities.

A diverse mentorship and leadership program will serve to create future administrators by exposing potential leaders in administration to individuals from various cultures and backgrounds. Appointed individuals or future leaders should see a variety of people who mentor or work in higher education, lessening the threat of any barriers to obtaining a position in higher education. Each aspect of the postsecondary institution, including the curriculum, orientation, and professional development, should reflect diversity awareness with ties to leadership. Creating and maintaining a diverse higher education institution will aid in not only helping minority students within the institution but also stakeholders within the higher educational process. A diverse reality

not only will enable the colleges or universities to meet the goals and mission of the institution but also will encourage the vision and overall leadership that exist in higher education.

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EXAMINING INSTRUMENT ISSUES IN WORKPLACE INCIVILITY: MEASUREMENT OR MUTATION?

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative research study examines the measurements of workplace incivility in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the construct. Studies using instruments and experiments were identified. Instrument-based studies attempting to capture incivility have varied along three main dimensions: content, format and context. Many differences were found in the past measurements that compound the confusion surrounding workplace incivility, but these variances create unique opportunities for future researchers to focus on.

INTRODUCTION

Research on workplace incivility seems somewhat disjointed and fragmented. Put simply, “A better understanding is required!” That is what brings these authors to investigate workplace incivility. It is within that basic goal of understanding that better theory is built. By looking at the development and use of the current measurements of workplace incivility we call into question the fundamental understanding and agreement of what workplace incivility is.

The goal of this paper is to develop a better understanding of workplace incivility highlighted within the differences found in the measurements. In this article we will walk through the current measurements of workplace incivility and outline the various inconsistencies and deficiencies within the current measures and the inherent risks these issues cause for measurement validation. Further, we propose a framework through which these issues can be addressed and prevented, as well as offer some exciting possibilities for future research. This work is important to the incivility literature as it is the simple evolution of conceptual refinement that allows scientists to build better theory and practitioners to make better predictions of behavior.

Since the inception of this construct, the area of incivility has taken off with more than 50 articles written on the subject. During this explosion, the construct has become anything but more clear. Researchers have attempted to parcel the topic through the use of various measures. Each of these measures manipulates incivility through definition, role (target, instigator, and witness), and construct parameters. This research does a review of extant workplace incivility measurements to show that there are some discrepancies in the construct within the literature. Hence, a framework was developed upon which to analyze and review the various measures.

BACKGROUND

Workplace incivility was brought to our attention through the work of Andersson and Pearson (2001) and defined as “*Low intensity, deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target, in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect.*” Authors go on to give examples of behaviors such as demeaning notes or conversations, excluding members, ignoring, cutting people off while speaking, or leaving a mess for someone else to clean up.

Literature agrees that workplace incivility is damaging to organizations in the form of increased turnover intention (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001; Lim, Cortina & Magley, 2008; Giumetti, McKibben, Hatfield, Schroder, Kowalski, 2012), decreased job satisfaction (Cortina et al., 2001; Cortina and Magley, 2003; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Penney & Spector, 2005; Lim, et al., 2008; Lim & Lee, 2011; Morrow, McElroy & Scheibe, 2011), decreased performance (Porath & Erez, 2007; 2009; Estes & Wang, 2008), decreased organizational commitment (Blau & Andersson, 2005), and decreased organizational citizenship behavior (Porath & Erez, 2007). Additionally, Andersson and Pearson (1999) discuss the spiraling effect of incivility. The spiraling effect states that in the presence of incivility a retaliation of sorts occurs, possibly leading to much higher intensity aggressive behaviors.

Incivility is often described as a subset of deviant behavior (Bennett & Robinson, 1995). These researchers categorized deviant behavior into a four-part typology ranging from minor to serious and interpersonal to organizational. Incivility falls into, but is not fully encompassing, nor subsuming of their third and fourth quadrants labeled “political deviance” and “personal aggression.” The political deviance quadrant is defined as “engagement in social interaction that puts other individuals at a personal or political disadvantage” (Bennett & Robinson, 1995). Further, they defined personal aggression as “behaving in an aggressive or hostile manner toward another individual” (Bennett & Robinson, 1995).

Herein surfaces one of the challenges with the workplace incivility literature. Andersson and Pearson (2001) have identified incivility as a subset of the quadrants defined by Bennett and Robinson (1995). This suggests incivility would fit into the low intensity-quadrant three, as well as the ambiguous intent to harm-quadrant four (Andersson & Pearson, 2001). The question for the construct of incivility becomes where is the line drawn? Are behaviors such as yelling or cursing at someone considered low level or aggressive? Would the behavior be incivil if the intent was ambiguous or if the intent truly was to do harm? Moreover, how can we identify if intent is ambiguous? Arguably, the interpretation of these behaviors is in the eye of the beholder and can often be disregarded by the claim that the victim is overly sensitive. Thus, it appears one cannot answer this question without understanding the perceptions within the individual viewing incivility behavior.

CONSTRUCT ISSUES

Examining the original definition closely we discover a fuzziness that is both difficult to understand and explain clearly, thus, limiting a solid foundation upon which to develop the construct and its measures. First, the definition assumes that incivility is an actual tangible entity, rather than phenomena that falls into the realm of one’s individual perception. It is typically assumed that all behaviors are viewed equally incivil by all parties involved, and that

these behaviors are in violation of norms for respect. Not only may workplace norms vary from organization to organization, but the definition also assumes that all individuals within that organization display and interpret the same behaviors for the same norms. It would be nearly impossible to create a single measure to capture all workplace norms.

On the contrary, this definition implies a behavioral continuum component of "low intensity." The definition does not allow for clearly defined parameters and could very easily lead to construct proliferation. For example, if a person makes a rude gendered-comment, is it considered sexual harassment or incivility? Or both? If it is both, do we need to study both constructs? Does one allow us to understand or predict something more than the other? When is sexual harassment actually sexual harassment rather than incivility? These questions illustrate the convoluted nature of this construct.

Another problematic area in the definition lies within the nature of the behavior. Incivility lies outside of higher-level deviant behaviors that are clearly and formally recognized as unacceptable in an organization's formal system such as theft, harassment etc. However, if an employee is incivil, their behavior cannot be formally sanctioned given the low-level nature of the behavior. In addition, the intention of this low-level behavior is noted as ambiguous to harm. For example, rude behavior could be explained away as unintentional in direction and level of harm.

Incivility appears to have grown to the point of overlapping constructs. It is hard to discern at this point in the literature if certain topics are separate constructs, or simply a form of a larger encompassing construct. Therefore, our research argues that workplace incivility is one area calling for construct clarity. The overlap in construct definition and measurement between workplace deviance and workplace incivility raises many concerns specifically dealing with the area of incivility. Issues would include the ability to conceptually differentiate incivility from other similar constructs including bullying or harassment, as well as the inconsistency of the scope of what should be included as incivility. This would lead one to ask whether incivility is able to predict organizational outcomes above other existing constructs that have already been established, and whether incivility research has the ability to capture and isolate incivility in measurement.

In this manner, examining how researchers have measured incivility may give us some better insight into a clearer understanding of the boundaries of the construct of incivility. If we are not clear on our construct definition of incivility, then we end up with measurement instruments labeled as "incivility measures," yet not truly aligned in construct. The following is a review of the measurement issues currently found in the incivility literature.

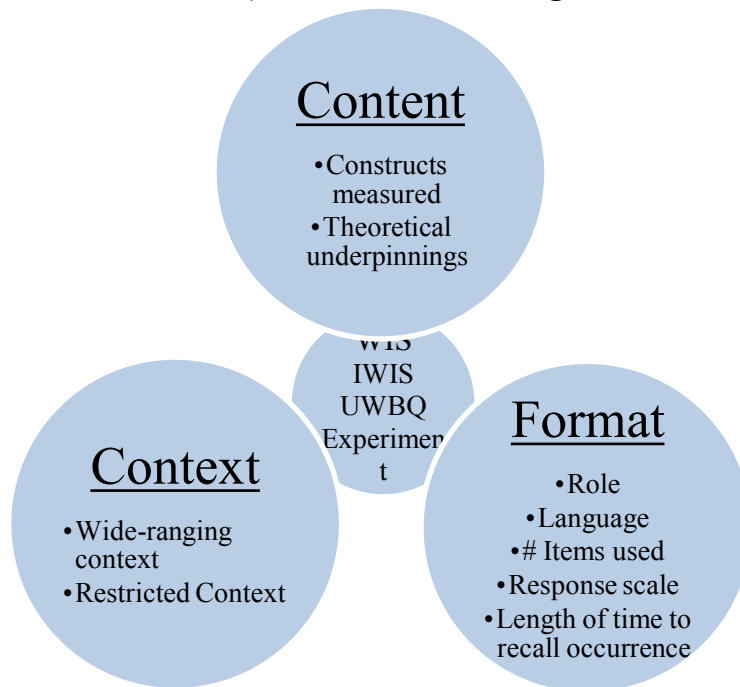
METHODS

In this qualitative analysis we selected articles that examined workplace incivility. These articles either used a specific instrument to measure workplace incivility or they were experimental in nature, manipulating behaviors that represent workplace incivility. We limited our search to published articles, and used key word searches in databases of psychology and business literature which resulted in a sample size of 55 articles. These key words included deviance, incivility, and workplace incivility.

In each study we classified and coded the article on whether the researchers used an instrument or experiment; which instrument was used; and the salient dimensions within the study. Instruments attempting to capture incivility have varied along three main dimensions:

content, format and context. **Content** variation includes theoretical underpinnings and constructs being measured interchangeably with incivility. This represents the specific behaviors and perceptions various researches feel are aligned with the construct of incivility. **Format** includes role, specific language used, variations of the number of items used, response scale items, and range in time length recalling incivility behaviors. Finally, **Context** refers to the various situations in which incivility has been studied (i.e. wide-ranging or restricted).

(WI) Measurement Coding



RESULTS

The number of instruments for workplace incivility has been somewhat limited. Incivility has been assessed using a variety of retrospective, self-reported measures. However, to date, only three actual instruments have been created. The Workplace Incivility Scale (WIS) created by Cortina et al. (2001); the Instigated Workplace Incivility Scale (IWIS) created by Blau and Andersson (2005); and the Uncivil Workplace Behavior Questionnaire (UWBQ) created by Martin and Hine (2005). Each of these measures attempts to capture a different aspect of what is considered, although not agreed upon, as workplace incivility. This measurement review will discuss specifically the etiology and details of each of these instruments, including the content, format, and context in which researchers have used these various scales and methods. While we will address each of these measures, due to limited data, the WIS comprises the majority of our analysis.

Workplace Incivility Scale (WIS)

The first instrument created to capture incivility specifically, was the Workplace Incivility Scale (Cortina et al., 2001). The items were identified based on the definition by

Andersson and Pearson (2001) and included behaviors that were identified as low level intensity and having ambiguous intent to harm. These behaviors were also identified as the most common negative acts in the workplace (Einarsen et al., 1994). Their sample consisted of 1,662 employees of the U.S. Eighth Circuit federal courts system. It was demographically broken down into 833 women, 325 men. Using confirmatory factor analysis, researchers determined that all 7 items fit the single factor model appropriately. Further, when the 7-items were summed into the WIS scale, it produced an alpha coefficient of 0.89. Table 1 provides the WIS in its original form.

<p align="center">Table 1 The Workplace Incivility Scale</p>
<p>In the past 5 years have you been in a situation where any of your superiors or coworkers:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Put you down or was condescending to you? 2. Paid little attention to your statement or showed little interest in your opinion? 3. Made demeaning or derogatory remarks about you? 4. Addressed you in unprofessional terms, either publically or privately? 5. Ignored or excluded you from professional camaraderie? 6. Doubted your judgment on a matter over which you have responsibility? 7. Made unwanted attempts to draw you into a decision of a personal matter?
<p>Retrieved from: Cortina et al. 2001</p>

The WIS has been the most widely used instrument for measuring incivility being used in 84% of studies examined. Additionally, the WIS has been adapted excessively. Out of 46 empirical articles that cite the WIS as the roots of their measurement, not one article to date has used the WIS in its exact original form. Concerningly, none of these studies have revalidated the modified instrument to our knowledge.

WIS Content

Operationalizing incivility and determining if it warrants its own construct has been a major focus of attention in research. While there is yet to be a clear answer on this, it is apparent that current instruments tend to capture content beyond the scope of incivility, as it now stands. The WIS instrument has been used in conjunction with a number of other instruments, increasing the scope of the construct including the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire to assess incivility in sexual harassment (Lim & Cortina, 2005; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007); Daily Racist Hassles Scale (Harreld, 1994) to assess gendered incivility (Miner, Settles, Pratt-Hayatt, & Brady, 2012); Lehman Inventory of Physical Aggression (Penney & Spector, 2005); and the Workplace Aggression Questionnaire to capture the construct to include a broader behavior sphere (Penney & Spector, 2005). Perhaps the most vivid example of this practice was by Cortina and Magley (2003) when they added items intentionally to expand the scope of the definition to include mild negative appraisal. In these incidents the scope of the measure was expanded by adding more items representing different behaviors. It is unclear as to whether these behaviors fit with the

standardly used incivility definition, or whether these various changes have resulted in issues of validity.

WIS Format

A qualitative examination of the content of the WIS shows that it has been altered by researchers through role, language, number of items used, response scale items, and length of time to recall the occurrence. We will briefly explore each of these.

Incivility has been examined from three role perspectives, the target (victim), the instigator, and witness (third party) of the incivility-behaviors. Witnesses are considered third party individuals that are not directly involved but see it occurring. The instigator is the person who actually displays the incivility-behaviors. The target is the person who the instigator is directing their incivility-behaviors toward. The WIS scale was originally created to capture the perspective of the target of incivility. While it has been used in this form many times, many other researchers have made adaptations to the original WIS to capture the remaining roles (Blau & Andersson, 2005; Trudel & Rejo, 2011; Miner & Eishied, 2012). For example, Miner and Eishied (2012) attempted to measure the effects of witnessed incivility by adapting the wording of the WIS to assess the frequency of observing incivility.

Researchers have often tailored the original instrument to be language specific to their area of investigation. For example, Lim and Teo (2009) added the words “in email” and Griffin (2010) added the words “from co-workers” at the end of the phrase to narrow in their scope to a specific area.

The number of items used in the instrument is one area of discourse. Authors, including Cortina, have adapted the original 7 items to fit the needs of their study. The actual number of items used has ranged from utilizing 3 items (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007; Caza & Cortina, 2007; Cortina & Magley, 2009); 4 items (Griffin, 2010); to the full 7 items (Taylor & Klemperer, 2012; Taylor, Bedeian & Kluemper, 2012). In 2005 and again in 2007, Cortina and colleagues themselves used two different scale lengths in the same article to measure the same construct.

There was variance in the scales that were used for responses from a 5-point Likert scale to a 4-point Likert scale. Additionally, the wording of the scales also ranged from very specific to more objective. For example, Jaarsveld, Walker and Skarlicki (2010) were very specific using words such as (1) being never and (5) being frequently-more than 7 times in the past month. It appears they were attempting to objectify the interpretation of the scale. Other authors were vaguer in language, leaving interpretation up to the participant. An example of this range can be seen in work by Lim and Lee (2011), who used the language of (0) being never and (4) being many times; and Taylor and Kluemper (2012), in (0) being never and (4) being frequently; as well as Lim and Teo (2009), where the response options are (1) being not at all and (5) being all the time.

The length of time participants were asked to recall in answering the items ranged from the original five year reference time frame (Cortina et al., 2001; Lim & Lee 2011), to a one year reference frame (Taylor & Klemperer, 2012; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007; Caza & Cortina, 2007; Ferguson, 2011; Taylor et al., 2012), a 2 month reference frame (Porath, MacInnis & Folkes, 2010), a 1 month reference frame (Jaarsveld, et al., 2010) to even a 2 week reference frame (Kern & Grandy, 2009). This discrepancy calls into question the construct of incivility as a state. For instance, how long do the effects last?

WIS Context

The original WIS focused on targets of incivility and was created to measure prevalence, specifically within the federal court system. Based on our qualitative findings, the context in which incivility is being studied can be described as wide ranging or restricted. Wide ranging encompasses the general workplace, those settings that are typical organizational environments, whereas restricted context is examined within a specific realm. Within these contexts, sub-contexts are also found. These include individual perceptions; team perceptions; climate of organization; and job position such as coworker or supervisor. This research found that wide ranging context includes participants that are employed in organizations from a particular sector. Researchers have focused on single, specific industries as well as cross-sectional samples encompassing a number of diverse industries.

There were only two articles that utilized a single organization in a specific industry. Kern and Grandey (2009) conducted analysis on a single location of a large retail store. Likewise, Morrow et al. (2011) examined a transportation agency that had been identified by the agency's leadership for concern with interpersonal relations among employees.

While much more difficult to obtain, some authors were able to examine a cross-sectional sample involving responses from participants in many different industries. Penney and Spector (2005) used professionally employed students that were enrolled in night classes, whereas others utilized students to recruit participants for the study (Taylor & Kluemper, 2012). All the while, Ferguson (2011) utilized an online data collection service.

Out of the five articles in the workplace context, three focused on individual perceptions (Penney & Spector, 2005; Kern & Grandey, 2009; Ferguson, 2011). The fourth aggregated individual responses to identify work group incivility. Three of the studies in the workplace context focused specifically on positional incivility. Co-worker specific incivility was a single focus area for some (Ferguson 2011; Morrow et al. 2011), where others were focused on both coworker and supervisor individually as a source of experienced incivility (Taylor & Kluemper, 2012). One study even looked at customer incivility toward employees (Kern & Grandey, 2009).

Restricted context was limited to a specific realm. These include a federal court system; cyber environment (individuals conversing over internet or email); international (those studies taking place in a country other than the US); and higher education (where individuals were either employed by or a student of a college or university).

A total of seven studies (Cortina et al., 2001; 2002; Cortina & Magley, 2003; Minor-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Lim & Cortina, 2005; Lim et al., 2008; Cortina & Magley, 2009) were conducted with participants being employees within then federal court system. Cortina was the common author in all of these studies. Each of these articles used a mailed paper and pencil version of the WIS to assess individual perceptions. A number of these studies specifically examined gender and incivility (Cortina et al, 2002; Minor-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Lim & Cortina, 2005), while Minor-Rubino and Cortina (2007) looked at workgroup and climate of incivility by aggregating the scores of the individual responses.

There were two articles specific to the incivility in the cyber context. Lim and Teo (2009) examined incivility experienced through email, whereas Giumetti et al (2012), examined experienced incivility simply online. Interestingly, both of these articles examined experienced incivility from a supervisor perspective.

There were four studies that collected data from participants living in places outside of the United States including Singapore (Lim & Lee, 2011; Lim & Teo, 2009), Australia and New

Zealand (Griffin, 2010), and Canada (Jaarsveld et al., 2010). Each of these studies took place in an organizational setting. Two of which were cross-sectional including a variety of industries (Lim & Lee, 2011; Griffin, 2010), whereas two took place in a specific industry. Lim and Teo (2009) looked at the banking and finance industry and Jaarsveld et al. (2010) looked at call centers.

Four of the articles using the WIS took place in the context of higher education. Of these, three focused on individual incivility (Caza & Cortina, 2007; Sakurari & Jex, 2012; Giumetti et al., 2012), while a single study aggregated individual responses to assess climate (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). All of the articles in this context specifically measured for co-worker and/or supervisor instigated incivility. Additionally, one article examined supervisor support (Sakurai & Jex, 2012) and one examined a gender specific target (Miner et al., 2012).

Instigated Workplace Incivility Scale (IWIS)

The Instigated Workplace Incivility Scale has been used in three articles. In coding these, content, format, and context are all observed, however, not to the extent as the WIS. Blau and Andersson (2005) identified a distinction in workplace incivility through examining the role of the instigator. They argued that the role of instigator was a distinct experience from that of the target. Up to this point the measures had focused on the role of the target of incivility.

These researchers took a similar approach to the WIS when examining the frequency of instigated incivility. Their new instrument (called the Instigated Workplace Incivility Scale) contained the same 7-items as the WIS. They altered wording to indicate the perspective of the instigator such as “put others down or were condescending to them in some way.” Additionally, the lead in sentence was also adapted to read “how often have you engaged in these behaviors in the past year” again to capture the role of the instigator. Authors reported validating the new scale by conducting a factor analysis. However, researchers suggest that changing the roles focused on in the study creates measurement issues (Gosh et al. 2011; Meier & Semmer 2012). To date, this scale has been cited as the measurement used in three articles. Of these articles, only one author modified the scale.

IWIS Content

Much like the WIS, this scale has also been used in a varied content. Blau and Andersson (2005) combine the WIS with Bennett and Robinson’s interpersonal deviance scale (2000), whereas Trudel (2011) included conflict management styles.

IWIS Format

Instigated Workplace Incivility Scale can be examined through language, response scale items, and length of time to recall the occurrence. Meier and Semmer (2012) were the only authors that modified the instrument and changed the language. They adapted the wording to actions specific to supervisor and coworker. The length of time participants were asked to recall in answering the items was changed to one year. All authors in studies using this measure deferred to this time frame.

The response scale of the IWIS utilized a 4-point Likert scale. Wording of the scale was specific: 1=hardly ever (once every few months or less), 2=rarely (about once a month),

3=sometimes (at least once a week), and 4=frequently (at least once a day). The detail of this scale leaves less room for interpretation of respondents. Only one study utilizing this measure varied from this scale. Meier and Semmer (2012) utilized a 7-point Likert scale ranging from (1) “not at all” to (7) “very much.”

The scale consists of 7-items measuring the frequency in which participants had been incivil to coworkers or supervisors in the past year. Authors took the approach of flipping the perspective and repeating the general context of the WIS rather than selecting new items for their scale, directed at the new role investigated. The scales reliability was measured at 0.89 with the Cronbach’s alpha of 0.87.

IWIS Context

All four studies using this measure were coded as wide ranging context within cross sectional workplaces. Blau and Andersson (2005) used professionally employed students that were enrolled in night classes, whereas others utilized students to recruit participants for the study (Meier & Semmer, 2012). Sayers et al. (2011) utilized an online data collection service.

Uncivil Workplace Behavior Questionnaire (UWBQ)

The UWBQ (Martin & Hine, 2005) was created as an alternative to the unidimensionality of the WIS as seen by the researchers. The Uncivil Workplace Behavior Questionnaire has only been used in one article. In coding this scale, content, format, and context are all observed, however, not to the extent as the WIS.

UWBQ Content

This scale is unique in its multidimensionality and categorizes incivility into: hostility; privacy invasion; exclusionary practice; and gossiping.

UWBQ Format

The instrument includes a 5-point Likert scale and the time of recall being one year. However, not a single item from the original WIS was included on this new instrument as authors stated that factor analysis ruled against retaining.

UWBQ Content

The context can be described as cross-sectional workplace. Researchers were able to gain a sample from 8 different industries when creating their instrument. There were no found citations that have demonstrated the use of this instrument.

Experimental Design Studies (EDS)

Three known studies examined the effects of incivility on various behaviors including (Porath & Erez, 2007; 2009; Porath et al., 2010; and Porath & Pearson, 2012) through the use of

experimental design. In each of the studies, incivility was manipulated; therefore a measurement instrument was not used. In coding these experiments, content, format, and context were observed.

EDS Content

When considering content, initially authors argued that they were studying the effects of rudeness, a separate construct from incivility for acts that were not necessarily unintentional in nature. However, as the series of studies progressed, three in all with Porath as a lead author (Porath & Erez, 2007; 2009; Porath et al., 2010; and Porath & Pearson, 2012), they changed their language to include only incivility, even going as far as to cite findings of incivility from their previously called rudeness study. In Porath and Erez (2007) original article the authors note that they were studying rudeness not incivility behaviors because they were including intentional behavior. However, in Porath's later articles (Porath et al., 2010; and Porath & Pearson, 2012) they do include rudeness as part of incivility behaviors and even cite their findings of the first article on rudeness as findings of incivility behaviors. It is interesting to note that these three are the only studies that looked at actual behavior rather than attitudes and perceptions.

EDS Format

The format for each of the studies was in an experimental setting. Confederates introduced incivil behavior and participants were given a manipulation check to ensure that incivility had been received as such.

Authors produced experiments from only the role of the witness. In each of the three studies a participant would witness a confederate yelling and talking in a condescending manor to another person involved in the experiment. After this took place, the participant, using a variety of tasks, would be tested for any demonstration of behavioral interruptions, if at all.

EDS Context

The context for each of the studies can be described as a restricted context. All three were conducted in a university setting with students enrolled in a mandatory course.

MEASUREMENT VALIDATION

From this analysis of content, format, and context, we have identified a problematic area that deserves attention from future researchers – measurement validation. This problem is most prominent in the WIS, not only because the WIS is the most widely used measure, but because it has never been used in its original form since its creation and, most importantly, the various mutations of the WIS have never been validated. Adcock and Collier (2001) offer a comprehensive framework geared toward establishing standards for measurement validation. In relation to their work, one area workplace incivility measures appear most at risk are with measurement validity and the meaning of concepts. The second area of difficulty deals with contextual specificity and each will be discussed below.

Measurement validity and the meaning of concepts

When attempting to operationalize workplace incivility, researchers have used its original term *incivility* interchangeably with a variety of concepts, including: rudeness (Pearson, Andersson, & Wegner, 2001; Porath & Erez, 2009), deviance (Reio & Ghosh, 2009), and bullying (Rosigno, V.J., Hodson, R., Lopez, 2009), and, as mentioned earlier, items from a variety of other measures (Sexual Experiences Questionnaire; Daily Racist Hassles Scale; Lehman Inventory of Physical Aggression; Workplace Aggression Questionnaire) have been used in conjunction with items originally developed and validated for the WIS. This lack of homogeneity in concepts to describe incivil behavior is disconcerting. As Kaplan (1964) asserts “proper concepts are needed to formulate good theory, but we need a good theory to arrive at the proper concepts” (p. 53). This inconsistent use of concepts to describe an incivil phenomenon has direct implications on measurement validation, and may be resulting in the development, or mutation, of measures that are capturing something other than what was intended. In some cases, researchers used the standardized term *incivility*, but altered its original operationalization. For instance, one experimental study conducted by Porath, MacInnis, & Folkes, (2010) used the phrase “you’re an idiot” as the incivil prompt. One could reasonably argue that this prompt violates one of the core characteristics that separate incivility from other forms of interpersonal mistreatment – ambiguous intent. And yet, this type of inclusion into the measures for incivility is seen repeatedly in the literature.

Contextual specificity

Another issue regarding measurement validation that we wish to elaborate on is *contextual specificity*, which “arises when differences in context potentially threaten the validity of measurement” (Adcock & Collier, 2001). The intention of measurement validation is to confirm that what has been operationalized is being captured, or correctly interpreted, by the given measurement (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). We have seen from the earlier review that context and format has changed (in some cases dramatically) since the original validation of the WIS, leaving one to question whether the mutations of this measurement is still capturing incivility, or something else.

Through the framework provided, contextual specificity mainly poses an issue to context and format. Variations in response style, racial groups, time sensitivity, and culture (both industrial and geographical) pose challenges for a universal workplace incivility measure. For example, researchers have assumed that norms of respect, a distinguishing component of workplace incivility, are the same across various communication methods (e.g. email vs. person-to-person). Modifying the WIS in an attempt to capture incivility in a cyber-environment (i.e. Lim and Teo, 2009; Giumetti et al., 2012) may result in an underestimation of incivility incidences since virtual communication is often less formal and more direct than in-person communication, with individual and group norms varying between online and face-to-face environments (Palloff and Pratt, 1999; Johnson, 2001). The same concern arises when researchers have used invalidated measures across geographical cultures and industries. Yeung

and Griffin (2008) for example, examined the extent workplace incivility is present in Asian cultures, utilizing a sample that extended across 6 different Asian countries (as well as numerous industries). The measure used to capture workplace incivility was a self-reported survey that included four items (to our knowledge this measure has not been validated):

1. Made negative comments about you to others.
2. Spoke to you in a rude or inappropriate manner.
3. Questioned your judgment in your area of responsibility.
4. Excluded you from situations where you felt you should be included.

Before researchers begin attempting to capture the phenomenon of incivility across cultures, perhaps the question of whether incivility means the same thing across cultures should first be addressed, since the term “workplace incivility” originated as a western concept. We do not wish to imply that workplace incivility is solely a western phenomenon; however, it would be erroneous to assume that norms of respect are synonymous across all geographic regions. For instance, researchers have identified cultural variations in distributive and procedural justice (Morris & Leung, 2000); personal control, stress, and coping styles (O'Connor & Shimizu, 2002); organizational identification, and turnover intentions (Abrams, Ando, & Hinkle, 1998); not to mention the various contrasts of Western/Asian values and expectations outlined by Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov (1991). Cultural norms have been shown to differ substantially even within in a single nation, as observed in the findings of Cohen (2007). This does not imply that universality of incivility measurement cannot be achieved at least to some degree. As Adcock and Collier (2001) point out, thoughtful consideration to context may better enable researchers to develop measures that translate to a variety of contextual environments.

Examining content, format and context through the proposed framework, we offer a checks and balances system we believe can help future researchers avoid the aforementioned issues with measurement validity.

Incivility Validation Framework	
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terminology Variation – Is the term <i>incivility</i> used interchangeably with other terms/concepts (e.g. bullying, rudeness, sexual harassment)? • Operational Variation – Does the operationalization contradict the three distinguishing characteristics of incivility: norm violation, low intensity and ambiguous intent?
Format	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role Variation – Has the measurement been validated for the appropriate role perspective: target, instigator, or witness? • Language Variation – Does the inclusion of key-words into the instrument used to narrow the scope to a specific area (e.g. “in-email”, “from co-workers”) sufficiently capture the intended phenomenon? • Time Variation – Does the time frame of the response items sufficiently capture the intended phenomenon? • Response Scale Variation – Does the response scale (e.g. number of items used, specificity of wording scales) sufficiently capture the intended phenomenon?

Context
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Variation – Are there cultural variations (regionally and industrially) of the sample that are known to exist within some of the variables used (e.g. cultural differences in procedural justice)? • Positional Variation – Are there positional variations (e.g. customer, coworker, group-level incivility) of the sample that are known to exist within some of the variables used? • Communicative Variation – Are there communicative variations (e.g. virtual vs. face-to-face) of the sample that are known to exist within some of the variables used?

While the comprised framework does not boast a newfound discovery on measurement validation within behavioral sciences, we feel it is a tool through which future researchers can avoid the aforementioned issues found within the current measures, develop appropriate, accurate, and validated measures, and use these measures according to the appropriate context, format and content of their particular study.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Workplace incivility currently has three primary measurement instruments, with one (WIS) accounting for a vast majority of the studies that have been conducted on this phenomenon. This research conducted an analysis of these utilized measures to call into question the consensus of the incivility construct and expose discrepancies and concerns in current literature. The authors developed a framework through which to examine content, format and context issues. These issues are of concern because measurement is most useful when we can use it to connect abstract concepts, such as incivility, to empirical indicants. In situations where these connections are weak or faulty, we run the risk of incorrect inferences or reporting misleading conclusions. Literature that is based on such inadequate measures or measurement models create fuzziness or confusion when trying to establish a more robust understanding of the phenomenon being examined.

Based on this research, the authors believe opportunities for future research could be identified in three major areas: construct clean-up, measurement validation, and tool development. First, one of the major disagreed upon areas in this literature is whether incivility is a construct on its own accord or whether it is a subset of an existing construct. The state of incivility as it stands appears to be overlapped among several constructs such as workplace deviance, aggression, sexual harassment, bullying, workplace abuse, counterproductive work behavior, interactional justice, and interpersonal conflict. Authors of this paper propose we move to consider incivility as non-sanctionable behaviors. Behaviors that are in alignment with the original definition are considered so low in intensity and so ambiguous in intent that there are not typically performance management systems in place to reprimand or hold people accountable for these types of behaviors.

Another area calling for clarification is the somewhat softness in the definition. The original definition includes phrases such as “ambiguous intent to harm” and “low intensity deviant behavior.” From this original definition, past researchers have attempted to make the phenomena a little more tangible by increasing clarity in the definition through the use of specific behaviors attributed as incivility behavior. However, these attempts seem to have narrowed the phenomena so specifically that it leaves out many aspects that should be included.

This research suggests a construct clean-up to further identify and define incivility. The softness in the definition also causes issues in measurement. How can we create accurate measurements when we don’t actually have a measureable definition? Beyond that, incivility is

examined from three different perspectives, which presents further complications in measurement. It is our conclusion that perhaps it is not a single instrument we should be seeking to create, but rather a more developed “**set of tools**” to better handle the multifaceted aspects of this construct.

Therefore, we suggest the development of a set of tools, rather than one measure that can be used across perspectives which will appropriately include facets of incivility as well as limit the nomological net to only incivility. The nomological net must be pulled taught. It is plausible that we might learn more about incivility by extinguishing the quest for a standard instrument. As mentioned previously, perception and context might be causation of incivility and therefore lend itself to one type of tool. In this manner, incivility research needs to begin to populate the research tool box to create more robust measures that have maximal localized significance. This approach has been discussed in pro-social behaviors (Puffer, 1987) and would seem to also similarly serve negative social behaviors as well. It is our opinion that the future direction of this body of research is within our own our thinking and framing of the incivility realm.

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* References marked with an asterisk indicate studies included in the analysis and provided one or more independent primary samples.

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOLLOWER PERCEPTIONS OF LEADER OPENNESS TO EXPERIENCE AND FOLLOWER JOB SATISFACTION

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the relationship between follower perceptions of leader openness to experience (LOE) and follower job satisfaction (FJS) using a sample of 112 school employees in St. Louis, MO. H1 posited a positive bivariate relationship between LOE and FJS, which was supported using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient ($r = .41$; $p < .01$). H2 hypothesized a significant change in explained variance in FJS when adding LOE to the control variable composite (i.e., Age, Tenure, and State), which was supported via hierarchical multiple regression analysis (F Change (1,107) = 22.795; $p < .001$). Additionally, significant differences in mean FJS scores were found between respondents working in Illinois juxtaposed against Missouri ($t(110) = -2.245$; $p < .05$) and the complete regression model offers significant explanatory power (Total $R^2 = .214$; $p < .001$). Practical implications and opportunities for future research are discussed.

Keywords: openness to experience, job satisfaction, leadership, job in general scale, m5-50 questionnaire, quantitative

INTRODUCTION

Openness to experience and job satisfaction have been widely researched; yet, there have been no published studies to date in which researchers have endeavored to ascertain the relationship between these variables within a leader-follower context. Knowledge of this relationship would have utility for leadership development programs in a variety of organizations and industries. Leadership theory and research have been largely leader-centric, driven by a quest for the profile of the good leader (Judge, Piccolo, & Kosalka, 2009); however, many researchers have recently adopted a follower-centered approach, arguing that without followers there can be no leadership and, thus, followers play a key role in constructing and endorsing the leader (Meindl, 1995; Schyns & Felfe, 2006). According to extant research on Five-Factor Model personality dimensions and job satisfaction, it is hypothesized that leader openness to experience and follower job satisfaction are positively related; thus, this paper provides an abridged review of supporting literature to frame the investigation into the relationship between follower perceptions of leader openness to experience (LOE) and follower job satisfaction (FJS).

LITERATURE REVIEW

An enduring aim of work psychology has been to unearth why people vary in their motivation to work and how these individual differences interact with organizational/situational factors to influence satisfaction and motivation (Furnham, 2002). Studies such as Costa and McCrae (1992) and Goldberg (1992) have examined the predictive ability of personality traits on job performance, concentrating predominately on the Five-Factor Model dimensions of Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to Experience; however, it appears less attention has been given to the relationship between these personality dimensions and job satisfaction. Studies such as Ghorbanian, Bahadori, and Nejati (2012) and Hsiu-Chin, Beck, and Amos (2005) have examined the impact of leadership styles on follower job satisfaction and the investigations by Judge et al. (1999) and Furnham, Eracleous, and Chamorro-Premuzic (2009) found that conscientiousness was a significant predictor of a person's work satisfaction. The apposite blend of leadership qualities and environmental characteristics is highly contextual, as assembly line workers engaged in mechanistic tasks would fare better under command-and-control leadership and rigid processes and procedures than would a group of innovative R&D staff; therefore, if leaders are imaginative and entertain new ideas within a context that warrants such qualities, it seems reasonable that followers will feel empowered to exercise creative proclivities and job satisfaction will be enhanced as a result.

Openness to Experience

Openness to Experience is a personality dimension associated with creative performance in organizations (George & Zhou, 2001; Woodman, Sawyer, & Griffin, 1993) and "characterizes someone in terms of imagination, sensitivity, and curiosity" (Robbins & Judge, 2011, p. 139). People with high levels of this trait are inclined to be nonconforming, autonomous, and imaginative (Johnson & Hill, 2009) and tend to thrive in occupations in which change is continuous and innovation is critical (Ivancevich, Konopaske, & Matteson, 2011). In addition, these individuals display a preference for variety, enjoy grasping new ideas, and embrace an intrinsic interest in novelty (McCrae & Costa, 1997). Conversely, individuals on the opposite end of the spectrum are unimaginative, conventional, and habit-bound and would not excel within an environment warranting ingenuity. With respect to leadership, the role of openness to experience remains somewhat unclear, as the significance of this variable has not been supported in the majority of leadership studies (Johnson & Hill, 2009). The studies by McCormack and Mellor (2002), Ployhart, Lim, and Chan (2001), and Johnson and Hill (2009) are the only published studies to date in which openness to experience has been found to be a predictor of leader effectiveness.

Job Satisfaction

Employee job satisfaction has been widely discussed in the organizational behavior literature and the consensus among both academicians and practitioners is that the determinants

of job satisfaction are the team environment, job autonomy, leadership style, and the nature of the work (Al-Swidi, Nawawi, & Al-Hosam, 2012). The measure of job satisfaction has gained scientific as well as practical relevance due to the growing evidence supporting a relationship between job satisfaction and organizational outcomes such as absenteeism, performance, stress, and client satisfaction (e.g., Auerbach, 1996; Berry, 1998). Locke (1976) described job satisfaction as a pleasure or positive emotional state, which is the result of one's positive appraisal of a job or job experience. Robbins and Judge (2011) suggest that job satisfaction is an attitude that encompasses a positive feeling about a job, which stems from the job's characteristics. Baker, Israel, and Schurman (1996) posit that social support from supervisors has a more significant influence on employee satisfaction than support from co-workers. According to Marzuki, Permadi, and Sunaryo (2012), satisfaction is considered the last of the components in a chain reaction with respect to the motivation to satisfy a need, though Locke (1976) apprised that some researchers suggest job satisfaction stems more from an individual's feelings toward his or her job than the fulfillment of needs.

This study predicted that under the leadership of individuals with high levels of openness to experience, followers will have higher levels of job satisfaction. Since the characteristics of the situation as well as the characteristics of the person have been found to carry the potential to either facilitate or restrict the behavioral expression of an individual's personality traits (Konovsky & Organ, 1996), this study posited that LOE would explain unique variance in FJS above and beyond control variables.

HYPOTHESES

- H₁: There is a positive bivariate relationship between follower perceptions of Leader Openness to Experience (LOE) and Follower Job Satisfaction (FJS).*
- H₂: Follower perceptions of Leader Openness to Experience (LOE) provides a significant change in explained variance in Follower Job Satisfaction (FJS) beyond the Age, Tenure, and State control variable composite.*

METHOD

Sample

The sample consisted of 125 faculty and staff members employed in public and private (pre-K through college level) institutions within a 50 mile radius of St. Louis, MO. Thirteen of the 125 responses were immediately discarded due to incompleteness, resulting in a sample size of 112 and a usability rate of 89.6 percent. The sample comprised 19 males (17 percent) and 93 females (83 percent), with 67 respondents (59.8 percent) employed in Illinois and 45 (40.2 percent) in Missouri. The majority of respondents (98 or 87.5 percent) work in public institutions, while 14 respondents (12.5 percent) work in private schools. With respect to ethnicity, 108 (96.4 percent) respondents are white, three (2.7 percent) are African American,

and one (.9 percent) is Asian. Additional frequencies for age, tenure, school type, and position are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 <i>Description of the Sample (N = 112)</i>		
Variable	Frequency	Percent
Age		
18-24 years	2	1.8
25-39 years	43	38.4
40-65 years	65	58
66+ years	2	1.8
Tenure		
0-5 years	31	27.7
6-10 years	28	25
11-15 years	19	17
16-20 years	19	17
20+ years	15	13.4
School Type		
Preschool	18	16.1
Elementary School	35	31.3
Middle School	14	12.5
High School	40	35.7
College/University	5	4.5
Position		
Teacher/Instructor/Professor	70	62.5
Administrator	12	10.7
Administrative Assistant	2	1.8
Counselor	2	1.8
Food Service Director	2	1.8
Laborer	4	3.6
Maintenance	1	0.9
Occupational Therapist	3	2.7
Psychologist	1	0.9
Secretary	4	3.6
Speech-Language Pathologist	4	3.6
Supervisor	1	0.9
Support Staff	2	1.8
Missing	4	3.4

Measures

M5-50 Questionnaire. The commonly utilized NEO Personality Inventory-Revised (NEO PI-R; Costa & McCrae, 1992) is a 240 item, 5-point Likert-style inventory that measures six facets, or subordinate dimensions, for each of the Five-Factor Model (FFM) personality domains. The NEO PI-R is a proprietary instrument that is copyrighted by authors and publishing companies; therefore, the ability to edit and modify the tool, which could potentially enhance theory development, is inhibited (Proctor & McCord, 2009). Goldberg (1999) addressed this issue by developing the International Personality Item Pool (IPIP, 2001), a scientific collaboratory, in order to provide rapid access to measures of personality and other individual differences in the public domain. The IPIP provides scales measuring constructs analogous to those measured by several of the major proprietary personality inventories (Proctor & McCord, 2009).

The M5-50 Questionnaire (McCord, 2002) is a self-report measure comprised of 336 items from Goldberg's International Personality Item Pool (2001), which assesses the personality domains defined by Costa and McCrae's (1995) FFM: Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to Experience. The 336 adult-oriented items capture completely all identified high correlates with the NEO PI-R (Proctor & McCord, 2009). The M5-50 consists of 10 statements for each of the FFM domains, and participants rate the accuracy of each on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from "Very Inaccurate" to "Very Accurate". The present study engaged only the Openness to Experience scale, which consists of the following facets: Imagination, Artistic Interests, Emotionality, Adventurousness, Intellect, and Liberalism (Proctor & McCord, 2009). Studies such as Socha, Cooper, and McCord (2010) have shown that the M5-50 Questionnaire has good internal reliability and findings from Proctor and McCord (2009) support the validity of the M5-50 Questionnaire as a measure of the FFM Openness domain.

Since an observer rating version of the M5-50 Questionnaire is not available, a modification of the well-documented self-report instrument was necessary. Unlike the more extensive M5-50 modification in the study by Grist, Socha, and McCord (2012), in which the instrument was modified to suit children and, thus, required the elimination and rewriting of each of the 336 adult-oriented IPIP items, the present study only required the wording of the items to be changed from first person to third person as there was no need to change the content of the items. As explained by McCord (2013), there is reasonably solid ground upon which to describe this change as a modification of the self-report instrument that is well documented. There is considerable evidence, such as the study by McCrae et al. (2005), supporting that observer rating adaptations of self-report instruments maintain most of the psychometric properties of the original. Simply adapting the existing self-report scale for use by observers was preferable over developing a new scale, which entails writing relevant items, piloting the scale, examining internal consistency and factor structure, and gathering evidence of retest reliability and convergent and discriminant validity (McCrae & Weiss, 2007).

Job in General Scale. Studies such as Mousavi et al. (2012) have measured job satisfaction using the Job Descriptive Index (JDI), which is a 72 item instrument originally developed by Smith, Kendall, and Hulin (1969) that assesses the following facets of job satisfaction: supervision, type of work, coworker relationships, pay, and opportunities for promotion. However, the Job in General (JIG) Scale was constructed to reflect the global, long-term evaluation of the job, consisting of only 18 items in a format similar to the JDI (Balzer et al., 1997), and features a Cronbach's alpha in previous studies of .92. Though the JDI provides more depth with respect to the facets of job satisfaction, the JIG Scale was chosen for purposes of brevity and to obtain a more general measure of job satisfaction in followers.

Procedure

Hair et al. (2005) advocate a minimum of 15 to 20 observations per independent variable for regression analysis to ensure statistical power and facilitate generalizability; accordingly, this study required a minimum sample size of 90 to 120 participants in order to perform the planned multiple regression analysis, assuming five significant control variables. The study began with purposive sampling to ensure responses were collected from preschools, elementary schools, middle schools, high schools, and universities, in both public and private settings, and within 50 miles of St. Louis, MO on both the Illinois and Missouri sides of the Mississippi River. While purposive sampling achieved the desired breadth of schools, it did not render a response rate large enough to satisfy Hair et al.'s recommended minimum sample size; therefore, the individuals initially contacted through purposive sampling were asked to distribute the link to the online survey to colleagues within their district as well as to contacts in other St. Louis area districts. The survey disclosure represented in Appendix I served to provide clarity on the qualifications for participation as well as an email address to which questions could be directed. Though the shift from purposive to convenience sampling forfeited the perfect distribution of respondents across school type and state, it achieved the target sample size. Fluid Surveys was chosen as the online utility to host the survey and since it features SPSS integration, no manual data entry was necessary after responses were collected, which mitigated the prospect for human error.

DATA ANALYSIS

After the removal of 13 responses due to incompleteness, additional data screening was necessary. Since the instruments that were utilized encompass both positively and negatively worded items, a check for straight line responses (i.e., a particular response provided for all items, indicative of inattentiveness or poor reading skills) was performed prior to recoding. Fortunately, the test did not uncover any straight line responses and, thus, there was no need to discard additional cases. According to Pallant's (2010) recommendation, the data was screened for outliers, normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) define outliers as any case with a standardized residual of more than 3.3 or less than -3.3, and there was only one case that satisfied this condition, having a standardized residual of -3.366. As Pallant

notes, it is not uncommon to find a number of outlying residuals, especially with large samples; therefore, this case was not removed. The Scatterplot showed that the residuals are roughly rectangularly distributed with the majority of the scores concentrated between a standardized predicted value of -1 and 1 and, thus, do not suggest a violation of assumptions for normality (Pallant, 2010). Additionally, the Normal P-P Plot illustrated that the points lie in a reasonably straight diagonal line, indicating no major deviations from normality (Pallant, 2010). Finally, the assumption of homoscedasticity is supported, as the variance around the regression line is largely equal for all values of the predictor variable, LOE.

As captured in Table 2, Cronbach's alpha for the JIG Scale was an acceptable .82; however, the internal consistency for the 10 items on the M5-50 Questionnaire's Openness to Experience Scale was only .49. Due to concerns about the ability of respondents to assess accurately the different dimensions of Openness to Experience in their direct superior, as a result of the instrument being modified for observer ratings, an inter-item correlation matrix was generated to identify the reason for the low internal consistency. The matrix revealed that one item, *the extent to which my direct superior is interested in abstract ideas*, was negatively correlated with all but one other item, which exhibited virtually no correlation ($r = .002$). With this item removed, Cronbach's alpha grew to an acceptable .70; thus, the computed LOE scores excluded this item.

Table 2						
<i>Descriptive Statistics for Composite Scores (N = 112)</i>						
Measure	Items	Min.	Max.	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>α</i>
Leader Openness to Experience (LOE)	9	1.89	4.89	3.58	0.62	0.7
Follower Job Satisfaction (FJS)	18	18	54	46.23	8.3	0.82

H1 postulated a positive bivariate relationship between LOE and FJS. As illustrated in Table 3, there is a positive and statistically significant bivariate relationship between LOE and FJS ($r = .41$; $p < .01$); thus, H1 is supported. With respect to the control variables, Table 3 shows that neither of the two interval-scaled control variables, Age ($r = -.02$; $p > .05$) and Tenure ($r = -.11$; $p > .05$), are significantly correlated with FJS, while State has a weak but significant relationship with FJS ($r = .20$; $p < .05$).

Table 3 <i>Summary of Intercorrelations for FJS, Age, Tenure, State, and LOE</i>					
Measure	1	2	3	4	5
1. Follower Job Satisfaction (FJS)	---				
2. Age	-.02	---			
3. Tenure	-.11	.55**	---		
4. State	.20*	.04	-.01	---	
5. Leader Openness to Experience (LOE)	.41**	-.03	.03	.042	---
<i>Note.</i> * Significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed) ** Significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed)					

One-way ANOVA was performed for School Type after a test for homogeneity of variances, for which Levene's Statistic was 3.128 ($p < .05$), indicating inequality of variances. Accordingly, the Brown-Forsythe Statistic was subsequently computed and the result was 1.716 ($p > .05$), indicating equality of means. However, as illustrated in Table 4, the between groups one-way ANOVA results indicate insignificant mean differences in FJS scores between the different school types.

Table 4 <i>One-Way ANOVA Results for Mean Differences in FJS by School Type</i>				
School Type	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>
Preschool	18	46.83	6.01	1.42
Elementary School	35	47.06	6.78	1.15
Middle School	14	45.64	9.35	2.5
High School	40	44.63	10.08	1.59
College/University	5	52.8	1.64	0.73
<i>Note.</i> $F(4,107) = 1.300$; $p = .275$				

An independent-samples t-test for differences in mean FJS scores by state was preceded by Levene's Test for Equality of Variances, which revealed that State ($F = 5.174$; $p < .05$) violated the assumption of equal variances. Assuming non-equivalent variances, Table 5 illustrates that the differences in mean FJS scores between Illinois and Missouri are significant ($t(110) = -2.245$; $p < .05$).

Table 5 <i>Independent Samples T-Test for Differences in Mean FJS by State</i>				
State	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>
Illinois	67	44.91	9.22	1.13
Missouri	45	48.20	6.30	.94
<i>Note.</i> $t(110) = -2.245; p < .05$				

As presented in Table 6, the regression model explains 21.4 percent of the variance in FJS and the model is significant (Total $R^2 = .214$; $p < .001$). Hierarchical multiple regression analysis was employed to test H2, which posited a significant change in explained variance in FJS when adding LOE to the control variable set. As indicated by the change in R^2 shown in Table 6, the inclusion of LOE in Step 2 explains an additional 16.7 percent of the variation in FJS beyond the control variables included in Step 1, and this change is significant (F Change (1,107) = 22.795; $p < .001$). Thus, H2 is supported. Additionally, $\beta = .41$ for LOE ($t = 4.774$; $p < .001$) illustrates that LOE makes a substantial and statistically significant, unique contribution to the equation when the effects of the controls are held fixed. Put differently, if LOE is increased by one standard deviation (i.e., .62), we could expect FJS to improve by .41 standard deviation units considering the control set is zero.

Table 6 <i>Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Relating LOE to FJS</i>		
Predictor	ΔR^2	β
Step 1 Age Tenure State	0.047	.040 -.112 .183
Step 2 LOE	0.167***	.410***
Total R^2	0.214***	
<i>n</i>	112	
<i>Note.</i> *** $p < .001$		

DISCUSSION

The results of this study support the hypothesized relationships constructed from a review of the literature on the Openness to Experience personality domain and employee job satisfaction. Johnson and Hill (2009) note that the role of Openness to Experience has not been

supported in the majority of leadership studies, and these findings advance theory by expanding knowledge regarding the relationship between LOE and FJS. This study's findings have practical utility for leaders in environments that warrant imagination, sensitivity, and curiosity, as the Openness to Experience personality dimension can improve follower job satisfaction and encourage the positive outcomes, such as increased productivity, improved motivation, reduction in absenteeism and tardiness, fewer accidents, better mental and physical health, and greater general life satisfaction (Landy, 1978), with which it has been shown to be linked. Simply put, in order for leaders to capitalize on the creative penchants of followers, they must comprise characteristics conducive to extinguishing reticence about contributing insights and ideas, and Openness to Experience is among these requisite traits.

LIMITATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Several opportunities for future research exist to facilitate a better understanding of the relationship between LOE and FJS. The first limitation of this study involves instrumentation. Since an observer rating form for the M5-50 Questionnaire is not available, its Openness to Experience Scale items had to be adapted for use by observers, which raises concerns about the ability of respondents to assess accurately the different dimensions of Openness to Experience in their direct superior. This concern seems to be justified by the fact that one of the scale's items had to be removed in order to raise its internal consistency to an acceptable level. Future studies in which the relationship between LOE and FJS is examined should consider the use of an alternative inventory, such as Costa and McCrae's (1992) NEO PI-R, for which an observer rating form is available and on which extensive testing has been performed.

In addition, this study's sample was limited to educational institutions in St. Louis, MO; therefore, future studies should explore other geographic regions as well as non-educational settings to see if these findings can be reproduced in other contexts. According to the literature on Openness to Experience and what is known about employee job satisfaction, it seems LOE would have the most significant impact on FJS in settings in which imagination, sensitivity, and curiosity are considered assets (Robbins & Judge, 2011), though various confounds for which this study did not account could influence this relationship. Theory suggests that FJS would not be enhanced by higher levels of LOE in settings in which tasks can be successfully executed in an unimaginative, conventional, and habit-bound manner.

Furthermore, since this study's sample was comprised of 93 females and only 19 males, future research should incorporate a sampling frame that facilitates a test of the extent to which the regression model's predictive capacity is influenced when gender is evenly distributed. As well, correlating observer reports about a leader with observer job satisfaction may result in a relationship inflated by common method variance; thus, future research should address this potential shortcoming by correlating leader self-reports with follower self-reports.

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APPENDIX I

Survey Disclosure

This study of perceived leader openness to experience and the potential relationship with follower job satisfaction is being performed by Craig Starbuck, an Organizational Leadership Ph.D. student at Regent University. You are invited to participate in this study which will involve completing a composite of two online survey instruments (38 items in total) followed by a few demographical questions for analysis and validation. The questionnaire is expected to take no more than five minutes to complete.

As a participant, there is no compensation and no direct benefits, although you may find that contributing to the research and a better understanding of these emerging concepts is rewarding. Participation is voluntary, anonymous, and withdrawal is available at any time. No personally identifiable information will be collected, and the survey responses will be stored on secure servers. The results of this study may be published, but individual responses will not be depicted in any articles.

To be eligible to participate, you must be at least 18 years of age and be employed in a school within 50 miles of St. Louis, MO. If you have any questions concerning participation, privacy, or the study, please contact the researcher, Craig Starbuck, at craista@mail.regent.edu. If you elect to continue to the survey, understanding the aforementioned conditions, your participation will be truly appreciated.

CULTURAL NORMS THAT FACILITATE ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN A TIRE MOLD FACILITY

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ABSTRACT

Organizational members at a tire mold manufacturer motivated by a suggestion box hanging outside the break room realized leadership potential and influenced organizational change by identifying ineffective practices and recommending strategies for change. The norm for bottom up communication rewarded organizational members for their initiative through public praise and tangible rewards while implemented suggestions garnered the organization hundreds of thousands of dollars in savings and profits. Potential leaders or change agents are those most likely to influence others to adapt to new ways of doing things when the organizational norms invite and reward participation. This study examined an organizational culture that supported leadership norms and cultivated an environment conducive to change. Relying on the analysis of narratives, observation and text, findings suggest that practices and norms in organizations that created opportunities for organizational members to initiate ideas and realize leadership potential reinforce norms that produce organizational change.

Five keywords for online searchability: Norms, Organizational Communication, Culture, Change, Leadership

CULTURAL NORMS THAT FACILITATE ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN A TIRE MOLD FACILITY

The year 2009 commenced with economic constraints in the United States that hampered productivity and profitability within the automobile industry (*Wall Street Journal*, 27 January, 2009). These conditions created the need for strategic communication to manage change, create strategies for recovery and regain stakeholder support. Organizational leaders navigating change rely on communication to manage multiple tasks like strategic planning, market analysis, information gathering, team building, and global relations. Effective communication, at the core of these actions, influences the degree to which leaders manage change (Pascale & Sternin, 2005). Although organizational change literature focuses primarily on how leaders inform organizational members about change from the top down, scant research examines the bottom up communication that creates change through norms.

Research suggests communication strategies enable change between management and support staff. For example, researchers like Lewis (1999) found that channels influence effectiveness. In his study, leaders using channels rich in cues, like those in face-to-face interactions, were most influential during times of change. Furthermore, acceptance of change is often dependent on how managers frame it and members perceive it as indicated by Rooney et al

(2010) who studied the discourse of identity formation during transition and found differences in ways management and line workers negotiate those new identities. Like Rooney et al. (2010) Law (2009) examined the effects of change on organizational members and found that story telling can help facilitate change and be useful in training and assessing learned outcomes. Moreover, the study highlighted the importance of considering emotional reactions during times of transition. Pascale and Sternin (2005) cited examples of organizational leaders who capitalized on members' positive deviance to "fan the flames" of change. Similarly, Zorn, Page, and Cheney (2000) explored change communication from three theoretical perspectives highlighting progressive strategies and seemingly positive outcomes. Although researcher emphasizes management's role in change, Benjamin, Naimi, and Lopez (2012) identified seven models for organizational change that highlight both personal and organizational drivers. While much of the research discusses ways in which management employed communication strategies to implement change, little research exists about ways in which cultural norms influenced change.

Organizational members often resist change because it produces uncertainty and threatens stability for members and stakeholders. To maintain a level of certainty members adhere to cultural norms and thus preserve levels of satisfaction and cooperation. Since the industrial revolution, social scientists have found relationships between communication and productivity. For example, when Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) examined data from the General Electric lighting project, they discovered workers who perceived researchers were observing them performed at high levels. Leadership and human relations studies since then focused on leadership styles and employee satisfaction with McGregor's (1960) Theory X and Theory Y. During the past three decades organizational communication scholars have emphasized organizational culture as a process rather than an output (Keyton, 2005; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Schein, 1996; Smircich, 1983) while some have found a positive relationship between cultural elements and positive deviance viewed as thriving (Sprietzer, Sutcliffe, & Dutton, 2005). During times of economic uncertainty and instability, organizational leaders who capitalize on the abilities of human resources to facilitate and implement changes that align with organizational goals can produce change effectively. Understanding of the organizational culture and identifying norms can aid in assessing internal factors that drive change. Findings in this case study from a tire mold production organization highlight the cultural norms sustained by motivated organizational members to meet productivity goals and industry standards.

The goal of this paper is to examine the discourse that created cultural norms and enabled change at the mold facility. Due to the cultural norms in place, members could more easily adapt to change because they valued learning and adopted norms that reinforced this value. Data collected through ethnography and analyzed through the lens of grounded theory revealed that organizational members engaged in learning accepted change and became active change agents. Furthermore, when learning became an organizational norm, the organization created a culture of change.

TOP DOWN MANAGEMENT DEFICIENCIES DURING CHANGE

When management fails to gather information from multiple stakeholders and excludes non-management workers from participating in decision-making, implementing change that

requires cooperation and support can be problematic. When decisions makers have insufficient information because information from the bottom does not reach the top the outcome is affected in multiple ways. Conversely, effective decision making and productivity increase when a team that represents multiple levels of the organization with diverse skills collaborate and share information (Lauglin, et al., 2006; Stasson & Hawkes, 1995) and results in greater commitment and higher levels of satisfaction (Phipps, Prieto, & Ndingui, 2013). Additionally, gathering critical information from stakeholders most affected by the decision, aids in the evaluation and implementation.

Hesitation to implement collaborative decision-making is often due to obstacles like limited time to assemble stakeholders to gather information or the possibility that stakeholders withhold information due to the perception that it may reflect negatively on their group or the belief that suggestions won't be implemented. When the culture values collaboration and members are rewarded for it, collaborative norms emerge that reinforce this value.

CULTURAL NORMS FORMATION

Norms are produced in a social context (Critto, 1999; Gibbs, 1981; Keyton, 2005; Schien, 1985; Sheriff, 1973) to guide the behavior of organizational members. Because they are shared and understood by the group of people who created them (Critto; Keyton), no single individual or practice creates the organizational culture. Hence, as members adhere to the norms that reflect the values shared by members of the culture, they create the culture (Bantz, 1993; Ketyton, 2005).

Because members of the culture depend on the skills of others (Morgan, 1986) they collectively work toward shared goals. This interdependence yields two outcomes: inclusion and the culture itself.

When organizational members collaborate and share resources with other members of the organization and depend on members of the organization to achieve goals, they begin to identify with the values, beliefs and attitudes of the culture and therefore, reinforce the cultural norms. For example, Burgess (2005) found when members identified with the group, member-to-member knowledge transfer was high. However, weaker ties with the organization limited the degree of knowledge transfer.

Values, assumptions, and practices fuel organizational practices. By definition, organizational culture is the sum of the practices, rituals, artifacts, assumptions, perceptions, interactions, and norms (Borman, 1993; Keyton, 2005; Keyton, Ferguson, & Rhodes, 2001; Schein, 1996) that create processes and establish practices. As organizational members adhere to norms that reflect the values, the norms become expected and influence organizational members' interactions. The outcome is a process that is followed regardless of the consequences or rewards. For example, fraternity brothers in Workman (1999) practiced drinking rituals despite the negative impact on academic performance. Likewise, in Keyton et al. (2001) perceptions of sexual harassment guidelines contributed to and reinforced the organizational culture. The norms and practices of the organization both reflect and reinforce the cultural values and can be the driving force behind change. Therefore, by altering cultural norms, the culture will change.

DEVELOPING ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

When information sharing is valued norms emerge that support trust-building and collaboration. Conversely, when information hoarding occurs as it did in Dixon Shaver's (1993) prison study, members become more isolated and goal achievement serves the individual rather than the group. In Sprietzer (2000) groups that shared information and enjoyed autonomy through decision-making, were deemed thriving workers. The organizational culture that values autonomy encourages participation in deciding how work gets done (Russell & Russell, 1992).

Organizational members use elements such as artifacts or assumptions to define their culture (Bantz, 1993; Keyton, 2005). Artifacts are those tangible things that observers notice when they enter the organization (Keyton). For example, a symbol or logo is an artifact common to many organizations that reflect organizational values. The organization cited in this study changed the logo due. The new logo reflected openness to global markets and reinforced the cultural values of progress and speed. Borman (1983) cited technology as an example of an artifact that creates a culture through communication. Members become aware of and reinforce meanings when they use artifacts in the same ways. Assumptions as well as artifacts reflect and define the culture. According to Schein (1996), norms manifest assumptions. As members adopt the norms, they sustain the assumptions of the culture. Organizations that understand their culture, and the processes for creating the culture, can more easily identify processes for change. Additionally, by identifying elements of the culture, one can examine communication processes (Phalen) that produced the culture to better understand what contributed to desirable outcomes and a positive and productive culture (Silverthorne, 2004). It is in the process of creating and adapting to these norms that members form organizational culture.

Organizational culture is fluid and changes due to members' interaction with the environment, updated organizational practices, and new personnel. Zimbalist (2005) found that when leaders included members in problem solving and decision-making, the organization's culture changed. Morgan (1986) argued that societies in which members work together, live together, and produce work to sustain their economic unit possess a unique understanding of work processes. Their shared values inform personal interests, and shared norms become their motivation for working together due to the dependency and responsibility they assume for their social group.

Because membership requires identification with the culture, adherence to norms results in social rewards. These rewards motivate adherence and reinforce cultural norms.

BENEFITS OF ADOPTING NORMS

A social reward and primary motivator for adhering to norms is inclusion (Azar, 2004; Birenbaum & Sagarin, 1976). Azar (2004) explained that social rewards of acceptance and feeling good about oneself drive tipping norms at restaurants. However, when the norm brings little or no benefit, it will erode (Azar). Clearly social benefits and rewards given by members of the culture motivate adherence to norms.

The social need for acceptance and to reduce uncertainty motivates members to adhere to norms (Baker 2006; Feldman, 1993; Heuser, 2005; Morley & Shockely-Zalabak, 1997). Norms

like tipping enable people to predict reactions and manage one's image (Goffman, 1959) or avoid embarrassment (Goffman, 1959; 1963; Pool, Schewegler, Theodore & Fuchs, 2007).

When members adhere to norms and reap social rewards such as inclusion, they are motivated to learn about how the organization works (Baker, 2005; Comer, 1991), to build trust between members (Langbein & Jorstad, 2004; Sagie & Weisberg, 1996; Schneiderman, 2000), and to gain the cooperation of other members (Ballard & Seibold, 2003; Workman, 2001). Because social norms enable work norms, organizations benefit when members adapt to organizational norms (Ballard & Seibold, 2003; Russell & Russell, 1992; Zelizer, 2001). For example, by building social capital, members become familiar with others in the organization and the roles they play (Heuser, 2005). Under these circumstances, organizational members who have been with the company and understand its processes mentor newcomers. During this socialization process, members identify and explain norms for newcomers. The relationships formed during this process enable newcomers to adjust more quickly to the environment because they have a better understanding of the social processes that enhance effective work patterns (Comer, 1991).

LEARNING ORGANIZATIONS

Schein (1996) argued that organizations change as members learn, and learning affects the way they change. As workers in the tire mold facility learned through training and education, they brought new knowledge to the work place that created change in expectations and practices. Learning and information sharing became tools to facilitate work and rewards that promoted collaboration.

Rewards associated with learning (promotion and accolades) reinforced the expectation that learning was valued. Members in this case study acknowledged the expectation that learning was a cultural norm. Line workers who learned how to operate more than one piece of machinery became more valuable as they relieved primary operators. Because some furthered their education, they participated in team design projects and received promotions or special assignments that allowed them to apply the knowledge and learn from other members of the organization. When members become accustomed to adapting to changes, they remain in a state of readiness for change and expect it (Schein, 1985). Not only did learning in the tire mold facility change the individual and their perceptions, but the new role assumed by the member and its affect on the surrounding organizational members influenced change.

A female in management explained her motivation for learning.

Here you're rewarded by your education and sometimes, I think, people who are very very good workers and very capable of doing the job get overlooked if they don't have the education. But they definitely promote it, they pay for it, so they have every right to say we also want you to have a certain level of education.

Organizational members were also motivated to change because it enhanced their satisfaction as one male line worker described.

"I need to be challenged more...I want to try something else...."

Opportunities opened up for those who acquired training and developed an expertise in areas of need for the company as in the case with this line worker.

I spent some time up front in design, and I went back to school. I got a CAD certificate, and an Associate's Degree along with that, and they had an opportunity for me up front, 'cause they got real busy. And so I came up front ... It was really nice.

Not all members embraced the learning norm.

You have to have like a bachelor's degree to go to the bathroom. I have no degree.

No. I have no degree. But I'm very good at what I do. That's why I'm doing what I'm doing. These people don't like that. Because I'm invading somebody's territory.

Mobility and change appeared to be more attainable through education for those in management and design. However, as one plant worker mentioned, opportunities are limited for the machine operator when there is no one else who knows how to operate their machine and therefore cannot take the time off for course work.

MOTIVATIONS FOR CHANGE

Since cognitive change leads to behavioral change (Bandura, Adams & Beyer, 1977), individuals engaged in learning adapt more quickly to change and become change agents. Therefore, learning organizations, organizations in which members value training and education, are more likely to embrace change and adapt quickly. As members of a learning organization receive training and education, they then bring new knowledge to the work place that creates change in expectations and practices. Schein (1996) argued learning affects the way individuals change. Consequently, training and education produce internal changes for the individual. Because their application of new concepts permeates actions and interactions, the mindset also influences expectations. The internal change forces some change upon those with whom they interact. Ultimately, members of a learning organization are primed for change because learning cultivates a form of positive deviance (Sprietzer, et al., 2000).

To sustain the social culture, members develop norms that reflect and reinforce cultural values (Keyton, 2005; Schein, 1985). Taylor (2013) argued that organizational leaders communicate the value of collaboration through rewards and incentives. Cultures distinguish themselves from other groups through their values, beliefs, assumptions, rituals, and artifacts (Bantz, 1997; Keyton; Morgan, 1983; Smircich, 1983). Norms strengthen membership in the culture, and thus, the practices become normalized.

CHANGE AGENTS

Normative sociologists who study cultural groups' enactment of norms have argued that norms create social order because members of the group share the same beliefs regarding what behavior is acceptable (Gibbs, 1981; Keyton, 2005). When actions are rewarded and self esteem enhanced, members have higher levels of satisfaction (Quinn & Sprietzer, 2001). Compliance

with norms preserves the social order; therefore, members define deviance based on the tension it creates (Gibbs). The degree to which an individual deviates from accepted behavior determines whether the person will be labeled as deviant or abnormal (Goffman). The threat of having the label of deviant often deters a person from acting in a manner considered deviant or abnormal (Goffman, 1959). Deviant behavior and responses to deviance are often learned from past experiences.

Discourse has the potential to change perspectives, practices, structure, culture, and norms. Communication processes that empower members by including them in decision-making processes and promoting collaboration create an environment for change (Phipps, Prieto, & Ndinguri, 2013; Quinn & Spreitzer, 1997; Russell & Russell, 1992). However, members sacrifice some degree of agency in the process of adapting to a norm, but comply for the following reasons: to fit in, to be included, to be perceived as normal, which results in cohesiveness and increased job satisfaction; to avoid negative consequences of non-conformity; to enjoy the benefits of membership; to gain promotion; and to further the goals of the organization (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2003; Baker, 2006; Pillutla & Chen, 1999; Workman, 2001). The benefits of membership, for many, outweigh the loss agency. Furthermore, social norms that produce cooperation, commitment, cohesiveness, and trust are positively related to productivity (Comer, 1991; Heusser, 2005; Langbein & Jorstad, 2004; Russell & Russell, 1992; Sagie & Weisberg, 1996; Shneiderman, 2000). Therefore, understanding how norms are produced can be helpful in understanding the processes that encourage quality performance and member satisfaction.

TIRE MOLD FACILITY NORMS

Each organization develops norms unique to its culture. For example, health care workers employ emotional control norms to remain objective in front of patients by relying on scripts and routines that create distance (Morgan & Krone, 2001). Ballard and Seibold (2003) found distinct time norms reflecting the organizational culture and observed that members create time norms by the way they structure communication. In manufacturing industries, production goals are time sensitive and drive employees' use of time, the amount of communication required, and technology use. According to Zelizer (2001) cultural groups use similar time patterns to organize and gain cooperation of other members. Consequently, organizational members infer roles based on time norms (Bantz, 1993).

Activities that became norms in the tire mold facility and created interaction between managers and non-managers included managerial weekly walks, suggestion box routines, and training. Values supported by norms included competition, learning, and patterns of time. The following section identifies methods for interpreting distinctive cultural norms in the tire mold facility and explains how they led to change.

NARRATIVES THAT REVEALED THE NORMS

The stories, daily routines, and values commonly shared within an organization reveal details about the organization, its members, and systems of operation. To provide a "rich description of the social scene" the researcher examined both the discourse and environment (Dyer

& Wilkins, 1991, p. 615) just as Mitroff and Kilmann (1976) used the member's voice and interpretations to reveal ways workers made decisions. Therefore, qualitative methods guided this study by interpreting members' experiences and explaining phenomena based on *near experience* and *thick description* (Geertz, 1973).

Organizational members at the tire mold facility rendered their voices through narratives that described their perspectives, motivations, and ways members participated in producing and re-producing the cultural norms. A demographic questionnaire yielded information about the organizational members and helped write the narrative. Interviews also gave voice to one third of the organization's members and reflected their members' perspectives and values. Narrative theory helps explain ways in which organizational members constructed normal. According to Fisher (1984), the narrator relays truth and helps make sense of the world (Stuhmiller, 2001). In this case study, narratives revealed what organizational members considered normal. Information was gathered from multiple levels and 33% of the members. Therefore, the data reflect first-person accounts of the organizational culture's values.

Findings were also based on observation through ethnography by identifying the practices, rituals, routines, and discourse (Keyton, 2005). Examining differences between what is said and done, as Goodall (2000) claimed, observations revealed the unspoken and uncovered more of the text.

Unlike many studies that begin with an idea of why a phenomenon occurs, this study relied on the data to generate the theory. Grounded theory was used to develop claims that help describe, explain, predict, and control. This theory originated with the Glaser and Strauss (1967) study of terminally ill patients and the messages about their illness they received from loved ones and health care practitioners. Examining the texts, the researchers found and classified messages then identified perceptions the patient had about effectiveness of the ways information was given. Theory was built and based upon the interactions of patients, health care givers, and family members, the outcome of which was a better understanding of a process and the ability to modify that process.

This type of theory building is less affected by the researcher's assumptions because the theory is derived inductively by examining the data, identifying similar themes, coding those themes, creating categories, suggesting an explanation for the occurrence of the phenomenon, and identifying conditions under which those same patterns, codes, and categories would occur in similar contexts (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Singleton & Straits, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Wuest, Merritt-Gray, Berman, & Ford-Gilboe, 2002). Grounded theory has been used to examine women's health issues (Wuest et al.) and marketing researchers use it to understand consumer needs and buying patterns (Goulding, 2002; Locke, 2001). As researchers code the data, they may discover that some similarities or differences are unique to a group of people. Concepts used in interaction evoke a cultural image (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and, therefore, help identify characteristics of the culture.

DIFFERENT CULTURES WITHIN THE SAME ORGANIZATION

Organizational members at the tire mold facility supplied steel molds for the parent tire production company. The mold facility employed technical workers to create three-dimensional

renderings of the molds, and machine operators to facilitate production. Two distinct cultures sharing common production goals and housed in the same building collaborated often. Although competition and time norms drove each culture, adherence to the norms differed based on production goals specific to each group. While support staff did not make decisions for the organization, their knowledge of operations and production proved critical for making improvements, implementing changes, and gaining cooperation. When production goals increased, time-saving strategies required the cooperation of the staff to achieve goals.

BUILDING DESIGN AND ARTIFACTS REFLECTED CULTURE

The building design conveyed the culture's openness and interactive strategies. The single-level rectangular building shaded by trees on a quiet street zoned for manufacturing resembled the contemporary architecture of the surrounding buildings made of concrete and brick with metal roofs. Manicured grass and plants occupied spaces between sidewalks and the building to welcome occupants and guests. Glass doors, framed by steel led to restricted entrances and exits. Long, wide hallways lining the offices and board rooms provided access to leaders, meetings, and the plant. The hall width was wide enough for two individuals to comfortably walk side-by-side and conduct business. Heavy wooden doors hung only in offices managers occupied but were open during the workday. Designers, accountants, and engineers occupied open workstations with partitions but without doors. The open hallways, workstations, and office doors enabled access to decision makers and encouraged collaboration. The plant manager of the mold facility designed the facility and workstations so that the 100 organizational members would have access to decision makers and resources. This design allowed for streamlining production. When problems occurred, decision makers were only a few steps away and could meet quickly to solve problems.

RITUALS DEFINED THE CULTURE

Since the parent organization resided in the same town as the mold facility, interviewees often referenced organizational members of the parent company as "those guys over *there*" or referred to practices as what is done "across town." Their comments framed the organization "across town" as vastly different. The parent company's structure was described as more hierarchical and one that required its members to pass through many chains of command to reach the ear of a decision maker. Because "the other" organization had more members, was a larger facility, and was not in close proximity to the mold facility, members at the mold facility had limited exposure to the members of the other facility which they claimed enabled them to create their own unique culture. Many interviewees referred to the mold facility as having a family atmosphere. They explained that they had access to the leaders, who not only listened but also implemented good suggestions from line and management workers. They were encouraged to submit suggestions in the "suggestion box," which conveniently hung on the wall opposite the entrance of the break room. Those submitting useful suggestions were rewarded and publicly recognized with a photo and memo on the recognition board, placed on the same wall as the entrance to the lunch room. The suggestion box, placed in a common area outside the break room, invited comments about opportunities for improvement from any member of the organization. All

comments were reviewed and evaluated. When a suggestion merited implementation, the submitter was recognized publicly. An implicit communication tool like the suggestion box prompted discussion from the bottom up and encouraged continuous discussion. Several employees claimed to have submitted something in the suggestion box. Clearly, member awareness of implemented or recognized suggestions spurred participation.

Problem solving was valued and helped workers identify with the organization. A male line worker claimed that a good day for him was when he helped solve a problem that saved the company money.

A really good day for me is when I have been working on some type of a development or a new idea that I know is going to save us a lot of time, save us a lot of money and it actually comes through. And I've had many, many of those days already where you were getting ready to spend \$50,000 on this certain software package and I was able to come up with a way to do it with what we got here in-house and we didn't have to spend the money...that was probably six years ago and they're still using it today.....That was a really good day.

Contributing to a money-saving solution helped a manager who was new to the organization, feel included.

Our department made some significant improvements to a machine process...And the first few times we tried it we did a lot better than what we thought we did...So, and the organization recognized that and ... in the past year it's turned into like a half million dollar savings...So the day that we tested and ran this process and it was successful, I guess that was – in recent memory that was probably the best day I've ever had... that was the first time I felt like I really contributed to that group...Because I had come in... from a different area.

Another communication tool used to reward time and money-saving suggestions was the bulletin board outside the lunch room with pictures of employees who had made suggestions. The suggestion and the amount saved were noted along with the employee's name. Several interviewees stated that they had frequently submitted suggestions. They explained that the ultimate reward is not the recognition but having some control over their work process. While I carefully studied one board, a manager stopped to elaborate on why they use this form of communication. He indicated that this was an internal motivator and cost saving mechanism. Another board listed employees by department and identified personal information including number of years with the company, degree earned, and where it was earned. This board highlighted academic successes of employees and emphasized that mobility in the company was dependent on furthering one's education. One purpose of the boards was to publicize and reward contributions to the company. Another was to create awareness of what the company expects of superior performers: to gain more education and think of ways to improve processes. The boards served as channels for communication - communication about the employees and messages from the organization.

The open floor plan, with access to management only a few steps away, a suggestion box, and recognition boards were examples of management's desire for input from all levels of the organization. Another norm that reinforced this value and created opportunities for interaction with management was the ritual of the walk-throughs.

REWARDS DEFINE THE CULTURE

Both tangible and non-tangible rewards reinforced cultural norms and motivated change. One of the norms was that of frequent communication with management. One opportunity for bottom up communication occurred when two members from management walked through the plant twice weekly to talk with organizational members. During these walks, operational staff briefed management on the quality and efficiency of production and informed them of any challenges. These interactions affirmed operational staffers' value. Production line changes did not surprise them because they had been part of the discussion. Therefore, adjustment to change came more quickly.

Organizational leaders rewarded members by holding informal events that encouraged socialization. For example, many mentioned that a reward for a job well done might be lunch out with one of the managers or a pizza party for a department. Some mentioned receiving symbols of solidarity like a T-shirt or jacket with the company logo. This line worker described ways collaboration was rewarded.

They're very good about rewards... as a team, or as individuals... even had to work on specific molds that were hot. When those got done, we had some turned around in extremely short time, and that's what makes us what we are, is that we're able to take the drawings, the conception to production in a really short time. We had one we sent out about 2 ½ weeks from conception, drawings, production, make the mold and get it out the door, through quality. That was rewarded. Some of the guys got t-shirts...The first time we hit 62 molds they did something plant-wide. We had a food reward. We do quite a bit of joint—all the departments work together. And we all get rewarded accordingly. Now, in the production end of it if we have certain goals that we meet, then team by team we get taken out and get to go eat, or they would provide shirts, or jackets or something. You know some kind of little reward. It's always that, it's not monetary, but it's a nice thing to do.

Collaboration and goal attainment was encouraged and rewarded.

While the suggestion box and weekly management walks encouraged discussion from the bottom up and helped facilitate change, implicit cultural values and norms promoted change. Because tire mold manufacturers expected change, the norm of learning helped facilitate it.

CONCLUSIONS

When management values input from organizational members at every level and organizational norms support collaboration, organizational members are more likely to embrace rather than resist change. As in the case of the tire mold facility, environment, rituals, and learning norms can create opportunities for discursive management of change.

The birth of a norm commences with deviation; therefore deviation leads to change. In the tire-mold manufacturing organization, departure from normal was rewarded when the outcome was positive and improved the current system. An environment in which members are encouraged to be innovative produces growth and satisfaction when members exercise autonomy (Spreitzer, Sutcliffe, Dutton, Sonenshein, & Grant, 2005). Workers with autonomy are more likely to produce innovative ideas. When members deviate from normal processes and produce these innovative ideas, the deviation leads to change. Learning norms cultivate a readiness for change. While

inclusion and uncertainty reduction motivate conformity to norms, deviation cultivates an environment for change. In the tire-mold manufacturing organization, members were rewarded for developing ways of doing things that improved the current system. Often, in competitive environments, the expectation is to exceed the norm or deviate in a positive direction. In this case study, members who exceeded their parts-per-hour production goals were rewarded because their deviation produced positive results. Absenteeism, however, is a negative deviation with negative consequences. As a result, chronic problems with absenteeism resulted in permanent exclusion.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Having limited time to interview and observe organizational members was a limitation of this study. The richness of an ethnographic study of a culture is found in the researcher's experiences through immersion in that culture (Feldman, 1995; Goodall, 2000) and observing at a close distance. Having only three days to observe and interview members limited the number of conversations outside the conference room where interviews were held. While I was afforded some time to observe, most of my time was spent isolated, in the conference room, conducting interviews. The limitation of time influenced the kinds of questions and the structure used in the interviews. Despite the uniformity of the questionnaire, I discovered a subtle difference in the two cultures. Plant operators had a greater tendency than administrative workers to share longer stories and provide more examples; administrative workers answered the questions more directly with fewer explanations, more qualifications and in less time. Additionally, limited access to administrative workers resulted in disproportionate observations of plant workers. Due to the fact that administrative work is often independent and managers communicate more through email or small group meetings, spending more time in the organization and working closely with managers would have provided greater access to both cultures.

FUTURE STUDIES

Because change is especially difficult for the newcomer, I plan to apply norms perspectives and examine socialization of newcomers in organizations adding to research about mentorship programs that reduce burnout and promote employment longevity. In the next study, I would like to examine strategic newcomer socialization plans that succeed in retaining organizational members and ones that maintain high levels of satisfaction in the work place. Because newcomers are not familiar with the organization or its members, they must learn about the culture through formal and informal methods. The degree to which they identify with the culture and assume the norms that sustain it is an indicator of their commitment to and satisfaction with the organization. In any future study my goal will be to use knowledge gleaned from this study to help organizational members embrace both learning and change.

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INVESTIGATING THE EFFICACY OF MIND-BODY THERAPIES AND EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE ON WORKER STRESS IN AN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTING: AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Research has determined that organizational stress is negatively related to job satisfaction, organizational commitment, turnover, and productivity. Knowing organizations function appreciably better in environments where stress levels are well-managed, two alternative means of moderating stress were investigated, mindfulness-based stress reduction therapy (MBST) and emotional intelligence (EI). A MBST controlled trial study was conducted with 55 workers employed in a large health-care organization in the Midwest. The findings revealed no significant change on the subject's baseline levels of perceived stress after completion of the 5-week, mind-body therapy program. However, the results did show a significant relationship between measures of EI and levels of perceived stress with higher levels of emotional intelligence significantly related to lower levels of stress. The findings indicate that managers desirous of reducing the stress levels of their employees may be well-advised to include emotional intelligence assessment in their recruitment practices as well as employ efforts to enhance the emotional intelligence levels of their employees.

INTRODUCTION

In the organizational environment numerous factors interact to influence worker productivity, attendance, turnover, morale and ultimately the organization's culture. One factor receiving increased focus in organizational settings is worker stress (Pipe, et al., 2009). Research has determined that organizational stress is negatively related to job satisfaction, organizational commitment, productivity and morale. Further investigation has correspondingly revealed that stress is positively related to dysfunctional workplace behavior and turnover in an organizational environment (Pipe, et al., 2009). According to the American Psychological Association, one in every four U.S. citizens reported they are under "extreme stress" (Landau, 2012). The physical effects of stress are revealed in the cost of healthcare where there exists a 50% greater expense for workers who report high levels of stress (National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, 2012). Given the wide-ranging adverse impacts of employee stress on organizational performance and the corresponding negative impacts of stress on the employee's physical and psychological well-being, it should not be surprising that companies are seeking ways to alleviate the impact of stress on their workers and that stress reduction has become one of management's key concerns. Based on these facts, firms are increasingly attempting to devise strategies designed to ameliorate worker stress.

Over the years, organizations have engaged in what may be described as a quixotic quest to obtain increased levels of productivity, morale, job satisfaction, and organizational

commitment by engaging in a wide array of initiatives. From MBO to *Who Moved My Cheese* – managers have sought methods of enhancing organizational life and experiences. However, many of these initiatives, while undoubtedly well-intended, were not supported by empirical research assessing their relative effectiveness at attaining their goals/objectives. Too often, organizations have faithfully followed the latest organizational fad/imperative to little or no avail in contributing to their goals relating to the attainment of organizational effectiveness and efficiency.

Studies have examined both psychological and biological effects of stress. The Center for Disease Control and Prevention describes stress as an agent who “sets off an alarm response in the body in preparation for ‘fight or flight’” (National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, 1999). When an individual faces stress that is brief or infrequent, it presents little threat to the body. However, continual stress results in damage to the biological system that eventually inhibits the “body’s ability to repair and defend itself” (National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, 1999). Research has found that chronic stress can impair communication skills, memory loss, attention reduction, aging, work satisfaction, and employee retention (Shirey, et al., 2008; Shirey, 2006; Judkins, 2004; Epel, et al., 2004; Struss, Levine, 2002). In contrast, few studies have looked at specific programs designed to reduce stress (Pipe, et al., 2009).

When it is recognized that stress negatively affects numerous aspects of organization performance, while simultaneously having numerous adverse physiological and psychological effects on employees, one can understand management’s desires to discover methods that may be used to reduce stress levels. This research is designed to evaluate the relative efficacy of two somewhat disparate approaches designed to reduce employee stress levels – Mindfulness-based, stress-reduction therapy (MBST) and emotional intelligence (EI). These two stress-reduction alternatives are unique to the degree that MBST represent a specifically designed stress-reduction technique, and EI represents a more generalized method of enhancing numerous aspects of individual behavior/performance.

Originally created by Jon Kabat-Zinn (1990), MBST was an educational treatment designed to improve the lives of chronically-ill patients by helping them cope with pain and depression (Kabat-Zinn, 1990; Pipe, et al., 2009). The goal of mindfulness meditation is to enhance an individual’s ability to stay in the moment and strengthen an awareness of self, others, and the conditions surrounding one’s self. In this context, it is believed that individuals with a greater capacity for attention and a stronger current awareness will be better prepared to think and act consciously versus impulsively to internal and environmental factors. MBST has been found to reduce stress and symptoms in business leaders, students, people with cancer, cardiovascular disease, and chronic pain (Pipe, et al. 2009; Carlson, et al., 2003; Epel, et al., 2004; Wong, Nahin, 2003).

Emotional intelligence (EI) is defined as the ability to recognize and regulate one’s own feelings and emotions, to be aware of others’ feelings, to differentiate between them, and to use this information as a basis for one’s own thinking and actions (Salovey, Mayer, 1990; Farh, et al., 2012). The notion that by recognizing, interpreting and controlling one’s own emotions and those exhibited by others can lead one to better performance in the workplace has generated considerable interest in emotional intelligence by both managers and academicians (Goleman, 1995; Joseph, Newman, 2010; Farh, et al., 2012). EI-performance based studies have found positive relationships between an individual’s EI and one’s ability to perform better in teamwork

situations when operating in conditions of high managerial work demand—a potentially highly-stressful situation (Goleman, 1995; Farh, et al., 2012).

The purpose of this research is based upon the well-established fact that organizations function appreciably better in environments where stress levels are well-managed. Thus, firms are searching for means by which stress may be moderated. Two alternative means of moderating stress may be MBST and EI. Thus, the research will first empirically examine the impact of MBST on employee stress levels. The second purpose of the research is to examine relationships between perceived organizational stress and levels of EI. Accomplishment of the research purposes should provide insight to managers as they attempt to mitigate the impact of organizational stress on their workers and thereby reduce the impact of stress on performance and organizational behaviors. Thus, if MBST are found to be effective in reducing organizational stress, then it would seem that managers would likely invest their resources in instituting MBST into their organizations. Correspondingly, if EI is positively related to employee stress levels, then organizations would be well-advised to add EI to their hiring criteria and implement EI training programs in their organizations.

HYPOTHESES

The literature indicates that increasing levels of worker stress have the potential to negate many organizational initiatives designed to enhance performance, satisfaction and commitment. Thus, methods of reducing the impact of stress in organizations have been explored. However, these analyses are limited in their examination of the impact of various MBST programs in an experimental setting (Pipe, et al. 2009). Thus, managers are left with little insight into determining whether their efforts to reduce stress have been effective and worthy of their time and resources. Nevertheless, as indicated in the literature, MBST have been shown to have the potential to reduce stress. Thus, the first hypothesis states:

H1: Subjects engaged in MBST will exhibit significantly lower levels of stress.

The two experimental groups were divided into a passive and active group. Subjects in the active group participated in a ten-minute “reboot” time of organized and audio-guided, mind-body therapy during a scheduled time at work over the course of the five-week program. Active subjects listened to the mind-body therapy audio sessions five days a week using their office computers. Subjects in the passive group did not engage in mind-body therapy program. Passive subjects were told to use the same time as they desired. For example, subjects could go for a walk, take a power nap, etc. – just not do work. It could be argued that the active group should experience significantly greater declines in stress than would the passive group. This decline could be anticipated because the active group was by definition actively engaged in MBST. Thus, the second hypothesis contends:

H2: Subjects “actively” engaged in MBST will exhibit significantly greater levels of stress reduction than will subjects “passively” engaged in MBST.

The third hypothesis is based on the rather obvious argument that stress reductions experienced by the two experimental groups (active and passive) should be significantly greater than the stress changes experienced by the group that was not exposed to either the MBST or the

designated ten-minute period of discretionary relaxing activity (the control group). The third hypothesis states:

H3: Subjects in the experimental groups will exhibit significantly greater levels of stress reduction than will subjects in the control group.

Research reported by Gardner (1983), who suggested that multiple intelligences are likely present in an individual, stimulated interest in EI as a research concept. Gardner suggested that a complex set of competencies exist—largely independent of the other. Salovey and Mayer (1990) conceptualized EI and suggested it involved three abilities: appraisal and expression of emotion, regulation of emotion, and utilization of emotion as intelligence. The concept of EI was popularized and further refined by Goleman (1995; 1998). Goleman theorized that EI included five competencies: self-awareness, self-regulation, self-motivation, empathy, and social skills.

Research has indicated that EI has been found to affect a wide range of variables in the organizational environment. Factors such as performance, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and leadership have all been found related to EI (Cooper and Sawaf 1997; Gates 1995; Goleman 1995; Megerian and Sosik, 1996; Sosik and Megerian, 1999; Wright and Staw, 1999). In a stress-related situation, it has been argued that emotionally-intelligent workers should be more aware of their own feelings and better able to identify those feelings (Mayer and Salovey, 1993). Thus, it could be suggested that individuals rating higher in EI would be more likely to be able to moderate their stress levels because they understand the causation factors related to stress and can thus moderate those factors. Relatedly, Leith and Baumeister (1996) conclude that emotions affect behavior in the organization and may negatively influence the rational selection of behavioral choices. Therefore, it could be suggested that those with greater levels of EI have a greater possibility of selecting actions that result in the best outcomes. Based on these conclusions, one could reasonably argue that an inverse relationship should exist between EI and organizational stress levels. The fourth hypothesis states:

H4: A significant and inverse relationship will exist between workers' perceived levels of stress and Emotional Intelligence scores.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects for the study consisted of workers employed in similar positions with a large health-care organization in the U.S. Midwest. This firm agreed to allow the recruitment of subjects from a population of employees working in a department that had exhibited poor work-force performance and behaviors which were attributed to high levels of stress. This department had been designated by the firm as being “high risk,” because the employees worked in a time-sensitive environment whose output was critical to the organization. Thus, all employees from this department in two separate locations served as subjects in the experimental analysis to determine the impact of mind-body therapies and emotional intelligence levels on the employees' levels of perceived stress. The participating organization was limited in the degree to which it could allow workers to participate in the study and amount of demographic information which could be collected from the participants by their human resource department rules. Both the study and the data-collection methods were subject to the approval of the firm's institutional review board. The sample was specified to include employees from these two locations and the

demographic information included the respondents' locations, ages, genders, and group assignments.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups: active (experimental), passive, or control group. The active group was designated to engage in the MBST. This consisted of spending ten-minutes per day engaged in organized and audio-guided MBST. The designated time was during the employees' working hours and these subjects listened to the audio session MBST daily during their five-day workweeks using their computers. The MBST were presented by a trained medical staff, including a psychologist, nurses and a yoga instructor. Specific MBST were assigned weekly in the following sequence: breath work, guided imagery, progressive muscle relaxation, and meditation. During the fifth and final week, subjects selected their own preferred techniques from this group for repetition. Thus, the MBST continued over a five-week period and consisted of four different activities.

The second group was designated as the passive group. This group was assigned to complete a five-week exercise as well. On a daily basis (five days per week), the passive group subjects completed ten-minute designated "relaxation/reflection" sessions. However, subjects in the passive group were allowed to self-determine how they would use their time. They were to remain in a specified location during these sessions and were assigned to abstain from all other work activities (e.g., no meetings, teleconferences, or computer, telephone or cell phone use).

The third group was designated the control group and this group experienced no changes in their activities.

Table 1 provides the demographic characteristics of the research subjects.

Table 1 Characteristics of the Sample	
Characteristic	Number (%)
Gender:	
Female	35 (63.6)
Male	20 (36.4)
Age:	
25-35	6 (10.9)
36-45	11 (20.0)
46-55	21 (38.2)
56-65	17 (30.9)
Group:	
Experimental/ACTIVE	20 (36.4)
Experimental/PASSIVE	18 (32.7)
CONTROL	17 (30.9)
Location	
1	31 (56.4)
2	22 (40.0)
99	2 (3.6)

As indicated in the table, the majority of the respondents were female, and their ages ranged from 25 to 65. Also, the majority of employees were from one location, with two failing to provide a work location. Also shown in the table is the fact that the respondents were almost equally divided between the active, passive, and control groups. Table 2 provides information pertaining to the dispersion of the control groupings and the employees' work locations.

Table 2 Groups and Locations				
GROUP:	LOCATION 1 NUMBER (%)	LOCATION 2 NUMBER (%)	LOCATION 99 NUMBER (%)	TOTAL NUMBER (%)
EXPERIMENTAL/ACTIVE	11 (20.0)	9 (16.4)	-----	20 (36.4)
EXPERIMENTAL/PASSIVE	11 (20.0)	6 (10.9)	-----	17 (30.9)
CONTROL	9 (16.4)	7 (12.7)	2 (3.6)	18 (32.7)
TOTAL	31 (56.4)	22 (40.0)	2 (3.6)	55 (100)

Surveys were administered to the respondents at two separate points in the process. Each employee received a questionnaire at the beginning of the research asking for the respondents' perceptions of their levels of stress (pre-test), their emotional intelligence levels, and their demographic characteristics. The second administration of the survey came after five weeks, and this survey simply asked for the subjects' levels of perceived stress (post-test). The results obtained from these surveys is provided in Table 3.

Table 3 Scale Means, Alpha-Coefficients and Correlations						
Scales used:	Mean (sd)	alpha	1	2	3	4
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS	18.0 (6.6)	.90	1.0	-----	-----	-----
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS	17.5 (6.6)	.94	.60 a	1.0	-----	-----
EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE	122.3 (10.9)	.89	-.36 b	-.34 b	1.0	-----
COMPLIANCE	14.0 (2.6)	.12	.05	.07	-.05	1.0
a: $p < .001$ b: $p < .01$ c: $p < .05$						

Perceived stress was measured using the ten-item scale constructed by Cohen, Kamarck, and Mermelstein (1983). This scale consisted of items pertaining to the respondents' feelings and thoughts over the past month. For example, subjects were asked, "In the last month, how often have you found that that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?" Responses were given on five-point scales with 0 = never and 4 = very often. This scale was administered prior to the experimental treatment and at the conclusion of the five-week period (at the conclusion of the experiment).

Emotional intelligence was assessed using an instrument developed by Schutte et al. (1998). This scale is a self-reported, 33-item scale. It was developed using the model developed by Salovey and Mayer (1990) as its theoretical basis. The scale has been subjected to correlations with theoretically-related constructs, internal consistency replication, test-retest reliability, predictive validity, and discriminate validity with strong results for each analysis (Schutte et al, 1998). The 33 items included in the scale ask respondents to describe their degree of agreement/disagreement with statements such as, "By looking at their facial expressions, I recognize the emotions people are experiencing," and "I easily recognize my emotions as I experience them." Respondents use a five-point scale, for which "1" represents "strongly disagree" and "5" represents "strongly agree," to indicate to what extent each item describes them.

As indicated in Table 3, the mean level of stress at the pre-test point was 18.0, and this level was reduced in the post-test stage to 17.5. These responses are consistent with previous research using these scales which indicates average perceived stress scores of 12.1 for males and

13.7 for females (Cohen, et al., 1988). The primary scales used (stress and EI) also indicate the scales' alpha-coefficients are well above the recommended .70 level. The initial review also shows that the pre- and post-test scores are highly correlated ($p < .001$) with one another (as anticipated), and both the pre- and post-test scores are significantly correlated ($p < .01$) with the EI scale.

FINDINGS AND TESTS OF HYPOTHESES

The purpose of this research was to identify the impact of alternative solutions on workplace stress. To identify the impact of MBST on employee stress levels, subjects were randomly assigned into three separate groups. Group one was defined as the active group. This group was provided with MBST exercises and were assigned specific 10-minute time periods to complete their exercises. Group two, defined as the passive group, was told they could complete their ten minutes of any exercise on their own volition. The third group was the control group and had no prescribed change in their behaviors.

Prior to assessing the relationships between the treatments, EI, stress and determining the validity of the stated research hypotheses, the impact of potential exogenous factors on the results was evaluated. As an initial assessment, analyses were conducted to identify whether differences existed in stress or EI based on the respondents' location of work. As indicated in Table 4, no significant differences were found in the mean stress (pre- or post-test) levels and EI scores based on the respondents' locations.

Table 4				
MEAN PRETEST POST-TEST AND EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE SCORES BY LOCATION				
GROUP:	LOCATION 1 MEAN (sd)	LOCATION 2 MEAN (sd)	LOCATION 99 MEAN (sd)	TOTAL NUMBER MEAN (sd)
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS mean (sd)	15.5 (6.6)	21.6 (4.7)	13.5 (4.9)	17.8 (6.6)
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS	15.1 (5.8)	20.8 (8.3)	11.5 (7.8)	17.2 (6.6)
EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE	125.1 (9.1)	118.5 (12.1)	113.0 (14.1)	122 (11.0)
Locations 1 & 2 not significantly different.				

A second examination was conducted to determine the effect of gender on the subjects' perceived stress (pre- and post-test) and emotional intelligence levels. As shown in Table 5, no significant differences were found as they relate to gender and stress/EI levels and comparative differences between pre- and post-test scores that could be attributed to the samples' gender.

Table 5 MEAN PRETEST POST-TEST AND EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE SCORES BY GENDER					
GROUP:	FEMALE MEAN (sd)	MALE MEAN (sd)	DIFFERENCE MEAN (sd)	t-value (p)	TOTAL NUMBER MEAN (sd)
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS mean (sd)	18.0 (6.7)	18.1 (6.5)	.11 (6.7)	.06 (.96)	17.8 (6.6)
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS	17.6 (6.4)	17.2 (6.9)	11.5 (7.8)	.41 (.83)	17.2 (6.6)
difference	-.38 (5.5) ns	-.89 (6.7) ns			
EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE	122.4 (11.40)	122.2 (10.2)	.28 (10.9)	.09 (.93)	122 (11.0)

A third evaluation was undertaken to determine whether pre- and post-test stress and EI levels could be attributable to random error in the assignment of groupings (active, passive and control). Table 6 indicates that the control group had a significantly ($p < .05$) higher level of pre-test stress than did the group labeled active. No other significant differences could be found that could be attributed to group assignment.

Table 6 MEAN PRETEST, POST-TEST AND EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE SCORES BY EXPERIMENTAL GROUPING					
GROUP:	ACTIVE MEAN (sd)	PASSIVE MEAN (sd)	CONTROL MEAN (sd)	TOTAL NUMBER MEAN (sd)	F (p)
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS mean (sd)	15.6 (6.9) *	18.2 (5.8)	20.9 (6.2) *	18.0 (6.6)	3.1 (.06)
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS	16.0 (6.2)	16.6 (7.2)	20.3 (5.7)	17.5 (6.6)	2.2 (.12)
EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE	124.2 (12.8)	121.4 (11.1)	121.0 (7.9)	122.3 (11.0)	.49 (.61)
* means are significantly different ($p < .05$)					

The central focus of the study entails an examination of the impact of MBST on the changes in the subjects' levels of perceived stress. The study was also designed to examine the relationships that may exist between the participants' stress levels and their EI. The findings as they relate to the initial purposes of the study are shown in Table 7. The first hypothesis held that subjects' levels of perceived stress would be significantly reduced as a result of their engagement in MBST.

H1: Subjects engaged in MBST will exhibit significantly lower levels of stress.

The findings as they relate to this hypothesis indicate that MBST has no significant impact on the perceived stress levels exhibited by the subjects. As shown in Table 7, the subjects' stress levels did not change significantly as a result of their participation in MBST.

The second hypothesis stated that subjects actively engaged in MBST would perceive lower levels of stress than would those passively engaged in MBST.

H2: Subjects "actively" engaged in MBST will exhibit significantly greater levels of stress reduction than will subjects "passively" engaged in non-specified stress-reduction activities.

However, the subjects assigned to Group 1—the active category (assigned regular 10-minute MBST exercises) exhibited increased levels of stress when their pre- and post-test results are compared. However, stress levels fell for the passive group (Group 2, those not assigned regular MBST exercises).

The third hypothesis contended that subjects engaged in any stress-reduction activities (both active and passive groups) would experience significantly greater levels of reduced stress than would those subjects not engaged in any stress reduction activities.

H3: Subjects in the experimental group will exhibit significantly greater levels of stress reduction than will subjects in the control group.

However, an examination of Table 7 indicates that the control group had the greatest reductions in stress levels of the three groups. This rather surprising development could be attributed to numerous circumstances (some of which will be discussed later). However, it may be noted that this group had the highest pre-test level of stress of the three groups, and the reductions may be reflected of the group members' initial levels of perceived stress.

Table 7				
MEAN PRETEST AND POST-TEST SCORES BY EXPERIMENTAL GROUPING AND LOCATION				
TOTAL POPULATION	ACTIVE MEAN (sd)	PASSIVE MEAN (sd)	CONTROL MEAN (sd)	TOTAL NUMBER MEAN (sd)
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS mean (sd)	15.6 (6.9)	18.2 (5.8)	20.9 (6.2)	18.0 (6.6)
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS	16.0 (6.2)	16.6 (7.2)	20.3 (5.7)	17.5 (6.6)
DIFFERENCE	+.4 (6.8)	-1.6 (5.3)	-.63 (5.3)	-.5 (5.9)
T (p)	+.3 (.80)	-1.3 (.22)	-.5 (.65)	-.7 (.49)
LOCATION 1	ACTIVE MEAN (sd)	PASSIVE MEAN (sd)	CONTROL MEAN (sd)	TOTAL NUMBER MEAN (sd)
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS mean (sd)	12.5 (6.1)	15.1 (4.7)	19.7 (7.6)	15.5 (6.6)
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS	13.5 (5.4)	13.8 (5.6)	18.7 (5.4)	15.1 (5.8)
DIFFERENCE	+1.14 (1.4)	-1.3 (1.3)	-1.0 (1.3)	-.4 (.81)
T (p)	+.6 (.59)	-1.4 (.20)	-.5 (.64)	-.4 (.71)
LOCATION 2	ACTIVE MEAN (sd)	PASSIVE MEAN (sd)	CONTROL MEAN (sd)	TOTAL NUMBER MEAN (sd)
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS mean (sd)	19.4 (6.1)	24.0 (2.0)	22.4 (3.5)	21.6 (4.7)
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS	19.0 (6.1)	21.7 (7.4)	22.3 (5.8)	20.8 (6.3)
DIFFERENCE	-.4 (7.6)	-2.3 (8.4)	-.1 (4.3)	-.9 (6.7)
T (p)	-.2 (.87)	-.1 (.93)	-.7 (.52)	.6 (.55)

The fourth research hypothesis was designed to examine the relationships existing between the subjects' levels of perceived stress and the subjects' levels of emotional intelligence.

H4: A significant and inverse relationship will exist between workers' perceived levels of stress and Emotional Intelligence scores.

To test Hypothesis 4, a series of univariate regressions were performed. Univariate regression was selected due to the high degree of collinearity present in the research. The results of these regressions are provided in Table 8. As shown in the table, emotional intelligence is significantly and negatively related to both the pre- and post-test stress levels for the total sample providing support for the fourth hypothesis. Further analysis investigated the relationships for each of the three groups independently. The findings indicate that as emotional intelligence levels increase, the subjects' levels of perceived stress levels decline in both of the experimental groups (active and passive). These reductions are significant for both the active and passive groups. Pre-test levels of stress are not inversely related to emotional intelligence levels for the control group (not statistically significant, $p > .05$). Although higher levels of emotional intelligence are related to lower post-test levels of stress, this relationship is not statistically significant. Nevertheless, these results indicate support for the fourth research hypothesis as it relates to the impact of EI on the groups' levels of stress as it appears that as EI levels increase, levels of stress seem to decline.

Table 8			
EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE RELATIONSHIP TO PERCEIVED STRESS LEVELS			
Dependent Variable	EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE Beta (e), t-value, (p)	F-Value (p)	R2
TOTAL			
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS TOTAL GROUP	-.22 (.08), -2.7 (.01)	7.4 (.01)	.13
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS TOTAL GROUP	-.21 (.08), -2.6 (.01)	6.8 (.01)	.12
ACTIVE			
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS ACTIVE GROUP	-.23 (.11), -2.0 (.06)	4.0 (.06)	.18
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS ACTIVE GROUP	-.17 (.11), -1.6 (.12)	2.5 (.12)	.12
PASSIVE			
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS PASSIVE GROUP	-.28 (.11), -2.4 (.03)	5.9 (.03)	.28
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS PASSIVE GROUP	-.29 (.15), -1.9 (.08)	3.6 (.08)	.20
CONTROL			
PRE-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS CONTROL GROUP	+.10 (.21), +.5 (.64)	.2 (.64)	.02
POST-TEST PERCEIVED STRESS CONTROL GROUP	-.08 (.19), -.4 (.69)	.2 (.69)	.01

DISCUSSION

Life and work are fraught with stress. While stress, in small doses might be positive, high levels of stress are associated with numerous deleterious outcomes ranging the gamut of workplace violence, turnover, absenteeism, and lower levels of productivity. Controlling life stress is well outside the purview of most managers. However, attempts to reduce workplace stress levels may be a worthy and profitable endeavor. Based on this premise, the attempt by the participating firm to reduce the level of their workers' stress by use of MBST is a commendable action. Perhaps even more commendable is the firm's recognition that engaging in such an

activity may or may not lead to the desired consequences. Based on this recognition, the participating organization engaged in an experiment designed to determine whether this activity did indeed lead to the desired outcomes.

However, contrary to expectations, MBST did not significantly impact workers' levels of perceived stress. In fact, stress levels actually increased in the experimental active group. Based on this finding, firms should not immediately implement mind-body therapies in a faithful expectation that stress levels will decline without first undertaking a thorough analysis. While the sample for this research was indeed small, due to the participating firm's restrictions and legal limitations, the findings do not lend support to the concept that MBST will significantly impact employee stress.

However, a contrarian position might argue that the levels of perceived stress were influenced by a negative placebo effect. Perhaps, when workers discovered that managers were interested in their levels of stress, the workers exhibited greater levels of stress in an attempt to encourage their managers to more greatly appreciate their stress levels and identify other means of reducing workplace stress. Perhaps these workers are trying to encourage their managers to reduce their workload, create a more positive environment, etc. Disregarding speculation, these findings of this research experiment suggest that attempts to use MBST to reduce stress may not yield the benefits sought.

The findings do indicate that managers desirous of reducing the stress levels of their employees may be well-advised to make efforts to enhance the emotional intelligence levels of their employees. The findings show that higher levels of emotional intelligence are significantly related to lower levels of stress. Thus, hiring individuals who have higher levels of EI may be one method of managing organizational stress. Further, as noted by Goleman and other researchers, emotional intelligence levels are subject to change and growth, and these findings suggest that the most efficacious way to reduce perceived stress levels in the work force may be to build emotional intelligence through employee development exercises. The activities of hiring and training for emotional intelligence may have many positive side effects in addition to its impact on organizational stress levels. For example, research has indicated that higher levels of EI are positively related to organizational commitment, job satisfaction and productivity (Farh, et al., 2012). Correspondingly, higher levels of EI are also related to lower levels of turnover intentions. Thus, reduced turnover intentions and stress with increased productivity, job satisfaction and organizational commitment may be positive outcomes associated with the firm's employees' levels of EI (Farh, et al., 2012).

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This research has two major limitations. The first is the sample. Ideally, the sample would be much larger. However, in a field-based experimental study such as this, obtaining a homogeneous group of experimental subjects provides a monumental task. The ability to garner the support of the participating firm and engage in a true experiment with their employees provides insight into the relative effectiveness of MBST. Further, it should be noted that while the sample size is small, it is not uncommon in the medical field to conduct trial treatment studies with similar-sized samples. For example, in a study sponsored and conducted by the Mayo Clinic, researchers investigated a mindfulness meditation program for stress management of nurses using a sample of only 32 subjects (experimental group, $n = 15$, and control group, $n =$

17) (Pipe, et al, 2009). However, it may be argued that a larger sample would have been preferred and might have provided greater insights into the hypothesized relationships.

The second limitation is one that is found in all field-experiments. This limitation is attributed to the fact that in an experimental setting it is virtually impossible to isolate all of the potentially confounding exogenous variables. Thus, the second limitation is the fact that we were unable to isolate and control each and every potentially-confounding variable. However, in this case it may be noted that analyses revealed that the results were not affected by the subjects' genders, ages or locations.

Future research should address these limitations by expanding the sampling base and by insuring more control mechanisms. Future research might also engage in studies of a longitudinal nature, by examining the impact of the MBST on stress and additional desirable outcome variables (e.g., commitment, satisfaction, turnover intentions, productivity, etc.).

CONCLUSION

Regardless of the direction of future research, this study does provide some important conclusions. First, attempts to reduce employee stress levels, while commendable, should be assessed to determine whether their impact is actually positive. Too often organizations implement plans that were suggested to resolve some organizational issue, only to discover that the plan failed to deliver the results promised (or worse, had a negative organizational impact). When organizations implement ineffective initiatives and then later discontinue those plans, they waste not only the firm's financial resources and reduce employee productivity, but they also waste the firm's goodwill and the employees' confidence in management. Therefore, this organization's implementation of an experiment designed to assess the impact of MBST on employee stress levels is representative of a progressive managerial decision that should be implemented more frequently. While one might argue that experiments such as these are costly, the counterargument is that they are less costly than implementing an ineffective (or negative) initiative.

Second, it should be noted that employee EI is an important ingredient in many successful organizations. Employees exhibiting higher levels of EI are more likely to be high performers, more satisfied in their jobs, and exhibit greater levels of organizational commitment. As this research indicates, EI is also related to lower levels of perceived stress. Since EI is subject to measurement and development, it would seem reasonable to suggest that its use in selection and training be increased in more firms.

Thus, these results indicate that counter to expectations, MBST are not effective methods of stress reduction. However, the findings show that the use of EI will have a positive relationship with lower levels of organizational stress. Therefore, it may be concluded that EI is a preferred method of reducing the negative impact of employee stress in an organizational setting.

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ORGANIZATIONAL NARCISSISM: SCALE DEVELOPMENT AND FIRM OUTCOMES

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ABSTRACT

This research includes two studies to advance our understanding of organizational narcissism through the lens of identity theory. Study one employs factor analysis to develop a scale capturing four dimensions of the organizational narcissism construct: entitlement and superiority; denial and rationalization; self-aggrandizement and exhibitionism. Study two investigates the relationship between organizational narcissism and firm outcomes; namely, financial performance, efficiency, satisfaction and commitment. Overall, our preliminary findings suggest that organizational narcissism can result in positive outcomes for the firm. This study contributes to the literature in at least three ways. First, we provide researchers with a scale to reliably measure the construct of organizational narcissism. Second, we begin to establish the nomological net for the consequences of organizational narcissism. Finally, we advance the literature on the positive outcomes of organizational narcissism and offer specific recommendations for future research in this stream.

INTRODUCTION

The prevalence of narcissism in society at large (Lasch, 1991), the classroom (Bergman, Westerman & Daly, 2010; Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008) and the organization (Brown, 1997) has attracted renewed attention to the impact it has on people and institutions. Organizational scholars have examined narcissistic personality traits (e.g., Judge, Piccolo & Kosalka, 2009), narcissistic CEOs (e.g., Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007; Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985a) and narcissistic organizations (e.g., Duchon & Burns, 2008). In this study we focus on organizational narcissism: that is, organizations that as a whole have developed a narcissistic identity (Whetten, 2006; Albert, Ashforth & Dutton, 2000). Narcissistic organizations, like individuals, can be seen to exhibit a specific set of traits as the dominant pattern of behavior. Scholars have thus far theorized that grandiosity, entitlement, denial and exploitation are the pervasive behaviors that characterize narcissistic organizations (Brown, 1997; Duchon & Burns, 2008; Duchon & Drake, 2009). Yet, research on organization-level narcissism, and in particular its relation to organizational outcomes, is hampered by the absence of a measure of the construct. Thus, our first aim is to develop a scale to measure organization-level narcissism.

Organization-level narcissism is an important issue as some scholars suggest that extreme organization-level narcissism may be a catalyst of corporate failure; witness the cases of Long Term Capital Management (LTCM) and Enron (Duchon & Burns, 2008; Duchon & Drake, 2009;

Stein, 2003, 2007). Alternatively, successful organizations can exhibit narcissistic traits, but not in an extreme form. For example, exemplar firms such as Apple, Microsoft and General Electric have also been described as narcissistic (Maccoby, 2003). This paradox highlights the distinction between productive narcissism that is manifested as a healthy self-esteem and narcissism that is extreme and destructive (Duchon & Burns, 2008; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Thus, our second aim is to explore the relationship between organization-level narcissism and firm outcomes.

BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

Narcissism at the Individual Level

Narcissism is most often associated with the personality of individuals. The Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM IV) describes narcissism as “A pervasive pattern of grandiosity (in fantasy or behavior), need for admiration, and lack of empathy” (American Psychiatric Association, 1994: 661). This definition includes nine specific traits - inflated sense of self-importance, fantasies of unlimited success or power, perception of special status, entitlement, exploitation, envy, lack of empathy, arrogance, and excessive need for admiration - which, when exhibited in combination as a persons’ dominant behavior, comprise the narcissistic personality (APA, 1994). Narcissism is exhibited by individuals as an ego-defense to maintain fragile self-esteem (Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985a), and is characterized by exhibitionism, self-aggrandizement, entitlement and exploitation (Judge et. al., 2009). In the extreme, these behaviors are pathological.

Yet, many people exhibit some narcissistic behavior, and a moderate degree of narcissism may in fact be healthy and an important part of success (Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985a). Referring to the DSM IV, “many highly successful individuals display personality traits that might be considered narcissistic. Only when these traits are inflexible, maladaptive, and persisting and cause significant functional impairment or subjective distress do they constitute Narcissistic Personality Disorder” (APA, 1994: 661). For example, it is not uncommon to find references to the narcissistic personalities of CEOs (Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985a; Maccoby, 1999; Treadway, Adams, Ranft & Ferris, 2009). Such individuals are intrinsically motivated by their narcissism to seek high profile positions of influence that can satisfy their need for power and attention. They are also more likely than their less narcissistic peers to be promoted precisely because they are effective at calling attention to their success, have confidence in their ability, and readily exercise authority (Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985a). Such individuals are functional and successful in part because of their moderate narcissism, but they manage to regulate their narcissism, and not let it become extreme.

Organizational Identity and Narcissism

Organizations have identities which are the “...central and enduring attributes ... that distinguish it from other organizations” (Whetten, 2006: 220). These organizational attributes, analogous to individual traits, manifest the core values, beliefs and behaviors of the organization.

Organizational identity is socially constructed, based on shared understandings of the organizations members which evolve over time (He & Brown, 2013). Identity is generally a positive stabilizing force, providing guidelines for action, reducing uncertainty and helping the organization and its members function effectively (Albert et al., 2000). The organizations identity provides legitimacy and helps members and stakeholders of the organization make sense of “who we are as an organization” (Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton & Corley, 2013). It acts as a reference point for members of the collective, helping shape each individual’s social identity (He & Brown, 2013). Social identity defines the extent to which an individual’s self-concept is shaped by membership in various groups (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel, 1982). As individuals collectively participate in organizational life with its routines, myths, rituals and norms they accomplish two ends: 1) they reinforce their own identity; and 2) they increase the legitimacy of the organization’s identity (Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994; Phipps, Prieto & Ndinguri, 2013).

Organizations and their individual members seek to preserve their collective identity (Albert, Ashforth & Dutton, 2000; Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994), and one powerful mechanism underlying this effort is the regulation of self-esteem. Self-esteem is the extent to which an individual or collective possesses a sense of self-worth (Korman, 1970). Self-esteem is shaped in part by the signals that individuals and the organization receive from the environment about their value or worthiness (Flanagan & Green, 2011; Pierce, Gardner, Cummings & Dunham, 1989). When these signals are favorable self-esteem is confirmed and identity is preserved. However when these signals are unfavorable, identity and self-esteem are threatened. Threats to identity trigger ego-defensive behaviors aimed at reducing dissonance and anxiety, and preserving identity and self-esteem (Bennington, 2005). Generally these behaviors are expressed as a moderate level of narcissism because the threat is most often moderate. In the extreme however, the threat is seen as potentially identity-destroying and so efforts to preserve identity likely over-reach capabilities, appear irrational and may result in failure (Baumeister, Heatherton & Tice, 1993; Brown & Starkey, 2000).

Brown (1997) has identified a pattern of traits that when expressed in an extreme form identifies a truly narcissistic organization. These traits include self-aggrandizement, entitlement and exhibitionism which are used to enhance self-esteem and reinforce identity, while denial, exploitation and rationalization shield against threats to self-esteem and collective identity (Brown, 1997). Kets de Vries (2004) proposed that narcissistic organizations are characterized by bold strategies and risk taking; over-centralized authority; an inflated sense of control over events and their own destiny; and grandiosity. Across organizations these characteristics may range in intensity from healthy self-esteem regulation associated with moderate levels of narcissism to pathological extremes associated with destructive cases of organizational narcissism (Brown, 1997; Brown & Starkey, 2000).

Routine expressions of narcissism are commonplace (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Annual reports, press releases and media campaigns are examples of customary practices that exaggerate success, rationalize failures and assert authority to bolster the identity of the organization. In contrast, organizations such as Apple Inc. and The Virgin Group have been well known for their grandiosity, exhibitionism and centralized control, and embrace these traits as

part of their identity. Microsoft's pursuit of aggressive intellectual property strategies to exert control in the software industry suggests that the narcissistic traits of entitlement and exploitation are central to its identity. Although narcissistic, The Virgin Group, Apple Inc. and Microsoft may be considered exemplar organizations, suggesting that a moderate degree of narcissism likely contributes to organizational effectiveness and performance. In the extreme however, entire organizations can be destroyed by narcissistic self-absorption. Duchon and Burns (2008) furnish examples of bold strategies and extreme risk taking at Long Term Capital Management (LTCM). This behavior seemed to be motivated by the principals' belief that they could somehow control the financial markets. Enron is another example in which narcissistic characteristics of entitlement, self-aggrandizement, exploitation and denial were at work, and this extreme form of narcissism escalated to unethical and fraudulent behavior that permeated the organization (Amernic & Craig, 2010; Duchon & Drake, 2009).

Whether organizational narcissism is productive or destructive is therefore likely to depend on whether the narcissism expressed is moderate or extreme. Yet we cannot draw any conclusions about the effects of an organization's narcissistic identity unless we are first able to measure it. This paper extends the trait-based conceptualization of organization-level narcissism by reporting the development of a multidimensional measure of those traits, and then applying the scale to explore the relationships between organizational narcissism and firm outcomes.

STUDY ONE: SCALE DEVELOPMENT

The purpose of study one is to develop a scale to measure organizational narcissism. Theory suggests that organization-level manifestations of narcissism are analogous to individual-level manifestations (Brown 1997; Kets de Vries, 2004), thus a measure of organization-level narcissism ought to parallel measurement of the individual-level. The Narcissistic Personality Index (Raskin & Hall, 1979) is the most widely researched and validated measure of narcissism at the individual level (Ames, Rose & Anderson, 2006), and therefore is the basis for our measure of organization-level narcissism. The NPI measures the narcissistic traits described in the DSM IV including self-absorption and self-aggrandizement, perception of superior status or authority, entitlement to special treatment and success, exploitation of others and exhibitionism reflective of self-admiration and the need for admiration from others.

We began our scale development using the items from the 40 item NPI and, following referent level composition guidelines (Chen, Mathieu & Bliese, 2005), we adapted the wording to reference the organizational level. For each item that did not sensibly translate to an organizational level referent we generated an equivalent item with new wording. We also generated additional items based on recommendations from theory and case studies of organizational narcissism (Brown, 1997; Duchon & Burns, 2008; Duchon & Drake, 2009). For example, denial and rationalization are likely to be prominent in narcissistic organizations but are not explicitly measured in the NPI, so we included items such as 'nothing gets in the way of our path to success and 'we talk about achievements, not failures.'

The item generation process described above produced an item pool of 60 potential items. A panel of five advanced doctoral students performed a Q-Sort by assigning each of the 60 items into nine categories: the seven dimensions from the NPI (exploitation, entitlement, authority,

superiority, exhibitionism, vanity, self-sufficiency (Raskin & Terry, 1988); and two dimensions (denial, rationalization) suggested by Brown (1997). Items which were assigned to the same category by at least three of the five panelists were retained. The resulting 40 item pool was used to establish the psychometric properties of narcissism at the organization-level.

A questionnaire was assembled with these 40 items. Table 1 shows all 40 items used in this survey. The questionnaire asked informants to indicate their level of agreement with each item using a 7-point Likert-type scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree. The questionnaire was administered on-line to a set of undergraduate business students attending a large university in the southeastern United States. More than 400 students were invited to complete the questionnaire for extra-credit, and 256 completed the survey (response rate 63.75%). Some 57.4% of the respondents were male, and 42.2% female. Respondents, on average, reported five years of full or part time work experience. The ratio of cases to items was 256:40 or 6.4:1. Although undergraduate student samples present problems of generalizability in hypothesis testing research, they are widely used in psychometric research to establish the measurement properties of the construct of interest (Rhodewalt & Morf, 1995) and have been used in studies establishing construct validity for the NPI (Emmons 1987; Raskin & Terry, 1988). We used an exploratory factor analysis approach because this study is the first instance of scale development for narcissism at the organizational level. Also, while previous factor analysis studies of the NPI – which forms the basis of our scale – agree on the traits of narcissism, they lack consensus on the number of dimensions that represent those traits (Emmons, 1987; Raskin & Terry, 1988). Raskin & Terry (1988) found evidence for seven dimensions; exploitation, entitlement, authority, superiority, exhibitionism, vanity and self-sufficiency. Emmons (1987) found evidence of four dimensions exploitation/entitlement, leadership/authority, superiority/arrogance and self-absorption/self-admiration. Therefore, we sought to minimize a-priori constraints on the pattern of dimensions that might emerge from our analysis.

We applied exploratory factor analysis to the data from the 40 item survey using principal components analysis with orthogonal rotation. Following the recommended procedures (Hair, Black, Babin & Anderson, 2010) items with loadings less than .4, or with multiple loadings greater than .4 were eliminated. This resulted in retention of 30 items across a five factor solution. Table 1 reports the 30 items associated with the five factors. In the next step, we tested the reliabilities of these five factors. Cronbach alphas ranged from .50 to .91 (See Table 1). As theory led us to expect, an exploitation dimension did emerge from the factor analysis. However, we chose to eliminate the exploitation dimension (3 items) because of the unreliability indicated by the low alpha value (.50). Finally, we verified the factor loadings for the final scale remained consistent with the initial solution. Thus, the final measurement instrument includes 27 items across four dimensions.

Consistent with the narcissistic traits described in the DSM IV (APA, 1994) and measured by the NPI (Emmons, 1987; Raskin & Hall, 1987; Raskin & Terry, 1988), and characteristics of narcissistic organization theorized by Brown (1997) and Duchon (2008, 2009), we label four dimensions of narcissistic organizations: entitlement and superiority; denial and rationalization; self-aggrandizement and authority; and exhibitionism. *Entitlement and superiority* describes an organization that sees itself as entitled to special treatment or privileges

Table 1						
SCALE ITEMS AND RELIABILITY		FACTOR LOADING				
27 Item Scale with Four Dimensions		1	2	3	4	5
Entitlement/superiority, 9 items, $\alpha = .87$						
We pride ourselves on independent thinking.		.57	.35			
We are proud of our achievements.		.69	.37			
This company commands the attention of its stakeholders.		.66				
This company is held in high regard by its stakeholders.		.73				
This company is worth writing about.		.69	.34			
Employees are expected to believe and promote the corporate line.		.66				
At the end of the day we are expected to do whatever it takes to make the company succeed.		.53				.31
We get paid well, we deserve it.		.57				
Keep this company on your radar.		.65				
Denial/rationalization, 4 items, $\alpha = .70$						
Competitors are not a threat to our success.					.46	
We talk about achievements, not failures.					.79	
We talk about pride, not problems.					.74	
Nothing gets in the way of our path to success.					.66	
Self –aggrandizement/authority, 6 items, $\alpha = .91$						
Our top management expects us to be a leader in our field.		.39	.51			
We are at the forefront of our industry.			.81			
Others see us as an industry leader.			.87			
We are admired by others in our industry.			.81			
Compared to others we carry a great deal of industry influence.			.82			
We use our influence to our advantage.		.37	.71			
Exhibitionism, 8 items, $\alpha = .84$						
Our executives always travel in style.				.69		
Our corporate meetings are always at world class resorts.				.74		
Showing off is part of our culture.				.76		
Modesty is not a part of how we work here.				.64		
All eyes are on us, and that’s the way it should be.				.59		
We have the best exhibits and hospitality events at trade shows and conferences.				.47		
Our headquarters makes a big statement about who we are.				.61		
We like that our offices are the envy of the industry and the city.				.77		
Eliminated dimension: Exploitation, 3 items, $\alpha = .50$						
Those that don’t fit in are better off finding another place to work.						.71
You have to break eggs to make an omelet.						.56
Competition is about winning. Period.						.63
Eliminated in item reduction, 10 items						
We are more capable than our competitors.		.43	.69			
We are great at what we do.		.68	.46			
We know we will be successful.		.68	.43			
In many ways this company is extraordinary.		.64	.42			
Some tough decisions may be unpopular but they are in everyone’s best interest.						.48
We are proud of the investment in our buildings and furnishings.		.41		.50		
Government regulators should stay out of our business.					.41	.35
The media is negatively biased in its coverage of this company.				.45	.39	
Those who attack our reputation don’t know what they are talking about.		.40			.50	
We will be on top again as soon as this economic crisis is over.		.38		.36		
Note: Factor loadings for pilot study 40 item questionnaire. Only factors of .30 or greater are reported.						

without expectation of reciprocity or equity. Entitlement seems to stem from an organization's perception of superiority relative to other organizations, or even its own stakeholders. *Denial and rationalization* describes the tendency to ignore, deny or refute information that is inconsistent with the organizations identity. *Self-aggrandizement and authority* refers to an organization's claims of uniqueness, sense of authority, and an over-estimation of its own capabilities. *Exhibitionism* refers to efforts by the organization to attract attention and positive feedback in order to reinforce its identity.

STUDY TWO: APPLYING THE SCALE IN AN EXPLORATORY INVESTIGATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF ORGANIZATIONAL NARCISSISM

The purpose of study two is to explore a portion of the nomological net surrounding the consequences of organizational narcissism. First, we develop propositions associated with expected outcomes of organizational narcissism. Then we apply the newly developed scale to a small sample of data. Finally we present findings from our preliminary investigation and identify potential avenues and methodological approaches for future research.

Although examples of the destructive consequences of extreme narcissism are evident (Stein; 2003; 2007), research also highlights the positive aspects of moderate narcissism that are associated with charismatic and transformational leadership (Kets de Vries, 2004; Padilla et al., 2007; Sarros, Cooper & Santora, 2008) and high levels of Core Self Evaluation (Judge et al., 2009). In his description of neurotic organization types, Kets de Vries (2004) notes that these styles "generally start out, in diluted form, as a virtue, contributing to an organization's success; only later, when there is 'too much of a good thing' does it become a weakness" (2004: 194). Padilla and colleagues (2007) also point out "Although unethical and evil actions are obviously bad, it is more difficult to establish that grandiosity or egocentrism are wicked. Furthermore, dark side leader personalities are usually associated with positive effects, at least in the short term and this makes it difficult to equate them clearly with destruction; it is the long-term negative ramifications that prompt the destructive label" (2007: 178).

By extension, we expect the benefits of narcissism to appear at the organizational level, and propose that narcissistic tendencies can be associated with positive outcomes such as those found at Microsoft, General Electric and Oracle (Maccoby, 2003) as well as Apple (Elkind & Burke, 2008). That is, organizational narcissism is likely to be characterized by degrees of expression similar to that of individuals: in a moderate form it is manifested as healthy regulation of self-esteem; in an extreme form it is destructive. Thus, while some organizations exhibit extreme narcissism and accompanying ethical misconduct, other organizations exhibit a moderate degree of narcissism that contributes to positive outcomes (Humphreys et al., 2011).

Further, organizational narcissism is likely to affect some firm outcomes differently than others. Accordingly, we cast a wide net to develop propositions for the consequences of organizational narcissism across a diverse range of outcomes. Consideration of the phenomena documented in cases of narcissistic organization is instructive in targeting consequences worthy of investigation. For example, cases of financial collapse (Enron) contrasted with stellar financial market performance (Apple) at organizations that have been similarly identified as narcissistic pointed to *financial performance* for inclusion in the nomological net. Similarly,

anecdotes highlighting corporate excesses on luxury perks juxtaposed against disciplined and sometimes harsh cost cutting measures prompted us to select *efficiency* as a consequence that merits further study. Likewise, the literature describes the dichotomy between the charismatic and odious impressions made by narcissistic leaders (Maccoby, 2003). Translated to the organizational level, it seems likely that employee *satisfaction* and *commitment* may be related to the narcissistic characteristics of the organization.

Financial Performance

Extreme narcissistic organizations expect to dominate their industry and may pursue grandiose strategies that they cannot control. This can produce acquisition spirals or attempts to manipulate markets (Maccoby, 2003; Stein, 2003), and is exacerbated by the extreme narcissistic organizations inclination to ignore or rationalize deteriorating financial performance (Brown, 1997). Alternatively, moderately narcissistic organizations are likely to focus on gaining reasonable competitive advantage through bold strategies that are carefully calculated (Kets de Vries and Miller, 1985a; Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007). For example, competitive dynamics research suggests that firms that pursue aggressive strategies achieve competitive advantage (Ferrier, Smith & Grimm, 1999; Derfus, Maggitti, Grimm & Smith, 2008) and superior financial performance (Hamel & Prahalad, 1996).

Further, we expect that extreme narcissistic organizations are willing to exploit resources to achieve desired financial outcomes. Such extreme cases may involve environmental abuses (Ketola, 2006) or neglect of consumer safety (Gilbert & Wisner, 2010), but cases of moderate exploitation likely will not. Exploitation does not always manifest itself in misconduct. For example, the withdrawal of wage and benefit policies (The Economist, 2006) or aggressive outsourcing practices (Gordon & Zimmerman, 2010; Thompson, 2010) can be argued to be exploitive, but they are generally not considered extreme or unethical practices (Cohn, 2005; Drezner, 2004). Thus, we expect moderately narcissistic organizations to self-confidently command its resources, but not engage in unethical or illegal behavior. Overall:

Proposition 1: Organizational narcissism is positively associated with financial performance.

Efficiency

Extreme narcissistic organizations are also likely to spend excessively on executive pay, extravagant offices, and luxury perks such as resort conferences, corporate jets and expensive public relations events (Brown, 1997; Duchon & Burns, 2008). These expenditures are driven by characteristics of entitlement, self-aggrandizement and exhibitionism rather than carefully considered economic or strategic decisions. An extreme narcissistic organization will also tend to respond to the attention that these displays of grandiosity garner, and deny or rationalize criticism (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2010; Toney & Brown, 1998). Thus, resources are not likely to be allocated efficiently in extreme narcissistic organizations.

Conversely, moderately narcissistic organizations are likely to regulate healthy self-esteem through alignment of incentive packages with organizational objectives and strategic

investments in marketing, image management and investor relations (Albert et al., 2000). These organizations are also likely to conserve resources by negotiating low costs for labor, providing limited employee benefits and leveraging favorable contract terms with suppliers. Thus, we expect moderately narcissistic organizations to make efficient use of their resources.

Proposition 2: Organizational narcissism is positively associated with efficiency.

Satisfaction and Commitment

At an individual level, narcissists are known for their inability to sustain interpersonal relationships. For example, acrimonious interpersonal relationships are thought to be responsible for the higher turnover of TMT members reporting to narcissistic CEOs compared to non-narcissistic CEOs (Judge, Piccolo & Kosalka, 2009). However, because of social identity processes and the regulation of collective self-esteem we expect the organization-level consequences of narcissism on satisfaction and commitment to be largely positive, rather than negative (Phipps, Prieto & Ndinguri, 2013). For example, moderately narcissistic organizations can inspire commitment to a common vision through the use of powerful rhetoric, symbols and rituals (Whetten, 2006). This can be effective in mobilizing the organization to achieve its goals, and positive outcomes result (Humphreys et al., 2011; Kets de Vries, 2004). People inside the organization maintain their collective identity through sharing moderate feelings of superiority and authority and accept moderate self-aggrandizement and entitlement as the norm when it is based on genuine accomplishments. This healthy self-esteem regulation associated with moderate narcissism is likely to contribute to high levels of satisfaction at the collective level (Raskin, Novacek & Hogan, 1991). Only at extreme levels would we expect narcissism to result in compromised levels of commitment and satisfaction indicated by ethical misconduct, whistle blowing and turnover.

Proposition 3a: Organizational narcissism is positively associated with satisfaction.

Proposition 3b: Organizational narcissism is positively associated with commitment.

ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES AND FINDINGS

In the next phase of our research we compiled a survey instrument including the newly developed scale for organizational narcissism and the dependent variables put forth in the propositions. The survey was completed by 48 participants who were enrolled in a Professional MBA program at a large state university. The average age of the respondents was 34.5 years, 81% were male and 19% were female. Respondents, on average, reported 14 years full or part time work experience and six years of employment with the focal organization. Some 10% of the respondents worked at the executive level, 50% held a management or supervisory role and 35% were employees with no management responsibility. This convenience sample was useful in meeting our aims for an initial application of the scale and preliminary exploration of the propositions, albeit small for rigorous hypothesis testing.

To measure the dependent variables respondents were asked to rate their employer-firms in terms of *financial performance*, *efficiency*, *satisfaction* and *commitment*. Following Chen, Mathieu & Blies's (2005) aggregate composition model for multi-level research, data were collected from individuals and the referent in each item was the organization. Respondents rated each outcome measure on a scale of zero to one hundred according to the extent that they perceived each of these was present in the organization. Financial performance was measured by the extent to which the company enjoys profitability and financial success. Efficiency was measured by the extent to which the company is efficient (i.e. not wasteful of time, effort, resources, money). Respondents also rated their perceptions of overall employee satisfaction and commitment in the organization. Although subjective measures of performance have some limitations, they do have a place in management research and studies indicate correlation with objective measures of performance (Richard, Devinney, Yip & Johnson, 2009; Wall et al., 2004).

Independent variables were measured using the 27 item instrument developed in Study 1 (See Table 1). Respondents were asked to use the organization they worked for as the reference when they responded to questionnaire items. They rated their organizations on *entitlement/superiority* (e.g., "We pride ourselves on independent thinking"); *denial/rationalization* (e.g., "Competitors are not a threat to our success"); *self-aggrandizement* (e.g., "We are admired by others in our industry"); and *exhibitionism* (e.g., "Showing off is part of our culture"). Table 2 shows each dimension with a description and a representative item from each scale.

<p>Table 2 DIMENSIONS OF NARCISSISTIC ORGANIZATIONS</p>		
Dimension (number of items)	Description	Item
Entitlement/ Superiority (9)	The organization has an elevated perception of itself and believes it deserves special treatment.	This company is worth writing about.
Denial/ Rationalization (4)	The organization disregards evidence that is contrary to its' desired status, image or outcome and explains away negative events by attributing them to others.	Nothing gets in the way of our path to success.
Self- aggrandizement (6)	The organization has a sense of power or control over others and makes efforts to enhance its position or image.	Others see us as an industry leader.
Exhibitionism (8)	Efforts by the organization to attract attention and positive feedback in order to reinforce its own inflated identity.	Our headquarters makes a big statement about who we are.

Correlations and regressions were first analyzed including the demographic variables as potential controls. Only one correlation was significant; the total number of employees was negatively (-.31) and significantly (.05) related to commitment. Similarly, when the dependent variables were regressed on the demographic controls, the total number of employees was associated with commitment (-.33, $p = .05$); however this relationship was not significant in the full model. Thus, controls were dropped from the analysis for the sake of parsimony. Final correlations are shown in Table 3.

To test the relationship between organizational narcissism and firm performance we applied OLS regression to models for financial performance, efficiency, satisfaction and

commitment. To mitigate concerns about common method bias we used different scales to measure the independent and dependent variables. Survey formatting also contributed to psychological separation of the dependent from the independent variables (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee & Podsakoff, 2003). We were also aware that the sample was skewed toward men (84%) and so we conducted a t-test for differences between men and women. The results of the t-tests were not significant, indicating no difference in the responses between men and women.

Table 3 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND CORRELATIONS												
n=48	Min	Max	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Financial performance	0	100	73.94	21.76	1							
2. Efficiency	10	100	60.70	22.02	.44*	1						
3. Satisfaction	10	100	74.06	17.38	.30*	.49***	1					
4. Commitment	10	100	73.85	18.68	.21	.51***	.84***	1				
5. Entitlement/ Superiority	3.44	6.22	5.25	.67	.35*	.50***	.56***	.55***	1			
6. Denial/ Rationalization	1.75	5.75	3.54	.89	.00	.20	.18	.16	.28†	1		
7. Self- aggrandizement	3.00	6.83	5.26	.91	.36*	.47**	.31**	.37**	.63***	.21	1	
8. Exhibitionism	1.38	5.88	3.53	.93	.32*	.24	.07	.06	.39**	.49***	.49***	1
***.p < .001; **.p < .01; *.p < .05												

The results of the regressions (Table 4) show that the models for financial performance, efficiency, satisfaction and commitment are significant overall. The range of adjusted r-squared values from a low of .14 for financial performance to a high of .29 for both satisfaction and

Table 4 RESULTS OF REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR PERFORMANCE				
n = 48	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3a	Model 3b
	Financial Performance	Efficiency	Satisfaction	Commitment
Entitlement/superiority	.21	.33 *	.60 ***	.54**
Denial/rationalization	-.22	.08	.12	.12
Self-aggrandizement	.14	.28	.02	.16
Exhibitionism	.27	-.07	-.23	-.27
R ²	.21	.30	.35	.35
Adj. R ²	.14	.23	.29	.29
F	2.86 *	4.56**	5.72***	5.83***
se	20.23	19.29	14.68	15.72
df	4	4	4	4
***.p < .001; **.p < .01; *.p < .05				

commitment also suggest that organizational narcissism does influence these outcomes to a reasonable extent. Closer examination of the dimensions of narcissism reveal that only *entitlement/superiority* has a significant relationship with efficiency ($\beta = .33$; $p < .05$), satisfaction ($\beta = .60$; $p < .001$), and commitment ($\beta = .54$; $p < .01$). The dimensions for *denial/rationalization*, *self-aggrandizement* and *exhibitionism* are not significantly (*ns*) related to any of the four outcomes. Tolerance and VIF statistics confirmed collinearity between the predictors, as would be expected from dimensions of the same construct. This likely led to suppression effects making it difficult to find significant relationships for the predictors, even though the overall models were significant. Limitations are addressed further in the next section.

DISCUSSION

Organizations have identities. That is, each organization expresses central and enduring attributes that will distinguish it from other organizations (Whetten, 2006). An organization's identity is analogous to an individual's personality, and the research reported in this paper is based on the premise that, like individuals, an organization can develop and express an identity that is narcissistic (cf., Brown, 1997; Duchon & Burns, 2008). Thus, organizations can come to be characterized by exhibitionism, self-aggrandizement and entitlement. Both theory and case studies provide evidence that, in an extreme form, a narcissistic organization may fail (cf., Stein, 2003). Yet narcissism is not always extreme, and there is evidence that "moderate" organization-level narcissism resembles the healthy self-esteem and confidence of successful people (cf. Maccoby, 2003; Treadway et al., 2009). That is, an organization might be inclined toward exhibitionism and self-aggrandizement, but the health and vitality of its identity allows it to regulate itself such that it might be proud and bold, but not unethical or law-breaking.

Yet in order to advance research on organizational narcissism we need a mechanism to better calibrate an organization's narcissistic identity. Thus, the first objective of our study was to develop a scale to measure organization-level narcissism. The scale reported here contains 27 items that measure four dimensions of organizational narcissism. Consistent with theory and analogous to the Narcissistic Personality Index (Raskin & Hall, 1979) the four dimensions of organizational narcissism are: entitlement and superiority; denial and rationalization; self-aggrandizement and authority and exhibitionism.

One advantage of the scale is that it requires informants to report attributes and behaviors of the organization that can be readily observed or understood as a consequence of their membership and involvement in the daily work and life of the organization. Thus, researchers can draw on a large pool of potential respondents because specific knowledge or key informant status is not a prerequisite for providing responses to the items on the scale. The scale can be applied to advance research beyond single case studies to empirical investigation of narcissism and its consequences across multiple organizations. Repeated use of the scale over time may also enable researchers to calibrate responses and begin to identify the range of values that characterize moderate and extreme levels of narcissism in organizations.

The second objective of our study was to explore the nomological net of organizational narcissism. To this end, we first developed propositions associated with the expected outcomes of organizational narcissism; then conducted preliminary tests of the propositions using the

newly developed scale. Albeit the limitations, this preliminary study pointed to some insights that are useful in guiding future research. First, the significance and level of variance explained in each of the models indicate that the outcome variables we proposed are related to organizational narcissism and thus merit further study. Second and broadly speaking, the results suggest the presence of positive relationships between organizational narcissism and firm outcomes. The direction and significance of the relationships vary across different outcomes and specific dimensions and are consistent with the potential for both productive and destructive effects of organizational narcissism. Third, albeit inconclusive, evidence of positive relationships between organizational narcissism and firm outcomes contributes some momentum to moving narcissism out of the confines of the dark side (Hodson, Hogg & MacInnis, 2009; Judge, Piccolo & Kosalka, 2009) and studies of organizational failure (Duchon & Drake, 2009) and into more objective evaluation of the construct. It reinforces the notion of the productive narcissist proposed by Maccoby (2003), and opens the door for more expansive questions about how narcissism may contribute positively in an organizational context. These contributions appear to be consistent with the distinction between normal and pathological narcissism that is gaining momentum in the literature at the individual level (Roche, Pincus, Lukowitsky, Menard & Conroy, 2013). This research shows that normal or moderate narcissism is associated with healthy self-esteem and well-adjusted regulation behavior. Further, these moderate levels of narcissism are both pervasive (Twenge et. al., 2008) and potentially beneficial (Campbell, 2001; Campbell & Campbell, 2009).

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The scale development in study one provides evidence for the dimensions of organization-level narcissism consistent with the narcissistic traits of individuals (Emmons, 1987; Raskin & Hall, 1979; Raskin & Terry, 1988) and identity theory of narcissistic organizations (Brown, 1997). As noted the scale provides a valuable tool to advance research on narcissism at the organizational level. Yet it is not without limitations. We used an exploratory factor analysis procedure for the development of the scale and provided sound rationale for doing so; however, subsequent confirmatory factor analysis was not conducted. We also expected an exploitation dimension in the final measurement instrument. Although exploitation emerged as a three item dimension from the factor analysis the low Cronbach alpha value (.50) indicated that it was not a reliable measure so it was dropped from the final scale. It is possible that exploitation is not a unique dimension as evidenced by Emmons (1987) who found only four dimensions, with exploitation being coupled with entitlement in a single dimension. It is also possible that exploitation does not translate well from the individual to the organizational level. Indeed, financial demands or lack of monitoring and control may be an alternative explanation for exploitation by organizations. Finally, although the word “narcissism” does not appear anywhere in the survey instrument, we cannot rule out that responses may have been influenced by social desirability bias.

Although the exploratory tests in study two established some insights, methodological limitations precluded definitive results. The convenience sample created issues relating to sample size, a single respondent per organization and generalizability. In addition, subjective

measurement of the dependent variables by the same individual introduced potential issues regarding same source response bias as well as whether the participant is able to provide a reasonably accurate response given their level of knowledge about the organization. As noted, collinearity among the predictor variables also made it difficult to detect significant relationships in the analysis. Yet, the small sample size precluded use of SEM which could have otherwise been modeled accordingly. A subsequent study applying SEM to a larger sample would likely yield more robust findings. The following recommendations for future research include methodological approaches aimed at preempting the limitations present in this preliminary study.

A next step to advance research on organizational narcissism is to test hypotheses related to the propositions introduced in this paper. The scale provided here can be used to reliably measure the construct of interest. An optimal study design would include a sample of multiple organizations and multiple respondents within each organization. Then multi-level composition techniques to establish within-group agreement should be applied to aggregate the data from the individual-level to the organization-level (James, 1982; George & James, 1993). Objective measures of the financial and efficiency outcome variables would increase the validity of these measures and alleviate common method concerns present in this preliminary study. Measurement of commitment and satisfaction could also be improved by including previously validated scales in the survey instrument or sourcing data from surveys that may have been administered separately by the organization; then applying the composition technique referred to above to aggregate individual satisfaction and commitment to the organization level.

Future research should also include hypotheses that directly test for the positive effects of moderate levels of narcissism versus the expected adverse effects of extreme narcissism. Tests for a curvilinear relationship and identification of the inflection points would help establish the range of values for what could be considered moderate versus extreme levels of organizational narcissism. The paradox of outcomes also suggests that conditional effects are likely to be present in the relationship. Thus, empirical investigation of the potential moderating and boundary conditions is also warranted. Finally, organizational image and reputation are closely related to identity theory (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). Accordingly nomological extensions to investigate the influence of narcissism on organizational efforts to manage image and reputation may be fruitful.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have advanced the theoretical foundation for the narcissistic organization by demonstrating how narcissism is embedded in an organizations' identity through social identity processes and self-esteem regulation, and developing a measure of organization-level narcissism. Through factor analysis we established a measurement scale reflecting four dimensions of the narcissistic organization's identity; entitlement and superiority, denial and rationalization, self-aggrandizement and exhibitionism. The scale developed in this study provides researchers with a necessary tool for measuring narcissism at the organizational level. This contribution enables extension of this research stream beyond limited case studies and narrative reviews

The exploratory study suggests that organizational narcissism is likely related to the nomological net of firm outcomes proposed; financial, efficiency, satisfaction and commitment. The pattern of results also signals that positive outcomes of organizational narcissism can reasonably be expected. Further research to confirm these preliminary indications will be a productive avenue for advancing the study of organizational narcissism and its consequences.

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THE ROLE OF PERSONALITY IN ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR: INTRODUCING COUNTERPRODUCTIVE WORK BEHAVIOR AND INTEGRATING IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT AS A MODERATING FACTOR

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ABSTRACT

This review explores the moderating effects of impression management on the relationship between the Big Five personality traits and organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), and introduces the possibility of counterproductive work behavior (CWB) having the identical antecedents and moderator but divergent relationship as OCB. Research has indicated some effect of dimensions of the Big Five on OCB and CWB. However, there is empirical and theoretical reason to believe that this effect may be moderated by impression management (IM), which may intensify or abate the relationship when individuals display high levels of IM. The review investigates different personality types, according to the dimensions of the Big Five, and offers propositions on their influence(s) on organizational citizenship behavior, as well as the interaction of impression management with the Big Five and OCB. It also takes a broad look at the relationship between the Big Five, IM, and CWB. A conceptual model and suggestions for future research in the field are provided as well.

Keywords: personality, Big Five, organizational citizenship behavior, impression management, counterproductive work behavior

INTRODUCTION

Most of us have heard the adage that “variety is the spice of life.” Some of us may dismiss it as an overused cliché, and may even allude to its emptiness as a maxim of any significant meaning. We beg to differ. Variety presents itself in numerous sizes, shapes, and forms, and personality is no exception. All individuals have personalities and none of them is exactly alike. This diversity in disposition and temperament ensures that we do not live in a dull and mundane world, but that is not all. In an organizational context, the variation in personality traits among employees does more than provide a heterogeneous and fascinating workplace. It also plays an important role in how they, among other things, thrive at work, act under certain conditions, react to different circumstances, and relate to others. Therefore, in an organizational context, it plays a role in how employees behave, which affects the organization as a whole. Ones (2002) affirms that some personality traits have shown to have a main effect on work behaviors in particular. This behavior, in turn, shapes organizational performance.

Employee behavior is crucial to the success of any organization, and therefore, it is important to know not just how effort can be increased, or untapped potential found and molded, but how maximum performance can be extracted. This is where organizational citizenship behavior rears its head, describing actions in which employees are willing to go above and beyond their prescribed role requirements and provide performance that is beyond expectations (Min-Huei, 2004). According to Organ (1988), OCBs enhance organizational effectiveness. Min-Huei (2004) also agreed that OCBs are correlated with indicators of organizational effectiveness.

Organizational Citizenship Behavior(s) among employees can be generated through the activation of several possible triggers including high system functionality, effective risk management, superior motivation, appropriate affirmation, grasp of timely opportunities, and the list goes on. Studies have even shown OCBs to be influenced by procedural justice and mood (Sablinski & Wright, 2008). However, this review will focus on personality characterization. Some researchers have advocated the relevance of personality as an antecedent to OCB or contextual performance (Hurtz & Donovan, 2000; Ones, Dilchert, Viswesvaran, & Judge, 2007). Others have indicated that personality by itself is not sufficient to influence an individual to engage in OCBs, and that there is little or no direct relationship between the two constructs. With both opinions in mind, this paper posits that an individual whose personality does not incline him/her to engage in considerable OCB, but who would like to be perceived favorably in his/her workplace, would employ citizenship behavior to make a good impression. Thus, impression management would impact the relationship between personality and OCBs. Studies have already shown a significant relationship between IM and OCB, especially interpersonal OCB (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004). As regards moderation effects, Bolino (1999) argued that the strength of the impact of personality on OCBs would be influenced when strong impression management motives were involved.

The intent of this review is to examine different personality types according to the Big Five and to consider their leverage on employee behavior with respect to OCBs and CWBs. Focus is on the Big Five because it is the most widely accepted and robust taxonomy of personality traits (King, George, & Hebl, 2005). With regard to OCBs, specific, distinct elements will not be isolated for comprehensive discussion. Instead, the general form of OCB will be discussed with selective mention of relevant dimensions. It will also examine impression management as a moderating factor. Social exchange theory and impression management theory will be used to suggest relationships among the constructs. The primary objective is to discover how a person's personality determines his or her citizenship behavior, a significant step in the determination of the final performance outcome, and how impression management affects the relationship between personality and OCB and personality and CWB. New perspectives related to personality and behavioral issues or concerns will be presented, and suggestions for future research will be offered. Consequently, it is hoped that a greater understanding of the significance and complexity of personality and impression management, and the roles they play in the workplace, will be achieved.

WHAT IS PERSONALITY?

Ones, Viswesvaran, and Dilchert (2005) describe personality traits as enduring dispositions and tendencies of individuals to behave in certain ways. They clarify that personality cannot be simplified or relegated to only one solitary construct, but rather, should be acknowledged as a gamut of individual attributes that consistently distinguish people from one

another in terms of their basic tendencies to think, feel, and act in these ways. Therefore, a person's personality is a deeply rooted temperament that forms part of a person's identity and inclines others to recognize him or her as more than just a face. Some would say that it is an innate quality, merely a person's nature, rendering them a delight, or on the other end of the spectrum, distress to be around, but available literature suggests that it goes beyond that to influence other important concerns, including their behaviors in an organizational setting.

FIVE FACTOR MODEL OF PERSONALITY

The well recognized and widely accepted Five Factor Model of Personality (FFM) began with the lexical hypothesis (Mayer, 2003; Ones, Viswesvaran, & Dilchert, 2005), and refers to personality elements that have been discerned through empirical research. Also labeled "The Big Five," the model consists of five dimensions, namely openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion/introversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism/emotional stability (OCEAN). These personality domains involve a cluster of other associated characteristics, facets, and/or preferences (Mayer, 2003; Graziano, Bruce, Sheese, & Tobin, 2007; Chih-Chien & Yann-Jy, 2007), as can be seen in Table 1.

The five factor model of personality is practical because it can be used to predict as well as clarify a number of constructs and phenomena. In fact, Ones, Viswesvaran, and Dilchert (2005) affirmed that the big five variables have sizable operational validities for predicting job performance and other criteria (including behaviors) at work. Over the years, studies have used the Big Five to investigate the relationship between supervisors' personalities and subordinates' attitudes, including satisfaction, commitment, and turnover (Smith & Canger, 2004), to explore the correlation between personality and individual job performance (Barrick & Mount, 2005), and even to examine the connection between personality traits and physical health (Smith & Williams, 1992), which can affect performance. This review will add to the academic collection of articles on persona by focusing on the link between personality characteristics and organizational behavior.

ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR

Before delving into the relationship between personality, organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), and impression management (IM), it is important to clarify what is meant by the term. OCB has been defined as organizationally functional employee behavior that is discretionary, beyond the strict description of job requirements, and not directly recognized by a formal reward system (Organ, 1988). This definition implies that the behavior is not obligatory, but rather an individual or personal choice, and thus, individuals cannot be penalized for its exclusion in the workplace.

Organizational Citizenship Behavior can include numerous components. For example, studies have been conducted where OCB focused on loyalty, service delivery, and participation (Bettencourt, Gwinner, & Meuter, 2001), or helping behavior, sportsmanship, and conscientiousness (Todd & Kent, 2006), or interpersonal helping (affiliative OCB) and taking charge (challenging OCB) (McAllister, Kamdar, Morrison, & Turban, 2007). Smith, Organ, and Near (1983) depicted OCBs as having two (2) major dimensions: altruism and generalized compliance. Altruism was likened to helping behavior geared toward specific individuals, and generalized compliance was similar to conscientiousness, encompassing the idea of conformity

to rules, norms, and expectations (doing the right thing or doing things right). Years later, Organ (1988) further refined the construct as a taxonomy enveloping five (5) categories: helping, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, courtesy, and civic virtue. His characterizations are provided in the form of a tabular synopsis, seen in Table 2.

Attempts have been made to make amendments to the aforementioned five (5) categories. Farh, Zhong, and Organ (2004) extended the dimensions to include behaviors like self-training, protecting/saving resources, and interpersonal harmony. Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, and Bachrach (2000) included loyalty, initiative, and self-development in the dimensions. Generally, this paper will consider OCB in its totality, and not separate it into its dimensions. LePine, Erez, and Johnson (2002) found that the behavioral dimensions were highly related to one another and that the relationships closely approached or exceeded the typical levels of reliability. A possible exception was the correlation estimate for sportsmanship and civic virtue ($r = .40$), which was still moderately high. Therefore, for the purpose of this paper, OCBs will be considered as any set of positive, voluntary, unrewarded behaviors that have a constructive effect in the workplace, and that can be regarded as an element of one or more of Organ's five categories. Thus, actions that incorporate participation, cooperation, reliability, commitment, giving/philanthropy, consideration, punctuality, obedience, promotive voice, enterprise, and creativity can all be perceived as examples of organizational citizenship behavior.

IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT

According to Rosenfeld (1997), the impression management perspective assumes that the individual's basic motive is to be viewed by others in a favorable manner and avoid being seen negatively. Therefore, this suggests that their behavioral responses could be according to what is deemed socially desirable, regardless of what is instinctive to them. Their efforts could be aimed at augmenting others' view of them, and thus, their engagement in OCB could be due to their desire to impress others or gain influential others' favor, and not due to their genuine desire to be fine citizens of the organization.

In the case of subordinates, IM strategies may be used to convince supervisors that the employees are willing to go the extra mile for their organizations by being helpful, tolerating inconveniences on the job, encouraging co-workers when they are down, and attending non-required organizational functions (Bolino, Varela, Bande, & Turnley, 2006). Bolino et al. (2006) found that supervisor-focused and job-focused IM were indeed related to supervisor ratings of OCB. Therefore, IM through engagement in citizenship behavior does play a role in a supervisor's assessment of an employee, and the latter may capitalize on that actuality by performing OCBs to impress his/her supervisor. As said by Bolino (1999) and Snell and Wong (2007), individuals with this mentality are merely "good actors" rather than "good soldiers."

Table 1
PERSONALITY DIMENSIONS AND THEIR ELEMENTS

PERSONALITY DIMENSION	ELEMENTS
Openness to Experience	imagination, curiosity, artistic sensitivity, originality
Conscientiousness	reliability, dependability, industriousness, organization, achievement orientation
Extraversion/Introversion	friendliness, gregariousness/sociability, assertiveness, cheerfulness, excitement seeking, energy/activity level, talkativeness
Agreeableness	cooperation, cheerfulness, supportiveness, friendliness, social responsiveness/harmony
Neuroticism/Emotional Stability	anxiety, depression, instability

Table 2
OCB CATEGORIES AND THEIR CHARACTERIZATIONS

OCB CATEGORY	CHARACTERIZATION
Altruism/Helping	Aiding another person with an organizationally relevant task or problem
Conscientiousness	Performing role behaviors well beyond minimum requirements/expectations (related to compliance)
Sportsmanship	Tolerating without complaint/whining the inevitable inconveniences of a shared work environment
Courtesy	Helping others avoid problems (preventive feature differentiates it from helping)
Civic Virtue	Keeping abreast of and participating in the life of the organization (politically and socially)

SOCIAL EXCHANGE AND IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT THEORIES

Some researchers have referred to the Five Factor Model as the Big Five Theory of Personality (Ehrler, Evans, & McGhee, 1999), and some have cast it under the general umbrella of Trait (Activation) Theory (Pervin, 1994). However, others, including the authors of this paper, view it as more of a taxonomy (Crant & Bateman, 2000) than a theory. A theory that should also be considered, however, is Social Exchange Theory (Blau, 1964; Love & Forret, 2008), which includes team-member exchange (TMX) and leader-member exchange (LMX), and refers to reciprocatory relationships in the workplace, and it is one of the theories upon which the propositions for this review are based.

Kamdar and Van Dyne (2007) hypothesized that personality would predict helping only when social exchange relationships were of poor quality. According to them, the reciprocal nature of strong exchange relationships in the workplace would be sufficient to initiate OCBs, and would therefore limit the impact of personality. They also explained that even individuals low in conscientiousness and agreeableness, who normally would not be expected to portray a great deal of helping behaviors, may be more altruistic due to strong social exchange relationships in the workplace, which would incline them to reciprocate any positive action(s) from superiors and coworkers. The study revealed that social exchange (both TMX and LMX) interacted with personality (both conscientiousness and agreeableness) to influence OCB, in this case represented by helping. Therefore, social exchange moderated the relationship between personality and OCB. Hofmann, Morgeson, and Gerrass (2003), and Cardona, Lawrence, and Bentler (2004) also mentioned the tendency of individuals to reciprocate high quality

relationships by engaging in citizenship behaviors, alluding that heightened social attachment intensifies the proclivity of individuals to engage in OCBs.

According to Bowler and Brass (2006), an individual that performs citizenship behavior believes that evenhanded or equitable reciprocation will occur at a future date. The authors introduce strong friendship ties, and suggest that they lead to reciprocity and social exchange, and facilitate the allowance of short-term inequity necessary for social exchange to occur. They also allude that friendship would involve fondness (or agreeableness) between both parties. In the lack or absence of this fondness, or in the case of dependence or influence, where the parties are not necessarily friends but are socially dependent on each other, or there is not necessarily dependence, but one party possesses status or power and thus wields some influence, they draw upon impression management theory, proposing that an attempt at impression management may be made through ingratiation. Chen, Lin, Tung, and Ko (2008) did indeed find ingratiation motives to be positively associated with OCB directed at supervisors. Therefore, when citizenship behaviors are exuded, they may not be the result of reciprocation expectation, but the hope of changing the other's opinion to obtain the desired outcomes.

PROPOSITION DEVELOPMENT: FITTING IM INTO PERSONALITY AND OCB

Human beings possess intrinsic qualities and preferences that make us individuals. These distinct qualities determine our actions in varying situations and differentiate some people's responses to stimuli from others. Therefore, if our innate characteristics that establish our individuality generally lead us to behave in certain ways, it is reasonable to surmise that these characteristics specifically guide us to depict organizational citizenship behaviors. Moorman and Blakely (1995) concluded that individual differences do predict OCBs, and mentioned that collectivistic individuals are more likely to perform citizenship behaviors. They also referred to models that have suggested links between attitude, commitment, satisfaction, and OCBs.

Personality is an individual difference that should not be overlooked. According to Ones, Viswesvaran, and Dilchert (2005), personality variables have always predicted important behaviors and outcomes in industrial, work, and organizational psychology, and empirical research by Ilies, Scott, and Judge (2006) confirms that dispositional and situational constructs predict citizenship behavior. Ones, Dilchert, Viswesvaran, and Judge (2007) noted that personality variables measured at the Big Five level are predictive of organizational citizenship behaviors ($R=.31$). However, Bolino, Turnley, and Niehoff (2004) explore the notion that engagement in OCBs may not stem from a willingness to help or tolerate workplace inconveniences, but from the possession of self-serving motives. Podsakoff, MacKenzie, and Hui (1993) recognize that employees may engage in OCBs to make themselves look good. These ideas give rise to the thought that citizenship behaviors may not be the result of solely individual differences in traits like personality factors. Therefore, this paper introduces the idea of impression management, as a construct that could account for engagement in OCBs, and possibly moderate the relationship between personality and OCBs. The following sections posit propositions that exclusively allude to individual personality dimensions that are related to the portrayal of OCBs, as well as propositions that integrate IM as a moderator of the personality-OCB relationship.

Conscientiousness

The personality trait that has been awarded a great deal of focus in terms of OCB research is conscientiousness. In fact, Borman, Penner, Allen, and Motowidlo (2001) stated that conscientiousness was the personality variable that received the most research attention in relation to citizenship performance or OCBs. According to a study conducted by Konovsky and Organ (1996), conscientiousness was deemed the dispositional variable responsible for the ability of disposition to predict OCBs. Conscientiousness was observed to be correlated to satisfaction, which was related to all five types of OCBs. Also, conscientiousness was significantly related to generalized compliance (exemplary adherence to rules), civic virtue, and altruism.

The Konovsky and Organ (1996) study was not the only one that showed a clear relationship between the conscientiousness personality dimension and the compliance OCB factor. The logical parallel was also supported in a study by Organ and Lingl (1995) as well as a study by Min-Huei (2004), which confirmed a consistent correlation between the “Big Five” trait of conscientiousness and the OCB dimension of the same name.

Conscientiousness provides the drive for individuals to choose to act in a way to achieve certain goals. King, George, and Hebl (2005) speculate that it may be an important predictor of workplace behaviors because it provides the organization and direction necessary to produce targeted behaviors. Possibly, this may be generalized to include the context of job position and location considering a study conducted by O’Connell, Doverspike, Norris-Watts, and Hattrup (2001) which supported conscientiousness as a predictor of OCBs among retail salespeople in Mexico.

It is important to note that the story does not end with conscientiousness being related to OCBs. Other personality traits also interact with this dimension so that a combined effect is produced. It has been shown that conscientiousness has a stronger positive relation to interpersonal helping when agreeableness, extraversion, and emotional stability are high as opposed to when they are low (King, George, & Hebl, 2005). Therefore, it seems logical to propose that despite the favorable impact of conscientiousness alone, in terms of employees portraying desirable behaviors, the collective effort of conscientiousness and other personality dimensions will play a significant role in prompting employees to engage in OCBs.

As mentioned previously, conscientiousness is associated with achievement and the desire to accomplish goals. Leary and Kowalski (1990) explained that individuals are more motivated to manage impressions when they view such impressions as instrumental in achieving goals. Bolino (1999) proposed that individuals would be motivated to engage in citizenship for impression management reasons if they believed that citizenship would facilitate the achievement of a “good organizational citizen image.” Therefore, along the achievement line of logic, one could reason that in conjunction with the achievement of a pleasing image, individuals who also practice careerism, and those who desire achievement in terms of organizational rewards, like promotions and other incentives, could employ impression management and portray themselves favorably through engagement in OCBs.

There are some individuals, however, who value the achievement of organizational rewards and a favorable organizational image, but personally lack the traditional conscientious characteristics like industriousness and responsibility, in order to be a good citizen and achieve the desired recompense. These individuals may use IM through citizenship behavior, and thus reap the desired rewards. Bolino (1999) provides an example of an approaching performance

appraisal as an IM motive, and explains how it would affect the relationship between conscientiousness and OCB, with employees who are highly conscientious maintaining their OCB engagement as they typically do, but employees with characteristically low levels of conscientiousness engaging in unusually high levels of citizenship behaviors, in order to enhance their image for the upcoming assessment. Therefore, it is rational to suggest that individuals who score high on impression management would have relatively strong OCBs even when they are low on conscientiousness.

Proposition 1A: Conscientiousness is positively related to OCB.

Proposition 1B: Impression management moderates the relationship between conscientiousness and OCB, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals that engage in high levels of IM than it is for individuals that engage in low levels of IM.

Agreeableness

Agreeableness is sometimes seen as an attempt to “fit in” and be included. It speaks to the desire to be considered part of a community, and therefore, it can be linked to collective tendencies (Ilies, Scott, & Judge, 2006), which have been deemed to play a role in performing OCB. Agreeable employees try to be of value to the group and by extension, the organization, and thus, they are more motivated to help the group and more likely to engage in other OCBs as well. For agreeable employees, the performance of OCB realizes their drive to be selfless. Ilies, Scott, and Judge (2006) revealed that individuals high in agreeableness engage in citizenship behavior because it fulfills a motive to be altruistic, and hence, they attempt to meet their altruistic needs by engaging in these behaviors.

Agreeable individuals, labeled through the Big Five as having qualities like empathy, consideration, friendliness, generosity, helpfulness, and optimism, are expected to demonstrate a number of other collective behaviors that can be regarded as behaviors in the realm of OCBs. The aforementioned qualities are also important in the establishment of friendship ties, and Bowler and Brass (2006) found strength of friendship to be positively related to both the performance and receipt of interpersonal citizenship behavior, a form of OCB. In addition, Graziano, Bruce, Sheese, and Tobin (2007) named some diverse social behaviors associated with agreeableness, and included conflict tactics, co-operation, and social responsiveness. Therefore, under stable conditions in the work environment, as well as when problems arise, agreeable individuals are more likely to collaborate with coworkers and engage in a higher level of social exchange in the workplace.

Interestingly, some studies show that agreeableness does not have any effect on OCBs. In the study conducted by Konovsky and Organ (1996), a significant relationship was expected between agreeableness and the OCBs of courtesy, altruism, and sportsmanship, since agreeableness seemed to suggest friendliness, likeability, and the ability to relate well with others. However, this relationship was not observed from the data. The Organ and Lingl (1995) study also exhibited no statistically reliable relationship between agreeableness and altruism, implying that the correlation was diminutive, even negligible. Nevertheless, the relationship was still more significant than that between agreeableness and compliance. It would seem plausible, however, for agreeableness to be related to compliance and civic virtue since agreeable individuals desire a sense of inclusion; conformity to expectations and the demonstration of

interest in the organization should provide a sense of belonging. Thus, further study should be conducted on this notion.

It was mentioned previously that agreeable individuals like to “fit in” and be included. Therefore, it is reasonable to posit that they appreciate being liked by others. Bolino (1999) includes a category of impression management, namely ingratiation, where individuals seek to be viewed as likable. These individuals may use IM to enable them to be seen through a favorable lens by their supervisors and/or colleagues, and they may achieve their desire of inclusion by engaging in OCB. Bolino et al. (2006) did show that OCBs are indeed positively related to supervisor liking as well as supervisor ratings of subordinate performance. Therefore, those low in agreeableness, who are not naturally friendly or sociable, may pretend to be pleasant in order to be viewed in that light, so that they can reap the benefits of inclusion, and profit from being liked by those with whom they work. They may achieve this by performing OCBs, especially those pertaining to the interpersonal aspect, like altruism.

Proposition 2A: Agreeableness is positively related to OCB.

Proposition 2B: Impression management moderates the relationship between agreeableness and OCB, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals that engage in high levels of IM than it is for individuals that engage in low levels of IM.

Extraversion/Introversion

Extroverts exude energy and enthusiasm, and they tend to be more socially comfortable than their more reserved or reclusive counterparts. Therefore, theoretically speaking, their outgoing nature should make them more prone to cooperate with colleagues, and more willing to engage in behaviors that would benefit the organization. However, few studies have found this dimension to correlate with organizational citizenship behaviors. Elanain (2007) considered four OCB dimensions, namely interpersonal helping, individual initiative, personal industry, and loyal boosterism, and although all the Big Five traits were positively related to these dimensions, extraversion showed no significant relationship with helping, initiative, or boosterism.

Van Emmerik and Euwema (2007) also conducted a study among secondary school teachers in the Netherlands which indicated that extroverts engaged in more OCBs in their schools. They put forward the idea that extroverts share more interest in the school and are more aware of its needs, and are thus more likely to engage in extra activities that will benefit the institution.

There is a fascinating notion that OCB dimensions can be female-oriented or male-oriented. Farrell and Finkelstein (2007) conducted an interesting gender-specific study that proposed that women and men would be more likely to participate in OCBs according to the fit of the OCB dimension with their gender. For example, altruism could be perceived as being more feminine, requiring traits that appeal to the stereotypical philanthropic, nurturing side of women, and thus would be performed more by women. On the other hand, civic virtue could be recognized as being more masculine, involving traits that are congruent with the stereotypical assertive, action-oriented, independent side of men, and thus would be performed more by men.

The study further proposed that when a certain gender performed an expected OCB, the likelihood would be higher for the behavior to be due to traditional motives like personality, disposition, or social exchange, but that when a gender performed an unexpected OCB, it would be more likely for the behavior to be attributed to impression management motives. This paper

seeks to parallel the “male-oriented” assertiveness characteristic (associated with civic virtue) to extraversion, and as such, is extending the logic to suggest that individuals high in extraversion would be more likely to engage in OCB because of their extraverted nature, but that individuals low in extraversion may participate in citizenship behavior due to the incitement of impression management.

Proposition 3A: Extraversion is positively related to OCB.

Proposition 3B: Impression management moderates the relationship between extraversion and OCB, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals that engage in high levels of IM than it is for individuals that engage in low levels of IM.

Emotional Stability/Neuroticism

Compared to conscientiousness and agreeableness, very little research has been conducted relevant to the relationship between emotional stability and OCBs. However, the study by O’Connell, Doverspike, Norris-Watts, and Hattrup (2001), in addition to supporting conscientiousness as a predictor of OCBs among retail salespeople in a Mexican sample, also supported negative affectivity or neuroticism as having a significantly negative correlation to OCB. The latter is understandable, since it is reasonable that individuals who can maintain their composure, even under demanding or hectic circumstances, will have less anxiety and more presence of mind to go beyond the call of duty. King, George, and Hebl (2005) speculated that individuals who are low on emotional stability (high on neuroticism) would be more likely to be consumed by their own anxieties and stress, and in need of help, rather than being able to offer it to others.

In addition to conscientiousness and agreeableness, Small and Diefendorff (2006) found emotional stability to be significantly related to supervisor ratings of OCB. Well-adjusted, secure individuals are less prone to worry, and it seems valid that their levelheadedness would enable them to have the presence of mind to behave in a manner that would be of benefit to the organization. However, the type of ratings (whether self evaluations or observer evaluations) may play a role in the predictive validity of personality, including emotional stability, on OCBs. Specifically, observer ratings may increase the predictive validity of personality inventories on OCBs.

Individuals that lack emotional stability tend to be anxious and may even experience paranoia. Therefore, they may wrongly suspect that their supervisors or coworkers do not hold them in as high esteem as they desire, or at worst, that they have extremely low regard for them. Bolino (1999) proposes that individuals would be motivated to engage in citizenship for impression management reasons when there is a discrepancy between the good organizational citizenship image that they believe others hold of them and how they wish to be viewed. Thus, it is fair to suggest that the suspicion and mistrust of these individuals would provide substantial motive to drive them to impress their supervisors and/or colleagues by engaging in OCB.

Proposition 4A: Emotional stability is positively related to OCB.

Proposition 4B: Impression management moderates the relationship between emotional stability and OCB, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals that engage in high levels of IM than it is for individuals that engage in low levels of IM.

Openness to Experience

Sparse research was found that even considered openness to experience; much less supported it as a predictor of OCBs. As mentioned previously, traits sometimes interact to generate a collective outcome. Even this was rarely observed with openness to experience. For example, it was revealed that the relationship between conscientiousness and helping behaviors, although heightened by agreeableness, extraversion, and emotional stability, did not depend on openness to experience (King, George, & Hebl, 2005).

A study conducted by Elanain (2007) in the United Arab Emirates did show a noteworthy correlation between openness to experience and OCBs, however. This Big Five trait was found to be related to individual initiative and loyal boosterism. Surprisingly, it was also found to be related to interpersonal helping, a result that was not common among other studies. One possible explanation provided was that the imaginative, creative, and curious nature of individuals possessing this trait leads to superior working relationships. It is probable that these individuals are more willing to work together with others to achieve something new.

Van Emmerik and Euwema (2007) found that Dutch teachers that were more open to experience exerted more energy toward the portrayal of OCBs. They explained that the creativity and innovation in these teachers probably acted as the force that drove them to recognize the needs of the school and to welcome new, challenging activities that would benefit the school.

Individuals with innovative tendencies think outside the box, feel free to challenge the status quo, and are less afraid of accepting new ideas, or moving away from tradition or the current state of affairs. Therefore, it could be surmised that especially in times of change, they should be the ones to rally for the cause instead of resisting. They should be the ones to take the initiative to perform beyond expectations and work with others to achieve the desired goals. Therefore, it may be that openness to experience, studied in the right context, would arise more often as a forerunner to the portrayal of OCBs.

One may also consider that the value of openness to experience to the engagement in OCBs may be masked by impression management. A study was conducted by Barrick, Parks, and Mount (2005) where the interaction of openness to experience and self-monitoring significantly predicted interpersonal performance, while neither trait showed significant main effects. A similar finding may be the case with openness to experience, IM, and OCBs, especially since IM is a behavior in which high self-monitors frequently engage (Turnley & Bolino, 2001).

Proposition 5A: Openness to experience is positively related to OCB.

Proposition 5B: Impression management moderates the relationship between openness to experience and OCB, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals that engage in high levels of IM than it is for individuals that engage in low levels of IM.

PROPOSITION DEVELOPMENT: PERSONALITY, IM, AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE WORK BEHAVIOR (CWB)

On the opposite end of the spectrum from organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) is counterproductive work behavior (CWB), which refers to undesirable actions in the workplace. Gruys and Sackett (2003) define CWB as any intentional behavior on the part of the

organizational member that is viewed by the organization as contrary to its legitimate interests. This behavior can be targeted at individuals (interpersonal CWB) and/or the organization itself (organizational CWB), and can be grouped into four (4) broad categories: property deviance, production deviance, personal aggression, and political deviance, as shown in Table 3.

Just as personality can influence OCB, so too, it can be a precursor to CWB, and some research has been conducted that shows the relationship between personality and CWB. Mount, Ilies, and Johnson (2006) discovered a direct relationship between agreeableness and interpersonal CWB, as well as a direct correlation between conscientiousness and organizational CWB. Agreeable individuals, being good natured, cooperative, and trusting, are less likely to be involved in disciplinary problems, especially those that are interpersonal in nature, while conscientious individuals, possessing traits like responsibility and dependability, are achievement oriented and have the tendency to refrain from deviant behavior.

Salgado (2002) determined that agreeableness predicts deviant behavior and that conscientiousness predicts both deviant behavior as well as turnover. The latter can be construed as linked to commitment to the organization, and thus, to civic virtue. Therefore, it can be inferred that turnover is counted as a CWB due to its implication of disloyalty to the organization, and thus can be carded political deviance. All five personality dimensions were noted as predicting lack of turnover, with emotional stability being the most significant predictor, followed by conscientiousness and agreeableness. However, surprisingly, none of the dimensions predicted absenteeism or accidents. One would expect that conscientiousness, especially, would play a role in the individual being present at the workplace, ready to meet and exceed expectations.

Roberts, Harms, Caspi, and Moffitt (2007) conducted an interesting, age-dependent study to test the relationship between adolescents' personality and their behaviors as young adults. The study revealed that constraint, a concept that penetrates the conscientiousness component, and negative emotionality, usually an indicator of low agreeableness and measures of neuroticism, were significant predictors of CWB. Constraint was negatively related to CWB and conversely, negative emotionality was positively related to CWB, insinuating that the probability was higher for the less controlled, more aggressive adolescents to engage in counterproductive behaviors as young adults.

Counterproductive work behaviors, inclusive of both interpersonal and organizational deviance were found to be related to the Big Five traits, with agreeableness, conscientiousness and emotional stability being the strongest correlated dimensions (Berry, Ones, & Sackett, 2007). It was explained that agreeableness, a more socially oriented trait, conveyed a stronger correlation with interpersonal deviance, and conscientiousness, a less socially oriented trait, with organizational deviance, while emotional stability was similarly correlated with interpersonal and organizational deviance. Extraversion and openness to experience were also related to CWB, but the relationship was quite feeble.

It is reasonable to surmise that impression management can also affect the relationship between personality and CWB. First, if an employee desires to promote himself/herself favorably to others, he/she may refrain from engaging in CWB. That would be the positive side, as the consequence (restraint) would be beneficial.

The negative side, leading to negative consequences, would arise if he/she is trying to assert, or promote a sense of power by threatening or terrorizing his/her colleague. Bolino and Turnley (2003) conducted a study on counternormative impression management (intimidation) as a specific type of impression management tactic whereby individuals make things difficult for

others or behave aggressively toward them. This paper proposes that an intimidator would be more likely to engage in CWB as he/she would be more likely to behave in ways that would hurt the other person.

Proposition 6A: The Big 5 dimensions (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability) are negatively related to CWB.

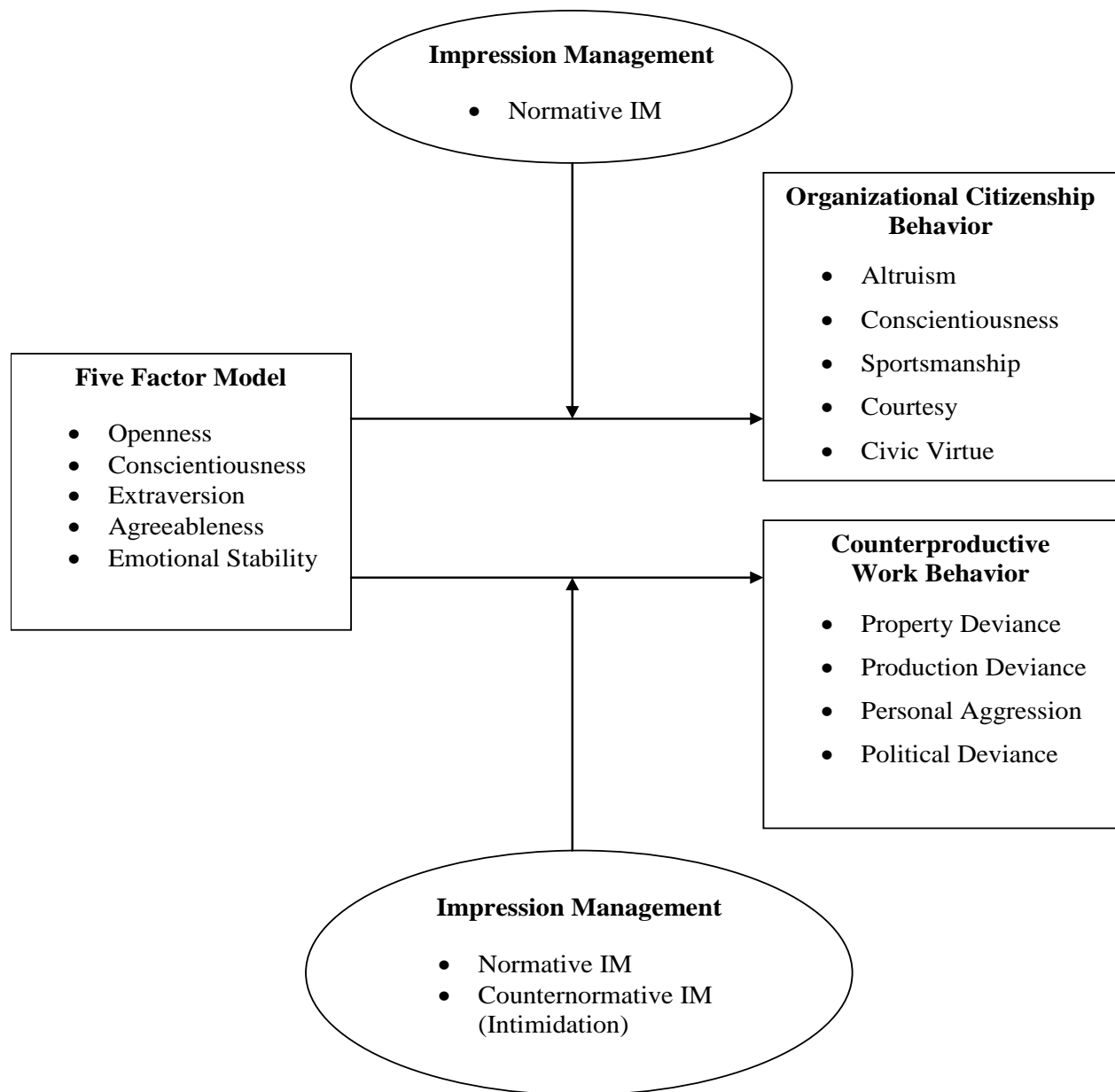
Proposition 6B: (Normative) impression management moderates the relationship between the Big 5 dimensions and CWB, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals that engage in high levels of IM than it is for individuals that engage in low levels of IM.

Proposition 6C: Intimidation (counternormative impression management) is positively related to CWB.

Proposition 6D: Intimidation moderates the relationship between the Big 5 dimensions and CWB, such that the relationship is weaker for individuals that engage in high levels of intimidation than it is for individuals that engage in low levels of intimidation.

Table 3	
CWB CATEGORIES AND TARGETS	
CWB CATEGORY	ORGANIZATIONAL TARGET
Property Deviance	Larceny Damage Misuse of assets (e.g., stock benefits, discounts, parking privileges)
Production Deviance	Absence Lateness Unnecessarily long breaks Alcohol and drug use and abuse Deliberate slow or sloppy work Other distractions (e.g., internet, television, radio, telephone calls)
CWB CATEGORY	INDIVIDUAL TARGET
Personal Aggression	Sexual harassment Theft from co-workers Physical, verbal, and/or other abuse
Political Deviance	Favoritism Gossip Blaming others for one's own mistakes

Figure 1
CONCEPTUAL MODEL



DISCUSSION

Most studies of the relationship between personality and OCB or personality and CWB have determined that conscientiousness is the strongest and most consistent predictor of these behaviors. Research was conducted in a variety of countries (including but not limited to Mexico, Greece, South Africa, Netherlands, and United Arab Emirates) and with individuals holding a number of positions (including but not limited to salespeople, educators, information technologists, financial advisors, and administrators), and in most cases, conscientiousness was deemed the personality dimension with the most significant correlation to engagement in OCBs and CWBs. This does not mean that the other dimensions should be disregarded, because many studies did verify that the remaining dimensions also played a role in the demonstration of certain behaviors. Therefore, although some traits may seem more fundamental in eliciting desired citizenship behaviors and avoiding deviant behaviors, ultimately, the remaining components do also possess some influence.

Interestingly, findings varied from study to study concerning the relationship between personality dimensions and OCB and CWB components. In some research endeavors, the relationship between conscientiousness and OCB or CWB was quite weak. In a couple others, the correlation between openness to experience and OCB or extraversion and OCB was surprisingly significant. According to these variations in results, it can be inferred that context plays a vital role in the outcome(s) of these empirical studies.

CONCLUSION

Empirical study finds that personality factors do play some role in the portrayal of, or abstinence from organizational citizenship behavior and counterproductive work behavior. Also, theoretically, personal differences in the level of impression management practiced can moderate the impact of the Big Five on individual engagement in OCB and CWB. However, personality characteristics differ in terms of the significance of their prediction of OCBs and CWBs. With respect to the Big Five, some dimensions (conscientiousness and agreeableness) are usually stronger forecasters than others. Also, there is strong evidence that one personality dimension from the Five Factor Model is not always sufficient to predict the exhibition of these behaviors. Instead, a combination of personality traits does seem to work together to impel individuals to perform OCBs and CWBs. Also, there is interplay among other moderating factors that contributes to a heightened or diminished relationship between personality and OCB, and personality and CWB. Impression management is one moderator that seems to impact these relationships. Of course, attention should be paid to contextual factors like location, career field, organizational culture, or other demographical data.

IMPLICATIONS

Is it *only* nature? Are individuals born with a personality that can *never* be changed, or can it be developed and adjusted or totally transformed over time? In light of the findings, further investigation should be conducted into these questions in an attempt to capitalize on the opportunity to cultivate the personality traits, or at least the practices that are associated with organizational citizenship behaviors, so that organizational performance can be improved.

Sometimes, personality traits that lead to OCBs and are usually positive for the organization, can have a negative impact on the employee and thus, by extension, the organization. For example, it is not prudent for an individual to be excessively agreeable. It has been noted that an affiliation-oriented individual may perform OCBs to such an extent that the employer-employee relationship becomes dysfunctional (Min-Huei, 2004). Also, Bolino and Turnley (2003) contend that high levels of conscientiousness may lead to role overload, job stress, and work-family conflict. Additional research in this arena is advisable because while engagement in OCBs is encouraged for the betterment of the organization, the health and well-being of employees are also necessary for high organizational performance. Therefore, it is crucial to determine the exact behaviors that adversely affect the employee, and the manner and extent to which they affect the employee. Moreover, it would be helpful to conduct studies to find empirically sound avenues to balance the effects on work and the individual for best all around results.

Some scholars are skeptical about OCB's discretionary nature, and Organ (1997) himself admitted that OCBs cannot be construed universally and unambiguously as discretionary, and that it no longer seemed fruitful to regard OCBs as "extra-role," "beyond the job," or "unrewarded by the formal system." Therefore, more research needs to be conducted on the essential makeup of OCBs, defining which aspects are discretionary and which are not. The boundary between in-role and extra-role behavior needs to be more clearly defined so that a more specific framework can be developed. Subsequently, studies can be performed to conclude which personalities are determinants for performing OCBs that are "entirely discretionary" and which are not.

Some studies show that personality variables do not have a direct effect on OCBs on their own merit, but that there is a mediating variable that impacts the relationship between personality and the display of OCBs. For example, Neuman and Kickul (1998) investigated personality dimensions (agreeableness, conscientiousness, and extraversion) as predictors of OCBs, with the covenantal relationship (the psychological contract or reciprocal agreement between the individual and the organization) acting as the mediator. This article mentioned that openness to experience lacked support as a predictor of OCBs, but that inclusion of the aspect of organizational change may make a difference. This thought opens the door to exploration in that arena. In general, additional research should be conducted on interceding variables, as results can be used to determine logical interventions to increase the portrayal of OCBs in organizations.

In addition to the investigation of mediating and moderating variables, it would be valuable to explore a number of theories to discover their underlying relationship to personality and OCBs. Social Exchange Theory has already been discussed. Other theories that have some relevance to personality and its influence on the portrayal of OCBs include Role Theory, Theory of Planned Behavior, and Person-Environment Fit Theory. Role theory is applicable, especially in terms of considering expanding responsibilities to extend beyond normal role requirements. Individuals with certain personality traits should be more likely to accept additional roles and perform OCBs, particularly when the reciprocation of relationships is involved. The Theory of Planned Behavior associates attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived control with intentions and consequently behavior, and it seems reasonable that individuals with certain personalities would have more positive attitudes toward performing OCBs, and would therefore be more inclined to execute them. Person-environment fit theory concerns the alignment between individual characteristics and their environments, which leads to positive outcomes for both the individual and the organization. Therefore, this theory is more dependent on situational context

than the other theories, but still, it implies that personality would be pertinent in determining the fit, which in turn would establish the predisposition of individuals to engage in OCBs.

On the flip side of the coin, there are also mediating variables that affect the relationship between personality and CWB. Mount, Ilies, and Johnson (2006) discovered that job satisfaction had a mediating effect on the relationship between agreeableness and both interpersonal and organizational counterproductive work behaviors. Therefore, further study should be performed on other mediating variables in an attempt to decrease the occurrence of CWBs in organizations.

A closer look at personality measurements needs to be taken. Several studies have shown disappointing results as regards using personality to predict OCBs. This may be because the Big Five, on its own accord, is not a sufficient measure of personality. Possibly, some alteration or adjustment needs to be made to include other criteria. Organ (1994) suggested that the Big Five's limitation as a measure of personality may lie in the fact that it has more to do with temperament than motives, better describing styles of behavior than goal orientations of behavior. Research suggests that motivation does lead to OCBs. Min-Huei (2004) mentioned that the altruistic path is covered with the affiliation motive, achievement motive, and power motive. Therefore, with these pieces of information in mind, it may be possible to investigate how the personality dimensions of the Big Five could be altered to reflect motives, intentions, and purpose. For example, conscientiousness, which already seems to display the strongest correlation with OCBs, could be properly qualified to include aspects of achievement striving, activity level, and affiliation (Organ, 1994).

Finally, it is imperative to take into account the issue of generalizability. Studies may show relationships between various personality dimensions and OCB components. However, one has to remember that these studies are situational in that they were conducted under certain conditions, and therefore, the results may not be applicable to other circumstances. Caution is thus advised when tempted to make all-inclusive statements about correlations between the variables discussed in this review.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE INQUIRY

The lack of empirical evidence to associate openness to experience with one's ability to work well with others has been mentioned. This would insinuate that openness to experience is not an important predictor of interpersonal OCBs like altruism. However, it is possible that the work environment is not conducive to finding such a relationship. For example, if the element of diversity were included, one may find that openness does influence an individual to be altruistic, driving him/her to assist his/her colleagues despite differences in gender, age, background, ethnicity, race and/or religious affiliation. Therefore, future research should be conducted pertaining to this issue.

This review focuses primarily on individual dispositional and attitudinal variables. However, relational variables such as workplace alliances and reliances, and contextual factors like organizational culture, as well as work roles, control, accountability issues, and reward policies should be considered, as they may also affect the practice of impression management and the relationship between personality and OCBs.

As seen in this review, the Big Five has been used to explain some of the relationships between personality factors distinctive to individuals, and their decision to engage in organizational citizenship behaviors. For example, theoretically speaking, conscientious individuals, being reliable, responsible and achievement oriented, are inherently motivated to

achieve a high standard of performance, and therefore, they are more likely to be altruistic (helpful) toward both their supervisors and coworkers in order to achieve the desired organizational performance. A study conducted by Kamdar and Van Dyne (2007) supported the hypothesis that conscientiousness would positively predict helping both supervisors and coworkers. Also, agreeable individuals, being friendly, considerate and supportive, are characteristically inclined to display helping behaviors. Again, Kamdar and Van Dyne's (2007) research demonstrated a significant relationship between agreeableness and helping both supervisors and coworkers. Openness to experience, extraversion, and neuroticism have also been discussed at length in this review. However, the Five Factor Model is not the only premise at work when personality and OCBs are involved, and apart from social exchange theory and impression management, other theories should be explored to uncover additional constructs that may precede OCB or moderate the relationship between personality and OCB.

This review considers OCB as a single construct instead of inspecting each dimension separately. Future studies should investigate the direct relationship between each of the Big Five dimensions and altruism, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, courtesy, and civic virtue respectively. The moderating effect of impression management on the relationship between each Big Five dimension and each OCB component should also be examined. In addition, the categories of IM, namely ingratiation, exemplification, intimidation, self-promotion, and supplication (Bolino, 1999), should be independently examined as moderators of the relationship between the Big Five and OCB, and the Big Five and CWB.

In this review, intimidation as a counternormative impression management technique is specifically considered as a possible moderator of the relationship between the Big Five and CWB. It should also be investigated as a moderating variable for the relationship between the Big Five and OCB. It seems reasonable to suggest that intimidation would weaken the relationship between the various Big Five dimensions and OCB, but empirical research is necessary to support this assumption.

Another seemingly negative construct that should be studied when examining the personality-OCB or personality-CWB relationship is Machiavellianism. Machiavellians are distinguished by their willingness and ability to manipulate others for their own purposes (Becker & O'Hair, 2007). This bears a profound similarity to individuals who practice impression management. It can be argued that employees that perform OCBs for self-serving reasons are not genuinely "good citizens" of the organization, and thus, they are, in actuality, using deception and manipulation to gain favor from their supervisors and/or other co-workers. Becker and O'Hair (2007) did find Machiavellianism to be significantly positively associated with the OCB motive of IM. Therefore, future research should also be geared toward the understanding of Machiavellianism as it relates to IM, OCB, and CWB, as well as its effects on the relationship between the Big Five and OCB, and the Big Five and CWB.

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