

International Handbooks of Quality-of-Life
Series Editor: M. Joseph Sirgy

Nora P. Reilly
M. Joseph Sirgy
C. Allen Gorman *Editors*

Work and Quality of Life

Ethical Practices in Organizations

Work and Quality of Life

International Handbooks of Quality-of-Life

Series Editor: M.J. Sirgy

For further volumes:
<http://www.springer.com/series/8365>

Nora P. Reilly • M. Joseph Sirgy • C. Allen Gorman
Editors

Work and Quality of Life

Ethical Practices in Organizations

 Springer

Editors

Nora P. Reilly
Department of Psychology
Radford University
Radford, VA 24142, USA

M. Joseph Sirgy
Department of Marketing
Pamplin College of Business
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, VA 24061, USA

C. Allen Gorman
Department of Psychology
Radford University
Radford, VA 24142, USA

ISBN 978-94-007-4058-7 ISBN 978-94-007-4059-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-4059-4
Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg New York London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2012940232

© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2012

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed. Exempted from this legal reservation are brief excerpts in connection with reviews or scholarly analysis or material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work. Duplication of this publication or parts thereof is permitted only under the provisions of the Copyright Law of the Publisher's location, in its current version, and permission for use must always be obtained from Springer. Permissions for use may be obtained through RightsLink at the Copyright Clearance Center. Violations are liable to prosecution under the respective Copyright Law.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

While the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication, neither the authors nor the editors nor the publisher can accept any legal responsibility for any errors or omissions that may be made. The publisher makes no warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Contents

Part I Introduction

- 1 Stuck Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Quality of Work Life.....** 3
Nora P. Reilly

Part II Foundations

- 2 Professional Ethical Standards: The Journey Toward Effective Codes of Ethics** 21
Connie Rae Bateman
- 3 Employee Well-Being: An Integrative Perspective** 35
M. Joseph Sirgy
- 4 Work Stress: Help Me Get My Feet Back on the Ground.....** 65
Amy E. Mickel and Elise J. Dallimore

Part III Ethics at Work I: Individual Sources of Dilemmas

- 5 Mentoring in Organizations: Mentor or Tormentor?** 81
Carrie S. Hurst and Lillian T. Eby
- 6 Selection for Training: The Forgotten Employment Decision?** 95
C. Allen Gorman, Christina N. Thibodeaux, Sarah E. Eisinger,
and Benjamin L. Overstreet
- 7 Career Stagnation: Underlying Dilemmas and Solutions in Contemporary Work Environments** 107
Andrea E. Abele, Judith Volmer, and Daniel Spurk
- 8 Employee Well-Being: Can Performance Management Systems Help? Yes, But They Sure Can Hurt Too!.....** 133
Paul E. Levy, Kelsey Herb, Noelle Frantz, and Alison Carr
- 9 Counterproductive Work Behaviors and Their Ethical Dilemmas: Creating Just, Respectful, and Productive Organizations** 157
Joseph J. Mazzola and Stacey R. Kessler

10 Ethical Imperatives of Work/Life Balance	181
Carrie A. Bulger and Gwenith G. Fisher	
11 When Sending Flowers Is Not Enough: The Eldercare Dilemma in the Workplace.....	203
Carol F. Shoptaugh, Michelle E. Visio, and Jeanne A. Phelps	
12 A New Layer to Inclusion: Creating Singles-Friendly Work Environments.....	217
Wendy J. Casper and Bella DePaulo	

Part IV Ethics At Work II: Organizational Sources of Dilemmas

13 Perceptions of Justice in Employee Benefits.....	237
Chester S. Spell and Katerina Bezrukova	
14 Telecommuting and Flexible Work Hours: Alternative Work Arrangements that Can Improve the Quality of Work Life	251
James A. Breaugh and Angela M. Farabee	
15 Remote Working and Work-Life Balance	275
Cath Sullivan	
16 Ethical Leadership and Core Job Characteristics: Designing Jobs for Employee Well-Being	291
Ronald F. Piccolo, Rebecca L. Greenbaum, and Gabi Eissa	
17 Blame and Credit Attributions and Quality of Work Life: The Effect of Organizational Structure and Culture.....	307
Donald E. Gibson and Kelly McCann	
18 Teamwork, Ethics, and the Quality of Working Life.....	325
Graham Sewell	
19 Workplace Violence and Aggression: When You Do Not Want Your Company on the News	343
Joel H. Neuman	
20 Hostile Work Environment: “Is It Just Me or Is It Chilly in Here?”	375
Alicia S.M. Leung and Ed Snape	
21 Sexual Harassment: “Is It Just Me or Are You Hot?”	395
Camille Gallivan Nelson and Keith A. Carroll	

Part V Ethics at Work III: Cultural Sources of Dilemmas

22 Generational Differences: Something Old, Something New	417
Dianne Gardner and Keith Macky	
23 Religious Diversity in the Workplace	429
Carolyn Ball	
24 An Overview of Workplace Spirituality and Its Likely Relationship with Employee Well-Being.....	449
Badrinarayan Shankar Pawar	

Part VI Integration: The Road Ahead

**25 From Nonmaleficence to Beneficence: Key Criteria, Approaches,
and Ethical Issues Relating to Positive Employee Health and Well-Being** 463
Kathryn M. Page and Dianne A. Vella-Brodrick

Author Biographies..... 491

Index..... 505

Part I

Introduction

Chapter 1

Stuck Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Quality of Work Life

Nora P. Reilly

In 2005, an American television series, *The Office*, hit the airwaves. Strongly influenced by its British counterpart of the same name, *The Office* portrays events in the typical work day of a small group of white-collar employees at a paper-supply company in Scranton, Pennsylvania. The series is a fictional documentary of work life. The office manager, Michael, is simultaneously ignorant, insensitive, and boorish while attempting to be politically correct. His inappropriate interactions with his employees make the viewer want to cringe. One now classic episode, *Diversity Day* (Novak & Kwapis, 2005), portrays a trainer sent from corporate headquarters to conduct diversity training for the staff. Michael muddies the efforts of the trainer by attempting to co-facilitate without being invited to do so, only to create an early ending to a failed exercise. After he sat down with the trainer to discuss where, in his opinion, the trainer fell short, Michael discovers that headquarters had only planned a *group* training program in order for him to save face because, in fact, his own employees had filed complaints about his racist and sexist remarks. He himself had generated a desperate need for the training. After refusing to sign the requisite documentation of participation in the program using his own name (he used “Daffy Duck”), Michael conducts his own diversity training the “right” way that very afternoon. Each employee was randomly assigned a label with a sticky note, indicating membership in a protected group to place on his or her forehead. While employees were unaware of the content of their own personal billboards, Michael instructed them to walk around the room and make positive comments about the characteristics of other people based on their labels without directly revealing the reluctant target’s group assignment. The one Black man in the exercise left in disgust when he realized his sticky note said “Black.” Needless to say, the training did not go well. Stereotyping and condescension were rampant, basically because Michael effectively induced those behaviors.

In this and other episodes, Michael’s consistent ineptitude creates a sense of incredulity in his subordinates, often generating anger and then a lingering frustration at being stuck in jobs with limited alternatives. To make matters worse, the self-serving assistant manager, Dwight, vigilantly ferrets out and reports infractions of office rules and company policies. While his goal is to eventually assume the position of manager, his strategy for reaching it is primarily shown through his eagerness to identify faults in others. The employees quite possibly feel a sense of learned helplessness. Not surprisingly, the work climate is best evidenced by the employees’ desire to escape. While all employees at *The Office* watch the clock, some break

N.P. Reilly, Ph.D. (✉)
Department of Psychology, College of Graduate and Professional Studies,
Radford University, Radford, VA 24142, USA
e-mail: nreilly@radford.edu

up the tedium through practical jokes, unrequited romantic interests, various forms of overt deviance, and gossip.

Keep in mind that while *The Office* is ostensibly a comedy – and an award-winning one at that – it may be regarded as an acquired taste in terms of its entertainment value. While some viewers find Michael’s behaviors pathetically endearing, it is more likely that most identify with his offensiveness, often through direct experience in their own work environments. Whether as recipient or observer, many employees can relate to at least some of the awkwardness of the incidents in the series. A little social comparison can be engaging, especially if it results in feeling relief or even slight superiority. For example, thinking that one’s direct supervisor is also a bit annoying – but not as bad as Michael – has potential entertainment value. However, being able to identify with many of the dysfunctional behaviors portrayed in the show can be uncomfortable, if not unbearable. One can imagine that viewers who find their own quality of work life highly comparable to that in the sitcom may not be able to watch it for long. After all, even the characters in the show try to escape from those feelings at the end of their work days, too.

Ethics at Work

So, how does this parody allow us to segue to a serious discussion of ethical issues associated with quality of work life (QWL)? Essentially, the series shows the viewer what is missing from the work lives of its employees: an ethical work culture. There is little *respect* among groups of employees as well as most employees with management. Employees and organizations must recognize that people of different races, colors, religions, genders, sexual orientations, ages, national origins, etc., may hold different values that do not interfere with the performance of their jobs. Michael expresses superficial concern for *balance* within his employees’ lives. Employees juggle multiple roles, both at work and at home, and organizations must allow for prioritizing attention to critical roles – without punishment – when the need arises. The lack of enthusiasm of the employees at *The Office* reflects a thwarted sense of *responsibility*. Organizations hold responsibility for the well-being of their employees (training, health care, working conditions, etc.), and employees hold responsibilities to perform their jobs to the best of their abilities. Michael generates a climate in which employees do not feel mutually responsible for the company. Similarly, the lack of *autonomy* contributes to the felt responsibility of employees. Dwight, the tattle-tale with promotional aspirations, judges – and often reports on – all activities. Employees must ask permission to do the smallest things. To the extent possible, employers should empower employees to conduct their jobs without undue oversight, implying trust. Autonomous job characteristics (Hackman & Oldham, 1976) should improve a sense of employee contribution and responsibility. Policies at *The Office* also seem to come down as edicts, without employee *participation* in their development. Employers should allow employees to engage in decisions that affect them whenever feasible, not just as a motivational incentive, but as recognition of the employees’ expertise. That expertise should be communicated in an environment that encourages *voice*. Employees should be allowed to express their opinions without fear of retribution, in appropriate places and at appropriate times. Finally, *The Office’s* employees seem to operate daily with the expectation that fairness will not be exercised; there is no sense of *justice*. In a well-functioning organization, all decisions pertaining to employees must follow established principles of procedural justice which, with some luck, may result in distributive justice (selection, appraisal, advancement, etc.). Employers must also follow established labor laws. In sum, the misery of *The Office’s* employees is a manifestation of the culture of their work environment. It lacks respect, balance, responsibility, autonomy, participation, voice, and justice – the elements of an ethical work culture proposed here.

Clearly, one sitcom does not suggest a widespread problem. The American Management Association's 2002 Corporate Values Survey reported that the core values of companies were customer service, ethics and integrity, accountability, respect for others, and communication. It then described the degree to which companies adhere to stated values of ethics and integrity. In short, 36% of respondents said their companies "always" did what was legal, but did not always do what was ethical; 23% said "only some of the time." Thirty-seven percent of respondents said their companies adhered to their accountability values "only some of the time." *The Office* is not science fiction, nor does it depict a uniquely American phenomenon.

Given that the USA borrowed heavily from the UK's version of *The Office*, it would not be too far a stretch to venture that at least some of the other European Union's (EU) workplaces may show cultures that also fail to reflect the core values of balance, respect, responsibility, autonomy, participation, voice, and justice. In fact, the European Commission that defines "quality of work life" (Royuela, Lopez-Tomayo, & Surinach, 2008) suggests the following dimensions of QWL.

- Intrinsic job quality
- Skills, lifelong learning, and career development
- Gender equality
- Health and safety at work
- Flexibility and security
- Inclusion and access to the labor market
- Work organization and work-life balance
- Social dialogue and worker involvement
- Diversity and nondiscrimination
- Overall work performance

They are quite similar on the US side of the pond. Whereas QWL may be viewed from different perspectives and has several subcomponents, authors have examined its various correlates (e.g., Efraty & Sirgy, 1990; Kohl & Schooler, 1982; Marcel & Dupuis, 2006; Morrison, Tay, & Diener, 2011; Seashore, 1975). These include a multitude of job and organizational attitudes and behaviors. Addressing the subjective well-being associated with QWL interventions has become an international imperative (Morrison et al. 2011). The problem is the sheer volume of issues that arise which detract from employee well-being at each of the individual, organizational, and cultural levels of analyses.

As a brief aside, it is relevant to compare QWL to "quality of life" in general. After all, work is part of life. While not specifically addressing ethics in the workplace, Grasso and Canova (2008) describe objectives of the 25 members of the 2008 EU that are directly applied to quality of life and necessarily include a heavy emphasis on the interface between work and nonwork environments. The first objective addressed economic and social progress, with an emphasis on quality of life. It specified the improvement of economic conditions, the creation of employment and struggle against unemployment, improvements in education, the enhancement of health and security, and the reduction of pollution and improvement of environment protection as its priorities. The second major objective addressed strengthening economic and social cohesion: its goals were to reduce regional disparities and strengthen social bonds. While not restricted to work, social indicators of the objectives listed above were selected. They address the same dilemmas that affect quality of life in the USA. These included economic resources and consumers' conditions, employment and working conditions, education and access to schooling, health and access to medical care, family and social relations, housing and amenities, culture and recreation, security for life and property, and political resources and participation (cf., Sirgy, 2002). While a multidimensional analysis of these EU nations' quality of life indicators appeared to show rather heterogeneous results in regard to the *degree* of quality of life, it provided evidence that economic and social indicators were highly correlated with subjective well-being, a corollary of life

satisfaction. However, due to the much higher level of analysis used in the Grasso and Canova study (i.e., national), one should not presume that money buys happiness, either at work or at home (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2002; Diener, Ng, Harter, & Arora, 2010).

Do We Have a Problem?

Perhaps as a result of the corporate ethics scandals of the early twenty-first century, many organizations have made a point of creating codes of ethics intended to reflect their values. Ethical corporate cultures should influence work life both in terms of effective behaviors and attitudes (e.g., job satisfaction, creativity, turnover intentions; Valentine, Godkin, Fleischman, & Kidwell, 2011). However, Webley and Werner (2008) report that an ethics policy based only on a code of ethics is inadequate to influence organizational attitudes and behaviors. Based on data from the Institute of Business Ethics' 2005 UK National Ethics at Work Survey (Webley & Dryden, 2005) and a global business ethics survey conducted by the American Management Association (AMA, 2006), neither formal ethics programs nor positive self-reported corporate cultures close the gap between policy and practice in terms of ethical behavior at work.

Where does QWL fit in here? Is there evidence as to whether employers and employees live up to these standards? Is there a problem with ethics in the workplace? QWL mirrors an "ethical work environment." According to an Ethics Research Council press release (November 18, 2009), the observed amount of misconduct, employees' willingness to report it, the strength of an organization's ethical culture, and the amount of pressure to cut corners at all levels are the key criteria of ethical behavior. But is the sky falling? The results of the 2009 National Business Ethics Survey (published every 2 years by the National Ethics Research Board – or NERB – in the USA) suggest not. It reported an improvement over the prerecession 2007 results on key ethical measures, with one large exception being that the fear of retaliation for reporting misconduct has risen. In 2007, 56% of respondents reported that they witnessed misconduct on the job; this fell to 49% in 2009. In 2007, 58% claimed that they actually reported observed misconduct; this rose to 63% in 2009. As a final example, it should be noted that 10% of the 2007 respondents reported pressure to commit an ethics violation; this value fell to 8% in 2009. Having nearly one out of ten employees experience this pressure still remains an unfortunate indicator of the quality of organizational cultures. However, these data may also be interpreted to suggest that when times are tough, ethics improve. Regardless, unless there is a strong culture of ethics, misconduct will rise.

Interestingly, these data do not reflect the outcomes of similar studies conducted by the NERB a decade ago. In 2001 and 2003, the most frequently reported issues were abusive or intimidating behavior toward employees (24% in 2001 and 21% in 2003), misreporting time worked (21% in 2001 and 20% in 2003), lying (26% in 2001 and 19% in 2003), withholding needed information (25% in 2001 and 18% in 2003), EEO discrimination (17% in 2001 and 13% in 2003), theft or fraud (12% in 2001 and 12% in 2003), and sexual harassment (13% in 2001 and 11% in 2003). Instead of 1 out of 2 in 2009, the results of both the 2001 and 2003 National Business Ethics Surveys reported that about 1 in every 3 employees observed misconduct at work. A comparison of the results of the 2009 to the 2003 survey suggests, perhaps, that the sky *is* falling.

An Ethical Work Culture

A truly successful company has a strong ethical culture. The values of the organization permeate its management practices, including human resource management. The changing composition of the workforce (e.g., race, ethnicity, age, etc.), at least in the USA (United States Bureau of

Labor Statistics, 2011), influences the perceived and actual rights of employees. It may be that decisions regarding employees in many companies have largely changed from an “employment at will” perspective (again, in the USA) *because* of more recently recognized moral obligations of employers. It does not hurt that the Fair Labor Standards Act of, 1938, as amended in 2011, provides a strong reminder of these obligations. Research conducted by the Ethics Resource Center in Washington, D.C., reports that the most critical elements of an ethical organizational culture are modeling ethical behaviors on a daily basis by both managers and nonmanagers, following up on commitments, and providing resources that promote adherence to ethical standards (Maloney, 2007). In a survey of over 900 respondents, Valentine et al. (2011) reported that corporate ethical values were not only positively related to job satisfaction, but also to group creativity. Conversely, they found that corporate ethical values were negatively related to turnover intention. Neubert, Carlson, Kacmar, Roberts, and Chonko (2009) further support the positive relationship between ethical leadership and attitudinal measures of job satisfaction and affective commitment. Ethics training and compliance programs that establish policies related to employees’ rights and responsibilities can assist in the promotion of an ethical corporate culture. Note, however, that training employees on corporate codes of ethics does not necessarily create an ethical culture. Codes are aspirational. In order for them to be inspirational, Webley and Werner (2008) argue that ethical behavior must be modeled after the highest levels of leadership and infused through all levels of management, findings firmly supported by Neubert et al. They further reinforce the concern that those who report violations of ethical standards must be able to do so without fear of retaliation.

There is increasing pressure on organizations to establish ethics training programs and, to the extent that an organization extends to even one other country, apply their policies to all nations in which they operate as permitted by their laws. Walker (2006) identifies several good reasons for doing so. These include the increasing strength of the EU as a legal force, the globalization of the economy and the workforce, and the continued importance of US laws that are applicable to the conduct of business outside the USA. In general, employees’ reports of “ethics program follow-through” as described by Trevino and Weaver (2001, p. 651) reduces unethical behavior and improves employees’ willingness to report problems. The degree to which an employee engages in ethical behavior boils down to a matter of perceived justice (Schminke, Ambrose, & Noel, 1997).

Breaking the Code: Why Do Ethical Dilemmas Arise?

Both employees and corporations have rights and obligations. In a market economy, employer/employee rights are based on contrasting, sometimes conflicting, assumptions and values. These obligations are based on the premises that (1) there should be balance between an employer’s interest in operating a business and the employees’ welfare and interests and (2) employee rights are based on law and, presumably, the principles that underlie those laws. While laws vary by country, certain employee rights are nonnegotiable in either written or implied contracts, and (3) employees have “moral entitlements” that “function to prevent [them] from being placed in the fundamentally coercive position of having to choose between their job and other basic human goods and treatments” (Des Jardins & McCall, 1985, p. 369, as cited in Weiss, 1998).

What are these obligations? A fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work does not adequately describe them. Employers are obliged to pay fair wages, provide safe working environments, and provide meaningful work. This short sentence packs a lot of punch. First, compensation should be determined by a thorough job evaluation and analysis of external equity. Second, a multitude of occupational safety and health standards must be applied to both blue collar and white collar positions.

The safety climate of a workplace (Huang, Chen, Strauss, & Rogers, 2004) is driven by supervisors and reinforced by upper management. Third, engaging in tasks that benefit others tends to be both motivating and satisfying (Grant, 2008). Meaningful work is a core element of the Job Characteristics Model (Hackman & Oldham, 1976).

In turn, employees are obliged to fulfill the responsibilities of their contracts, adhere to established organizational policies and procedures, follow goals established for – or preferably with – them, perform their work and job assignments to the maximal level of their abilities, and perform required tasks productively.

More central to the current theme is that employees also have rights. Ethical violations occur when there is a conflict between employer and employee obligations. In the USA, these rights are codified. Summarizing points made by Weiss (1998), employees have (1) the right to a job and the right not to be terminated without just cause; (2) the right to due process such as formal grievance procedures; (3) the right to privacy, including strict limitations on the use of polygraphs, surveillance, drug testing, computer-stored data, etc.; (4) the right to know about job-related hazards as well as workplace health and safety (e.g., working conditions, HIV, smoking) under regulation of the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration; (5) the right to organize and strike as a means of protest against perceived violations of employee rights and employer obligations; and (6) the right of organizations with over 100 employees to know about plant closings as well as being given the opportunity to explore alternative ownership of a plant that is about to be closed. Thus, it is the failure to know and comply with rights and responsibilities that creates problems.

Ethical Dilemmas at Work

Organizations are faced with a number of historical and emerging issues that affect QWL. These may arise from their own policies and procedures, changes in the composition of the workforce, technological advancements, external economic and personal demands placed upon employees, or any combination thereof. It is the degree to which organizations respond to an extant or developing issue with policies that influence employee well-being that defines the ethical nature of their work cultures. Issues that affect QWL vary widely. They include work-life conflict, childcare, eldercare, work schedules, career development, promotional opportunities, work demands versus resources, substance abuse, abusive supervision, sexual harassment, bullying or mobbing, religious divisions, racism, sexism, ageism, the ability to earn a living wage, health-care benefits, wellness promotion, production systems and work design, leadership, management-employee communication, coworker relationships, performance management systems, organizational structure and communication, workplace violence, downsizing and outsourcing, and generational differences in work expectations – just to name a few. Strategically designed interventions based upon psychological principles offer redress.

While industrial and organizational psychology typically does not consider itself as the primary interface between ethical dilemmas and QWL, even a casual review of the topics in the field suggests that it plays an important role. Its purpose is to improve the efficiency of an organization while maintaining employee well-being. The purpose of this section is to identify several examples of workplace dilemmas from the popular literature that create ethical issues for employees by violating principles of balance, respect, responsibility, autonomy, participation, voice, and/or justice. Researchers then need to pose resolutions to problematic issues based on the empirically verified principles of industrial and organizational psychology. It may well be that the manner in which an organization treats its vulnerable yet competent employees reflects its true ethical culture. Realistically, all employees are vulnerable in one way or another: through

their individual needs, through an organization's practices, or through cultural changes that influence how employees think and behave at work. These vulnerabilities are not mutually exclusive, and their overlap is often large. However, the following few subsections attempt to categorize a broad spectrum of challenges that influence the QWL of employees. The supposition is that organizations that address these sorts of dilemmas create a more ethical work environment.

Regardless of the nature of the dilemma, conflict between the rights and responsibilities of employees and employers can be sources of stress. Stress is a somewhat messy yet essential concept to the study of ethics and QWL. However, the presence of ethical dilemmas creates a stress-related cultural climate. The possible antecedents to a stress reaction can be quite unique, and the experience of stress – be it positive or negative – is in the eye of the beholder. Mickel and Dallimore (2009) suggest that a stress reaction to a work incident may boil down to a choice between how one wishes to balance work and nonwork responsibilities. Methods for coping with stressful incidents may include setting boundary conditions when ethical conflicts occur and incorporating QOL into an organization's socialization and mentoring programs. However, the ability to effectively manage stress depends on one's sense of self-efficacy. An interview with a clinical psychologist on KDAF-TV in Dallas suggests that peoples' livelihoods are killing them (Carpenter, 2011). She recommends that if you cannot change your boss or your job, change your reaction to job stress. This ability applies to virtually all the examples of individual, organizational, and cultural sources of ethical dilemmas in the following sections, which attempt to integrate the academic perspective with events in the real world.

Individual Sources of Dilemmas

Challenges that affect an individual employee's well-being include but are most certainly not limited to mentoring, training, career stagnation, performance feedback, and work-life conflict.

A *Wall Street Journal* commentary (Sandberg, 2008) reports on a newly hired woman who was assigned a mentor in a marketing department of a theater company. When the protégé asked questions regarding her new job, she received such nebulous replies from her mentor that initiating contact became a waste of time. Realizing that suddenly stopping contact or requesting another advisor could create a host of other problems, she began her "Project Politely Ignore." This simply involved asking fewer and fewer questions to minimize contact, much like reducing interactions with someone one no longer wishes to date. Eventually, the mentoring relationship faded away without repercussion. While there are many reasons why a protégé may want to break up with a mentor (e.g., Eby & McManus, 2004), the commentary goes on to suggest that mentoring may be better as a polygamous rather than monogamous form of career development, especially when some mentors may sabotage, bully, or exploit their protégés. In any failed mentor-protégé relationship, a subtle exit strategy is helpful.

Opportunities for advancement extend well beyond mentoring relationships. One of the most obvious sources of "proving" oneself is to take advantage of training opportunities and transfer that training back to the job. In *The Evening Standard*, Chesworth (2011) reported on the growing number of UK employees who are unhappy with their jobs and recommended that they need to make the most of what is available in terms of training and development, even if it is just a chance to take a lateral move to gain exposure to new areas. The problem is gaining access to the training needed to promote one's own career, as well as possessing the sense of self-efficacy to do so (e.g., Abele & Spurk, 2009). The issue is quite similar in the USA, and there is evidence of an additional level of exclusion working against members of underrepresented groups in need of training opportunities. For example, in 2005, Ford Motor Company agreed to pay a multimillion dollar settlement to African-Americans who were rejected for an apprenticeship training opportunity

based on taking a test that had long demonstrated disparate impact (EEOC v. Ford Motor Co. and United Automobile Workers of America, 2005). Training is essential for development, but it must be available.

Even without a cloud of overt discrimination restricting advancement, career stagnation remains a concern for QWL. Flat organizations, small companies, outdated skills, personal animosities, nonwork demands, ageism, and a gloomy economy are just some of the factors that contribute to stalled careers. Consider the following. Many women who want to excel as much as their male counterparts are limited by childcare obligations (see Abele & Spurk, 2011). As described in *The Washington Post* (de Daniel, 2010), a 2005 Virginia Tech report found that the number of “voluntary” departures of female faculty members was disproportionate to that of males; women accounted for one-fifth of the faculty but two-fifths of departures. The reason? The time-honored tenure system in academia is in direct conflict with the most common child-bearing years for women. *The Washington Post* further stated that John Curtis, director of research and public policy for the American Association of University Professors, has evidence that parenthood has an opposite and positive effect on men’s ability to advance their academic careers. He claims that “faculty fathers who do sacrifice work for parenting tend to be admired and rewarded, while the mother who makes the same choice is ‘seen as neglecting her job.’” Hence, both the possibility of advancement and the time it takes to advance are affected.

Consequently, the proposal that performance management systems should be about employees’ successes rather than their shortcomings is another ethical imperative. Strong ethical cultures demonstrate this; weak ones do not. As reported in an Australian newspaper, *The Age*, a US ethics expert (Michele Kacmar) suggests that most workers are motivated more by respect than money (Gettler, 2007); unfortunately, most performance management systems do not attend to this principle. Procedurally, performance appraisals themselves leave much to be desired in a typical organization. For example, Gorman and Rentsch (2009) provide a schema-based explanation for why the efficacy of an evaluation improves after rater training, which increases the accuracy and fairness of the evaluation. Anecdotally, it would be correct to say that adequate rater training does not occur with great frequency. After a review of 300 articles, Levy and Williams (2004) also proposed that the social context in which a performance appraisal is conducted has more influence than previously examined in the literature. Their conclusions that the reactions of the ratee matter, as does establishing a culture that is receptive to feedback, have generated new research. Both recommendations require an ethically principled performance management system.

When employees do not feel respected as individuals, any number of counterproductive work behaviors may arise. These may range from mild (e.g., incivility) to severe (overt acts of violence). Some of the milder examples are hard to call. For example, an article in *The New York Times* (Mihalopoulos, 2011) reports about 200 complaints over a 5-year period that alleged that Chicago city truck drivers were sleeping at their jobs. This apparent social loafing, along with reports by citizens who see work crews with only a few people working while several others stand by idly, were justified by the employees’ union claiming that they were doing exactly what they were supposed to be doing: transporting others to their work sites and nothing more, as specified by contract. As Mihalopoulos reports, the city’s Inspector General agrees: “We have basically codified wasteful overstaffing.” While a dispute between city and union officials about workplace rules is imminent, the situation presents an interesting quandary concerning the obligations of the employer (the city) and the responsibilities of the employees to its citizens. It would be reasonable to suggest that the meaningfulness of work is in question here as well as, perhaps, the political ramifications of a powerful union. In a more egregious incident, *The Times-News* of Burlington, NC, reported on the arrest of an employee who was charged with 18 counts of forgery and/or acquiring money under false pretenses from a customer over a 5-month period (AP, 2011). One cannot know if this represents the employee’s reaction to perceived pay ineq-

uity (e.g., Greenberg, 1990) in addition to a lack of character, but violations of respect, responsibility, and justice are evident.

Perhaps one of the most prevalent individual sources of ethical dilemmas is work-life balance. Employees have obligations to their employers, but they also have obligations to themselves. The balancing act required by employees to care for their nonwork roles is not uniformly perceived or valued. First, consider the remarks of the CEO of the Employers and Manufacturers Association in New Zealand (*The Courier Mail*, 2011). While on a radio talk show, the executive stated that women were less productive than men and were appropriately paid less because they required more sick leave due to menstruation and childcare. He was fired. Conversely, Australia has a federally mandated childcare rebate available to working parents and stay-at-home mothers. *The Australian* (Sue, 2011) reports that this 50% childcare rebate is currently the only benefit for families with working parents that does not require a certain level of income for eligibility. The government considered limiting its access to stay-at-home mothers. When first introduced in 2006 and raised in 2008, women's employment rates have grown from 54.3% before the rebate to 57.2% as of March 2011. Unions have warned that women might have to quit their jobs in order to stay under a proposed raise in family income threshold which would, in turn, reduce women's participation in the workforce and potentially exacerbate the Australian skills shortage. On top of this, *The Age* reports that there are an insufficient number of qualified childcare workers and that, by 2012, the ratio of staff-to-children for the youngest kids will be reduced and, by 2014, every Australian childcare worker must have a minimum level of certification (Griffin, 2011). Less than half of the current childcare workers in Victoria have the qualifications. Griffin also reports that these requirements will lead to a considerably higher cost for childcare per day, further complicating the income threshold described by Sue.

There is more to balancing life than juggling the work-childcare interface (Fisher, Bulger, & Smith, 2009). Work interference with one's personal life, whatever its nature, is a source of constraint and of stress. Consider the "sandwiched" generation. A National Public Radio broadcast (Cox, 2007) tells the story of a married 45-year-old woman with 5-year-old twin girls who needed to step in when her 77-year-old father was diagnosed with Alzheimer's. Though the father was living with his female companion for 17 years in San Diego, the companion could no longer care for him due to the unpredictable nature of his outbursts. That placed the responsibility on the man's daughter and one of his three sons, both of whom lived in Los Angeles. The other two sons opted out of the responsibility. The first step was to convince the unwilling father to move to an assisted living facility near them. That worked. However, they were both unprepared to deal with the frequent crises that arose and the fact that the twin girls did not understand why friends would need to pick them up instead of their mother, or if plans were suddenly canceled. In addition to the deteriorating quality of life for the primary caretaker – the daughter – the burden of financial and legal issues was thrown into the mix, as was the fact that the woman needed to take a hiatus from her job to focus on her caretaker duties. Due to his disease, the father forgot that he had left directives to address this possible turn in his life and resisted them, though they did eventually provide some financial relief. As reported on the broadcast, 42 million women in the USA are members of the sandwiched generation and bear the double burden of caring for their parents and their children. Further, it is much more likely that if there is a female among the potential caretakers, most of the duty will fall to her and that, after a crisis, a single caretaker tends to take on the brunt of the responsibility as those who were there for the crisis gradually return to their normal lives. It will be the baby boomers' collective responsibility to address the cultural and societal attitudes associated with their own imminent aging in order to maintain their own quality of life (Shoptaugh, Phelps, & Visio, 2004).

Another less publicized issue in the study of work-life balance is potential discrimination against childless couples and singles (Casper, Weltman, & Kwesiga, 2007). Despite the growth of "family-friendly" benefits, singles have priorities outside of work, too. In a quote from

The Christian Science Monitor, Bradley (2006) writes the following of a teacher who noticed that almost all of his peers who attended after-hour meetings either had grown kids or no kids: “I thought, ‘Wow, all my colleagues who have children are home now, and they’re getting paid as much as we are. All they have to do is say ‘My kid ...’ and all is excused.’” It is not like someone in the teaching profession is antichildren. The demand is one of equity, not preferential treatment. The article goes on to report a 2003 study by the University of Tulsa which suggests that more than half of the childless singles in the USA resent less flexible hours, mandatory overtime, or less flexible vacation in comparison to their married coworkers with kids. Another example was that of an “office party” in which all employees were asked to pay a flat fee, no matter if many were bringing spouses or children with them. However, other research conducted by the University of Texas at Arlington shows that a singles-friendly work environment can be fostered by a cafeteria style benefits program that allows for different lifestyles which, in turn, promotes retention. While the article supports the shift in our nomenclature from “work-family conflict” to “work-life conflict,” it is certainly not the case that childless singles object to promoting the propagation of their species; rather, they just want equitable benefits based on individual preferences to afford them their rights to balance, respect, voice, and justice.

Organizational Sources of Dilemmas

Challenges that emanate from organizational policies and procedures include perceived justice of such benefits as alternative work arrangements, team development, ethical leadership, accountability, job design, organizational design, and accountability for counterproductive work behaviors, the latter of which include sexual harassment and workplace violence. Again, these topics are not independent of each other though they manifest themselves in myriad ways.

For many, benefits are as important as their compensation. *The Daily Mail* (“One in three,” 2010) reported that just over half of employees in Ireland had their bonuses and commissions either canceled or reduced and that nearly one-third of companies reduced pension benefits in 2009. Reducing a financial provision for retirement represents an extreme violation of justice for those employees who worked their lives with the trust that there would be some support for them at the end of their careers. In *The Commercial Appeal* (Connolly, 2010), a mayor who recently lost his bid for reelection threatened to veto cuts in vacation days and leave time that had been approved by the county commission in an 8-4 vote. The change in paid leave was even rejected by a member of the opposing political party as a matter of fairness to those who had worked for the county for 15 or 20 years. Unstable economies require drastic measures, despite the perceived injustice. In a somewhat disturbing but appropriate application of procedural justice, Kinsman (2006) from *The San Diego-Union Tribune* reported on a decision by an organization that was legally correct but, perhaps, morally debatable. An employee missed a deadline to file for her company’s stock options and brought the requisite paperwork to the compensation expert the morning after the deadline. The human resources employee realized that no one would ever know if she accepted the papers, but chose to deny the request. The employee immediately appealed to the CEO, who supported HR’s decision. The potential legal repercussions were too severe to overlook. As much as it may appear inconsequential, the organization upheld its ethical responsibility and the employee did not uphold her obligation. Kinsman goes on to report the findings of 418 “World at Work” members who are HR employees. They claimed that 65% said they faced ethical dilemmas at least once per month, and 19 reported that ethical issues arose on a daily basis. Spell and Arnold (2007) confirm that perceptions of justice related to benefits have negative repercussions on the climate of the organization and the mental health of its employees.

Related to the discussion of work-life balance above, many organizations are embracing telecommuting as a standard policy. With rapidly expanding access to technology, the traditional daily commute to work may unnecessarily detract from the quality of work life. According to an article by *UPI Business* based on research from the Universities of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Northwestern, employees who telework at least 3 days per week better accommodate family life while alienation from workplace communication – often cited as the greatest drawback to telecommuting – was minimal (“Teleworkers,” 2010). Breugh and Frye (2008) provide data that a key factor in the success of a business whose employees work from home is the support of family-friendly supervisors. In fact, both those who did and did not telecommute had timely access to information while the telecommuters were shielded from such workplace distractions as meetings, interruptions, and office politics. Kreiter (2011) reported on others’ data that suggest that approximately 45 million Americans work from home at least once per year, not including the self-employed, and that number is expected to increase to 63 million by 2016. The UK is undergoing the same transition. Sullivan and Smithson (2007) argue that “remote work” offers the potential for flexibility, productivity, and gender equity. It does. Interestingly, Kreiter further reported on a CareerBuilder survey that showed that most telecommuters put in less than 8 h per day, though 63% of them claimed they are at least as if not more productive. The trick to being productive is to get up, get dressed, set up a work routine, and stay focused. A *Philadelphia Enquirer* article by Bauers (2011) claims that a Widener University professor further argues for telecommuting because of the cost saving associated with working from home (i.e., a reduction in office space, energy, and materials) as well as a significant reduction in greenhouse gas emissions due to a drop in commuting.

Organizations that promote an ethical work climate and quality of work life need to be lead from above. Exceptions to the rule are not uncommon. Tavernise (2011) wrote a *New York Times* article that brought back unfortunate memories of a previously disgraced mayor of Washington, D.C. Mr. Vincent Gray, a relatively unknown name in the political arena, was subsequently elected to the position of mayor. Rather quickly, he was accused of nepotism in hiring and of providing inflated salaries, exceeding established salary caps. The dilemma here is particularly interesting from a leadership perspective: while the mayor was justly accused of wrongdoing, the District Council’s public hearings brought forth allegations of a total of five violations, only one of which was substantiated. In a leadership role, even one misstep can affect trust. Piccolo, Greenbaum, Den Hartog, and Folger (2010) provide evidence that ethical behavior of a leader influences the climate in which employees make decisions and, in so doing, may adversely alter the manner in which work gets done.

As a relative newcomer to the mayoral level of administration, did Mr. Gray receive sympathy or support? Tavernise reported that one member of the District’s Council stated “I believe Gray to be honest. My quarrel is not with him. It’s with the individuals in which he places so much trust.” Not surprising, Gray’s chief of staff was dismissed. Someone had to be held accountable. Blame and credit attributions affect both an individual’s and an organization’s ability to learn, develop, and cooperate. Through examining the interaction among organizational roles (Gibson & Schroeder, 2003), it is possible to raise attribution theory to a higher level of analysis. In *The Columbian*, Mize (2009) suggested that the Vancouver, WA, police officers’ guild alleged that the highest levels of the police department were not held accountable for favoritism, cronyism, and disparate treatment. Further, the blame became institutionalized over the years; only 5% of respondents to a commissioned survey believed there was a positive organizational culture within the department. However, 87% of the officers working in line positions reported that they were treated with respect by the employees with whom they worked on a daily basis. When the question of accountability exists in an organization’s top levels, it affects both the morale and quality of work life of its employees. The problem is how to redesign the organization – and the jobs within it – to do so.

The design of jobs has been long studied (Hackman & Oldham, 1976). However, the science and practice of team development and self-management suggests that a team is more than a set of jobs (Hackman, 2002). A 2010 broadcast on how teamwork affects care in hospitals in New South Wales, Australia (“Hospital survey,” 2010), reported on the results of a survey of more than 20,000 public patients about the care they received the previous year. Three percent of the overnight patients and 1% of the day surgery patients rated their care as “poor.” The recently established State Bureau of Health Information’s director asserts that staff teamwork was a major influence. While the explanation for why 94% of the patients rated the top hospital as “good” or better is anecdotal, the design of jobs and the interdependence of those members of a team who value the outcomes of their work are indispensable to success. Respect for others, felt responsibility beyond one’s own interests, and active participation in a team are prime examples of ethical principles that contribute toward a greater good (Sewell, 2005).

Organizational sources of ethical quandaries range from policies and procedures that apply to management, teams, and individual employees. Real-world incidents regarding benefits neatly flow into a discussion of leave time, telecommuting, flexible hours, and alternative work arrangements. In turn, alternative work arrangements require the presence of ethical leadership, supportive supervision, clear organizational structure, and a trickle-down effect to the core design of jobs that promote respect among and within employees for both themselves and their jobs. Other types of policies, however, are not in place to promote the *positive* obligations of employers but, rather, to take responsibility to protect employees from harm. Harmful work events considered here are various forms of violence and sexual harassment. While “counterproductive” in a different sense, these are policies or situations to which employees are exposed and need to be addressed by management.

From a survey of around 500 employees, Barlow (2011) reported that 60% of Ventura, CA, employees had been bullied at work, 69% reported they had witnessed bullying, 44% reported they had been yelled at during work, and 43% claimed they were retaliated against for speaking up. One employee claimed that his supervisors engaged in activities in violation of health privacy laws and, when called on the behaviors, was given 15 min to move 9 years’ worth of work. After seven other employees spoke before a formal board, the normally polite audience marched around the room with signs and chanted “What do we want? Respect!” Duffy (2009) anticipates that antibullying and antimobbing legislation in the USA is imminent for the protection of employees and for establishing formal parameters for a work culture that may have gone awry.

Bullying and abusive supervision are just two of many forms of workplace violence (Neuman & Baron, 1998). Hostile glaring, subordinates nonphysically “ganging” up on a supervisor (i.e., mobbing), intimidation, and mistreatment are actually some of the milder forms of workplace violence, despite the severity of their effects on their victims. *The Nelson Mail* reported that health professionals are at the greatest risk at work based on the number of serious injuries incurred (“Violence rife,” 2011). The Massey University survey of 96 organizations on which the article was based found that more than half of the organizations reported violence ranging from attempted assault, vandalism, and serious physical injury. The coauthor of the survey, Bevan Catley, stated that the rate for all violent incidents (3 per 100 workers) was very high compared to the USA and Europe – small comfort, at best. For often unpredictable reasons – and a lack of restraint – actual bodily harm regularly occurs. Grimson (2011), a reporter from *The Daily Advertiser* in Australia, wrote that a 39-year-old quarry worker was grabbed by the throat and punched repeatedly in the face and chest – by his supervisor. While public laws help to address this degree of violence, they are apparently not enough.

Perhaps one of the most serious and, sometimes, subtle forms of workplace violence is sexual harassment. Both “*quid pro quo*” and “hostile environment” forms of sexual harassment have received much attention in the popular press and the legal system. Based on allegations that a mechanic in Iraq was subjected to a hostile work environment and homophobic slurs for 4 months,

the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission filed a civil lawsuit against the mechanic's military contractor ("EEOC," 2011). Complaints to his immediate supervisor were either disregarded or he was threatened with a transfer. The married, heterosexual mechanic eventually agreed to move to a lower-paying job in Germany. The employee not only sought damages but also a requirement that the contractor institute policies to protect men from sexual harassment. The emotional trauma, frustration, and fear associated with sexual harassment apply equally to both genders. Sexual harassment is a form of violence and an unacceptable imposition of control over another. Strong ethical leadership with a culture of "no tolerance" toward harassment is imperative, as are in-house mechanisms to address the problems that arise for both the perpetrator and the victim (Nelson, Halpert, & Cellar, 2007).

Cultural Sources of Dilemmas

It is difficult to remove any of the previous examples of ethical dilemmas from the culture in which they occur. However, there are more recent issues that warrant a small but separate section on cultural sources of dilemmas that violate ethical principles and decrease quality of life. In this subsection, generational differences, religious issues, and spirituality in the workplace will be considered.

Stewart (2011) in *The Canberra Times* reported on the critical need to retain older workers in Australia in order to prevent skills shortages, as mentioned earlier in regard to the potential consequences of the childcare rebate. The hope is that organizations will develop innovative strategies needed to be developed now in order to remain competitive in the future given that a National Workplace Skills Survey claims that 92.5% of employers hire "mature" age workers. The implication of the article was that younger workers, though scarce, would be less loyal, less productive early in the apprenticeship, and more likely to quit. Contrary to stereotypical beliefs, Kowske, Rasch, and Wiley (2010) provide evidence that millennials tend to hold the same values and work ethic as their seniors. The manner in which they demonstrate their values may differ, but the technological skills that we assume the younger generation to hold may not help them in terms of relative productivity.

Here is a different cultural issue that many in the Western world will not find surprising, though it is also partially based on stereotyping. Marie (2009) reported on a young Muslim woman who was denied a sales position at a high-end children's clothing store in Tulsa, OK, because her attire violated the retail company's "Look Policy." Specifically, the policy bans wearing a head covering. In this case, the applicant was denied the position because she wore a hijab, a head covering worn by some Muslim women because of their religious beliefs. Given that a hijab would not interfere with the essential duties of the job and after an attempt at an informal settlement, the defendant invoked Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and pursued further action under the EEOC (Ball & Haque, 2003). One wonders whether a young recovering cancer survivor without hair would have been treated similarly. While the spokeswoman for the company could not comment on pending legislation, she did say "We have a strong equal employment opportunity policy and accommodate religious beliefs and practices where possible." The expression of one's religious beliefs as well as the sense of spirituality that may be attained from work has been shown to be positively related to job satisfaction (Pawar, 2009). In fact, Tom Chappell, owner and CEO of the organic production company called "Tom's of Maine," has relied upon his faith to develop and direct his organization (Marques, 2005) in a manner that maintains profitability yet exudes a sense of well-being to employees and customers alike. Employers must allow their employees to live their beliefs whenever reasonable.

Consequences for Employees Stuck Between a Rock and a Hard Place

The consequences for employees who find themselves faced with challenges – and opportunities – to manage ethical dilemmas may manifest in several ways. Subjective well-being falls along an “illness” to “wellness” continuum, and those with lower levels of self-efficacy tend to find themselves at a disadvantage. To succeed, one must simultaneously monitor physical and psychological resources, physical and psychological risks, and both nonwork and work roles to find a safe space (i.e., between the rock and the hard place).

The goal of a successful organizational intervention when faced with an ethical dilemma is not merely financial; it is to find that safe space. Luthans, Avolio, Avey, and Norman (2007) provide evidence that a combination of hope, optimism, resilience, and efficacy produce “positive psychological capital,” which results in improved job satisfaction. Interventions rooted in industrial and organizational psychology offer the promise of building more of it in the workforce.

References

- ABC News. (2010, May 27). Hospital survey shows teamwork affects care. *ABC Premium News*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Abele, A. E., & Spurk, D. (2009). The longitudinal impact of self-efficacy and career goals on objective and subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 74*, 53–62.
- Abele, A. E., & Spurk, D. (2011). The dual impact of gender and the influence of timing of parenthood on men’s and women’s career development: Longitudinal findings. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 35*(3), 225–232. doi:10.1177/0165025411398181.
- American Management Association. (2002). *Corporate values survey*. New York: American Management Association. http://www.amanet.org/research/pdfs/2002_corp_value.pdf
- American Management Association. (2006). *The ethical enterprise – A global study of business ethics 2005–2015*. New York: American Management Association.
- AP. (2011, October 21). SunTrust bank employee charged with theft. *The Times-News*. Retrieved from http://www.news-record.com/content/2011/10/21/article/suntrust_bank_employee_charged_with_theft
- Ball, C., & Haque, A. (2003). Diversity in religious practice: Implications of Islamic values in the public workplace. *Public Personnel Management, 32*(3), 315–330.
- Barlow, Z. (2011, September 28). Bullying a problem within county government, union says. *Ventura County Star*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Bauers, S. (2011, April 7). A tally of telecommuting: Tons of pollutants avoided. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Bradley, M. (2006, June 12). In “family friendly” workplaces, singles feel overlooked. *The Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved from <http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0612/p13s01-wmgn.html>
- Breaugh, J. A., & Frye, N. K. (2008). Work-family conflict: The importance of family friendly employment practices and family supportive supervisors. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 22*, 345–353.
- Carpenter, B. (Anchor). (2011, February 28). *Office stress: Boss+workload=stress. Blame is on the economy* [Television broadcast]. Dallas, TX: *KDAF-TV*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Casper, W. J., Weltman, D., & Kwesiga, E. (2007). Beyond family-friendly: The construct and measurement of singles-friendly work cultures. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 70*, 478–501.
- Chesworth, N. (2011, June 7). Looking out for number one. *Evening Standard*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Connolly, D. (2010, August 13). Mayor Joe Ford vows veto on reduced county employee benefits: Says county workers deserve vacation, sick days. *The Commercial Appeal*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Cox, T. (Anchor). (2007, January 25). Raising children, caring for parents [Radio broadcast]. *National Public Radio*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Daily Mail. (2010, October 19). One in three scaled back benefits last year. *Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- de Daniel, V. (2010, July 11). Tenure track for women often isn’t easily maneuvered. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Des Jardins, J. R., & McCall, J. J. (1985). A defense of employee rights. *Journal of Business Ethics, 4*, 367–376.
- Diener, E., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2002). Will money increase subjective well-being? A literature review and guide to needed research. *Social Indicators Research, 57*, 119–169.

- Diener, E., Ng, W., Harter, J., & Arora, R. (2010). Wealth and happiness across the world: Material prosperity predicts life evaluation, whereas psychosocial prosperity predicts positive feeling. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *99*, 52–61.
- Duffy, M. (2009). Preventing workplace mobbing and bullying with effective organizational consultation, policies, and legislation. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research*, *61*(3), 242–262.
- Eby, L. T., & McManus, S. E. (2004). The protégé's role in negative mentoring experiences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *65*, 255–275.
- EEOC v. Ford Motor Co. and United Automobile Workers of America, No. 1:04-CV-00845 S.D. Ohio. (2005).
- EEOC. (2011, August 17). EEOC sues DynCorp for hostile work environment. *AP Regional State Report-Virginia*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Efraty, D., & Sirgy, M. J. (1990). The effects of quality of working life (QWL) on employee behavioral responses. *Social Indicators Research*, *22*(1), 31–47.
- Employer group chief sacked for sexist slur. (2011, July 7). *The Courier Mail*, p. 23. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Ethics Research Council. (2009, November 18). <http://www.ethicsworld.org/ethicsandemployees/nbes.php#new09>
- Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, 29 U.S.C. § 201–219 (as amended 2011).
- Fisher, G. G., Bulger, C. A., & Smith, C. S. (2009). Beyond work and family: A measure of work/nonwork interference and enhancement. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *14*, 441–456.
- Gettler, L. (2007, May 23). How performance appraisals send you GAGA. *The Age*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Gibson, D. E., & Schroeder, S. J. (2003). Who ought to be blamed? The effect of organizational roles on blame and credit attributions. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, *14*(2), 95–117.
- Gorman, C. A., & Rentsch, J. R. (2009). Evaluating frame-of-reference rater training effectiveness using performance schema accuracy. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *94*, 1336–1344.
- Grant, A. M. (2008). The significance of task significance: Job performance effects, relational mechanisms, and boundary conditions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(1), 108–124.
- Grasso, M., & Canova, L. (2008). An assessment of the quality of life in the European Union based on the social indicators approach. *Social Indicators Research*, *87*(1), 1–25. doi:10.2007/s11205-00709158-7.
- Greenberg, J. (1990). Employee theft as a reaction to underpayment inequity: The hidden costs of pay cuts. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *75*, 561–568.
- Griffin, M. (2011, March 21). Childcare worker shortage looms large. *The Age*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Grimson, K. (2011, February 3). A workplace row erupted in violence on Monday. *Daily Advertiser*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Hackman, J. R. (2002). *Leading teams: Setting the stage for great performances*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. (1976). Motivation through the design of work: Test of a theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *16*, 250–279.
- Huang, Y. H., Chen, P. Y., Krauss, A. D., & Rogers, D. A. (2004). Quality of the execution of corporate safety policies and employee safety outcomes: Assessing the moderating role of supervisor support and the mediating role of employee safety control. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *18*, 483–506.
- Kinsman, M. (2006). Ethical behavior in workplace is desirable, necessary. *The San Diego Union-Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Kohl, M. L., & Schooler, C. (1982). Job conditions and personality: A longitudinal assessment of reciprocal effects. *The American Journal of Sociology*, *87*, 1257–1286.
- Kowske, B., Rasch, R., & Wiley, J. (2010). Millennials' (lack of) attitude problem: An empirical examination of generational effects on work attitudes. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *25*(2), 265–279. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9171-8.
- Kreiter, M. S. (2011, September 25). Consumer corner: Have computer will travel. *UPI Business*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Levy, P. E., & Williams, J. (2004). The social context of performance appraisal: A review and framework for the future. *Journal of Management*, *30*, 881–905.
- Luthans, F., Avolio, B. J., Avey, J. B., & Norman, S. M. (2007). Positive psychological capital: Measurement and relationship with performance and satisfaction. *Personnel Psychology*, *60*(3), 541–572.
- Maloney, P. (May, 2007). Research report discusses the critical elements of an ethical culture. *Federal Ethics Report*, *14*(5), 9.
- Marcel, J. P., & Dupuis, G. (2006). Quality of work life: Theoretical and methodological problems, and presentation of a new model and measuring instrument. *Social Indicators Research*, *77*, 333–368.
- Marie, P. (2009, September 18). Lawsuit filed in Tulsa federal court alleges Abercrombie & Fitch discriminated against Muslim. *The Journal Record*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Marques, J. (2005). HR's crucial role in the establishment of spirituality in the workplace. *Journal of the American Academy of Business*, *7*(2), 27–31.

- Mickel, A. E., & Dallimore, E. J. (2009). Life-quality decisions: Tension-management strategies used by individuals when making tradeoffs. *Human Relations*, *62*, 627–668.
- Mihalopoulos, D. (2011, July 10). Emanuel and unions square off over work rules. *The New York Times*, p. 21A. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Mize, J. (2009, August 10). Police guild sees accountability absent at top. *The Columbian*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Morrison, M., Tay, L., & Diener, E. (2011). Subjective well-being and national satisfaction: Findings from a worldwide survey. *Psychological Science*, *22*(2), 166–171.
- National Business Ethics Survey. (2009). <http://www.ethicsworld.org/ethicsandemployees/nbes.php#new09>
- Nelson, C. G., Halpert, J. A., & Cellar, D. F. (2007). Organizational responses for preventing and stopping sexual harassment: Effective deterrents of continued endurance. *Sex Roles*, *56*, 811–822. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9239-8.
- Neubert, M. J., Carlson, D. S., Kacmar, K. M., Roberts, J. A., & Chonko, L. B. (2009). The virtuous influence of ethical leadership behavior: Evidence from the field. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *90*, 157–170.
- Neuman, J. H., & Baron, R. A. (1998). Workplace violence and workplace aggression: Evidence concerning specific forms, potential causes, and preferred targets. *Journal of Management*, *24*, 391–419.
- Novak, B. J. (Writer), & Kwapis, K. (Director). (2005). Diversity day [Television series episode]. In B. Silverman, G. Daniels, R. Gervais, S. Merchant, H. Klein, & P. Lieberstein (Executive Producers), *The Office*. New York: NBC.
- Pawar, B. S. (2009). Individual spirituality, workplace spirituality and work attitudes: An empirical test of direct and interaction effects. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, *30*(8), 759–777.
- Piccolo, R. F., Greenbaum, R. L., Den Hartog, D., & Folger, R. (2010). The relationship between ethical leadership and core job characteristics. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *31*, 259–278.
- Royuela, V., López-Tamayo, J., & Suriñach, J. (May, 2008). The institutional vs. the academic definition of the quality of work life. What is the focus of the European Commission? *Social Indicators Research*, *86*(3), 401–415.
- Sandberg, J. (2008, March 18). With bad mentors, it's better to break up than to make up. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Schminke, M., Ambrose, M. L., & Noel, T. W. (1997). The effect of ethical frameworks on perceptions of organizational justice. *Academy of Management Journal*, *40*(5), 1190–1207.
- Seashore, S. E. (1975). Defining and measuring the quality of working life. In L. E. Davis & A. B. Cherniss (Eds.), *The quality of working life* (pp. 105–118). New York: Free Press.
- Sewell, G. (2005). Doing what comes naturally? Why we need a practical ethics of teamwork. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *16*, 202–218.
- Shoptaugh, C. F., Phelps, J. A., & Visio, M. E. (2004). Eldercare, job attitudes and organizational outcomes: Should organizations care? *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *19*, 179–196.
- Sirgy, M. J. (2002). *Psychology of quality of life*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Spell, C. S., & Arnold, T. J. (2007). A multilevel analysis of organizational justice climate, structure, and employee mental health. *Journal of Management*, *33*, 724–751.
- Stewart, F. (2011, April 10). Older workers' wisdom. *The Canberra Times*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Study finds violence rife in workplace. (2011, June 17). *The Nelson Mail*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Sue, D. (2011, April 19). Business warns against childcare means test. *The Australian*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Sullivan, C., & Smithson, J. (2007). Perspectives of homeworkers and their partners on working flexibility and gender equity. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *18*(3), 448–461.
- Tavernise, S. (2011, April 16). In Washington, headlines that revive bad memories. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Trevino, L. K., & Weaver, G. R. (2001). Organizational justice and ethics program “follow-through”: Influences on employees' harmful and helpful behavior. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, *11*, 651–671.
- United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2011, July). Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/cps/demographics.htm>
- UPI. (2010, November 17). Teleworkers happier than those in office. *UPI Business*. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com>
- Valentine, S., Godkin, L., Fleischman, G. M., & Kidwell, R. (2011). Corporate ethical values, group creativity, job satisfaction and turnover intention: The impact of work context on work response. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *98*, 353–372.
- Walker, R. (2006). International corporate compliance programmes. *International Journal of Disclosure and Governance*, *3*(1), 70–81.
- Webley, S., & Dryden, P. (2005). *Ethics at work: A national survey*. London: Institute of Business Ethics.
- Webley, S., & Werner, A. (2008). Corporate codes of ethics: Necessary but not sufficient. *Business Ethics: A European Review*, *17*, 405–415.
- Weiss, J. W. (1998). *Business ethics: A stakeholder and issues management approach* (2nd ed.). New York: The Dryden Press.

Part II

Foundations

Chapter 2

Professional Ethical Standards: The Journey Toward Effective Codes of Ethics

Connie Rae Bateman

Sama and Shoaf (2008) defined a profession as a “moral community ... a non-random collection of groups of people engaged in reciprocal and positive social interaction” (p. 41). As such, professional ethical standards of the community are often formalized in codes of ethics (codes). While numerous definitions of codes have been published across a variety of disciplines, there exists general agreement that a code’s primary purpose is to influence moral behavior within a profession (Di Norcia, 2002; Messikomer & Cirka, 2010; Stevens, 2008). Schwartz (2004) provided such definition, “A code of ethics is a written, distinct, and formal document which consists of moral standards used to guide employee and or corporate behavior” (p. 324). In essence, codified moral standards provide the primary foundation upon which specific rights, duties, and reporting requirements (at the individual or organizational levels) are built (Mabe & Rollin, 1986; Schwartz, 2004). Other definitions such as that provided by Mabe and Rollin (1986) have portrayed a secondary purpose for a code as somewhat transformative and related to considerations of governance, “Although its primary function is to establish a framework for professional behavior and responsibility, the code also serves as a vehicle for professional identity and a mark of the maturity of a profession” (Mabe & Rollin, 1986, p. 294). Frankel (1989) stated, “A code embodies the collective conscience of a profession and is a testimony to the group’s recognition of its moral dimension” (p. 110). There is general agreement that, at minimum, effective codes address moral responsibilities of the user, the organization, and management of the educational process inherent in code implementation (Davis, 1988; Murphy, 1988; Pitt & Groskaufmanis, 1990; Vinten, 1990) by striving to:

- Intentionally lift user behavior to higher (but reachable) levels through aspirational guidelines
- Govern activities ungovernable by other methods (e.g., socialization, self-interest, or supervision) through regulatory and compliance-oriented standards
- Encourage and obtain perceived relevancy and thus obtain responsiveness from users through an educational orientation (e.g., sensitizing users to ethical issues and concerns)

Practically speaking, Schwartz (2004) defined an ineffective code as “one that has failed to prevent illegal or unethical behavior on the part of corporate agents that was prohibited in the code” (p. 325). Sadly, research on code effectiveness is mixed or negative indicating that code

C.R. Bateman, D.B.A. (✉)
Department of Marketing, College of Business and Public Administration,
University of North Dakota, STOP 8366, Grand Forks, ND 58202, USA
e-mail: connie.bateman@business.und.edu

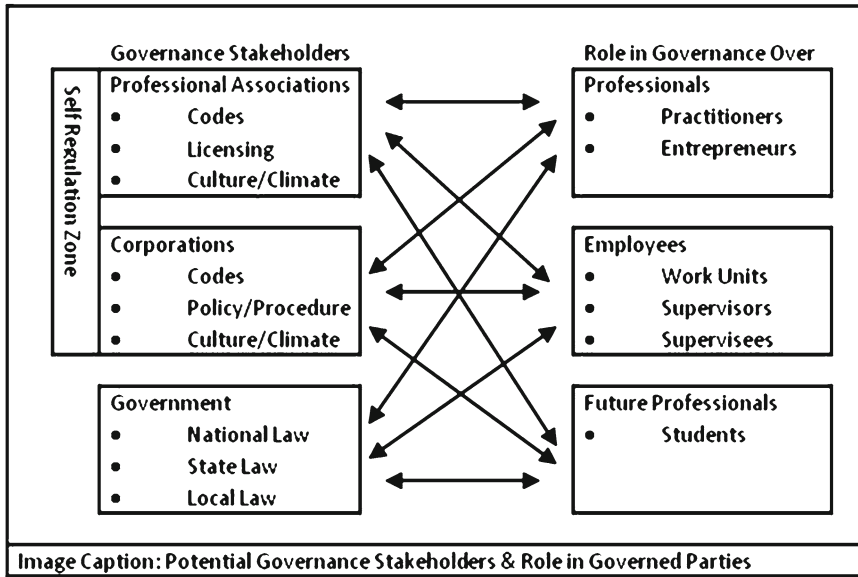


Fig. 2.1 Potential governance stakeholders and role in governed parties

developers struggle in striking the right balance between a regulations-oriented approach (e.g., too constraining) and an aspirational orientation (e.g., too general) (Murphy, 2005; Schwartz, 2004; Skubik & Stening, 2009; Stevens, 2008).

Advancements in the field of code research continue to uncover deeper dimensions of complexities and interdependencies between individuals and organizations. Over the last 30 years, research in the field of professional ethical standards has evolved from a microlevel (or content focus) to include a macrolevel strategic orientation, specifically from a focus on the code itself (development, content, compliance, enforcement) to a systems perspective of the code as one of the potential key contributors in effective formal or informal governance over a profession (Gotterbarn, 2009; Mabe & Rollins, 1986; Murphy, 2005; Skubik & Stening, 2009; Stevens, 2008; Tucker, Stathakopolous, & Patti, 1999).

According to Bonn and Fisher (2005), “an organization’s approach to ethics must have its foundation in its corporate governance framework” (p. 732). The concept of governance over unethical behavior has been applied in either a more traditional sense by some researchers who have focused on rigid policies and procedures that effect compliance, or in a less traditional, humanistic, or social network orientation. It has been argued that the nature of the interfaces between the professional, employee, and future professionals and society must be guided by a consideration of the governance systems within a profession and by doing so will more effectively manage risks (Gotterbarn, 2009). Key stakeholder groups involved in the governance of a profession can be broadly categorized as professional associations, organizations (for-profit, non-for-profit), and governments (local, state, federal, and international), with professional associations and organizations fueling self-regulatory efforts. Each stakeholder, alone or in concert with other(s), may attempt to influence governance over professionals, entrepreneurs, employees, or future professionals through a code. Figure 2.1 reveals a macroview of potential linkages between the entities in a profession attempting to govern moral behavior and those they are attempting to influence.

Reciprocal engagements between parties may be driven by duties to be truthful in the provision of information or to respect privacy or confidentiality (Sama & Shoaf, 2008). Methods of

attempted governance may include codes, licensing, policy and procedures, and culture or ethical climate. Practically speaking, some have argued that “Codes are not the teeth of an organization” (Gotterbarn, 2009; Messikomer & Cirka, 2010).

Some have claimed that “codes themselves do not contain the due process and sanctions within an organization but do describe the conscience of a profession” (Gotterbarn, 2009, p. 179). Mayer, Kuenzi, and Greenbaum (2010) stated, “Climates help explain the processes individuals use to make sense of their work environments” (p. 10). A number of researchers highlight the importance of human resource practices, such as the use of selection tools (e.g., integrity tests, structured interviews, ethical dilemma reasoning exercises), in assisting the betterment of the professions’ governance systems (Berenbeim, 2010; Singhapakdi, Sirgy, Lee, & Vitell, 2010). Self-governance from this perspective would align with the belief that “professionals are taught to be intrinsically motivated and their work is thought to be better executed when self-regulated, that is without interference of government ... (and may include) ... election to a body that governs the profession” (Sama & Shoaf, 2008, p. 41). The ethics of a profession will be reflected in its norms and practices, but the debate continues on whether and to what degree norms and practices should be or need to be institutionalized (Sama & Shoaf, 2008). Future professionals, through interactions and influence from leaders in the profession (informally or formally), should learn that it is a responsibility, rather than a right, to be a professional.

Code Research Evolves: Content to Governance

Code research in the 1980s appeared to be driven by an implicit assumption that unethical behavior (e.g., behavior against the organization) could be reduced by a code that included the right content, which, when effective, would evidence a strong commitment to social responsibility by the individual user, endorsing entity, and profession as a whole (Cressey & Moore, 1983; Schwartz, 2004). Codes during this time were referred to as creeds, credos, codes of conduct, and codes of practice, mission statements, or value statements (Clarkson & Deck, 1992; Murphy, 1989, 1995). Content analysis during this time revealed that codes tended to be legalistic and reflected the main priorities of senior management (Mathews, 1987; McDonald & Zepp, 1989) and specifically focused on issues relating to conflict of interest (Pitt & Groskaufmanis, 1990; White & Montgomery, 1980), misuse of confidential information and gifts (Pitt & Groskaufmanis), affirmative action (Benson, 1989), and other legal compliance (Sanderson & Varner, 1984). By contrast, codes rarely addressed ethical standards relating to the environment, product or service quality, or product safety (Mathews, 1987). Table 2.1 shows the findings from a variety of longitudinal and cross-sectional studies on code content. Although much of the research during the 1980s was focusing on the code itself, there was also recognition of the code’s role in representing the values of the organization to outside stakeholders.

A code remains one of the most visible ways an organization pronounces its professional norms to the community (Frankel, 1989; Murphy, 1989) but should not be the sole basis for elucidating professional responsibility (Mabe & Rollin, 1986). A code of ethics should be publicly available, embody specific relevant ethical behaviors, clearly and concisely identify the ramifications of code violations, and be revised periodically (Murphy, 1988), and may exist in tandem with an ethics program (Murphy, 1988). However, other research described below brought in a dose of realism about the actual use of even a well-built code.

By the end of the 1980s, optimistic researchers believed that attainment of an effective code would require more than striking the right balance of content materials, but with continued diligence, the drivers of ethical workplace behavior could be uncovered (Murphy, 1988; Vinten, 1990). However, a camp of pessimistic researchers resisted the value of a code and

Table 2.1 Specific standards in organizational codes: comparison between 1980s and 2000s

Years	1980s ^a	2000s ^b
Content ^c	Conflict of interest	Conflict of interest
	Gift giving/receiving	Gift giving/receiving
	Competitive intelligence	Competitive intelligence
	Affirmative action	Workforce diversity
	Other legal compliance	Bribery/grease payments
		Selling practices
		Working conditions/safety
		Environmental problems
	Relationships with dealers	
	International issues	

Notes:

^aBenson (1989), Pitt and Groskaufmanis (1990), Sanderson and Varner (1984), and White and Montgomery (1980)

^bMurphy (2005)

^cListings show specific standards mentioned in over 50% of the codes

espoused that (given the lack of empirical support) codes were essentially no more than public relations tools and the intent of behavioral control could easily be replaced by good internal auditing procedures combined with legal constraints (Benson, 1989; Pitt & Groskaufmanis, 1990).

Throughout the 1990s, code research continued to advance in the areas of content as well as development, implementation, effectiveness, and integrative role within an organization. Content analysis revealed the new generation of codes burgeoned with enhancements that went well beyond the legalistic statements of the previous decade, expanding specifically on the organization's underlying philosophical principles and values (Ferrell, 1999; Stevens, 1996), and the value of providing relevant examples either in the code or during training (Murphy, 1995). Other researchers were drawing attention to the firm as a whole and called for a firm-level "comprehensive integrity strategy" which would form supporting connections between intrafirm self-evaluations and processes that support the values written in a code of ethics document (Paine, 1994), and others were turning their eye toward the code's development process used in professional associations (Tucker et al., 1999). However, in spite of enhancements in content breadth and depth, codes were still charged with lack of strategic vision and being too focused on preventing behavior against the organization (Snell & Herndon, 2000; Stevens, 1996). In light of the increasing decentralization and participative management philosophies in place at the time, Tucker et al., (1999) called for researchers to address the issue of code effectiveness from strategic (leadership) and tactical (membership) levels. By the end of this decade, several categories of business ethics research had been identified: empirical research (beliefs and behaviors), methodological research, conceptual frameworks, institutionalization of ethics codes (e.g., top management commitment, transformational leadership and culture, informal systems), and code content for corporations and/or associations (Tucker et al., 1999).

Among the research, one prominent comparative study stands out because of its nature (e.g., longitudinal), its investigative scope (e.g., content, process, governance, and perceived effectiveness), and its contribution toward understanding. Using a multidimensional assessment of ethics codes, Tucker et al. (1999) analyzed the codes of 81 professional business associations using mail survey and code content analysis. In over 80% of the cases, codes used positive wording (e.g., the member "will"), focused on external stakeholders (e.g., customers, suppliers, etc.), and were believed by the executive directors to be adhered to by the majority of its members. Although the majority of codes used a positive tone, critics claimed it was a mistake to do so,

Table 2.2 Comparison of professional association code content: general principles

Organization	APA ^a	SIOP ^b	AoM ^c	ICC/ESOMAR ^d	SHRM ^e
Beneficence/nonmaleficence	X	X		X	
Fidelity/responsibility	X	X	X	X	X
Integrity	X	X	X	X	X
Justice	X	X			
Respect for people’s rights and dignity	X	X	X	X	X

Notes:

^aAmerican Psychological Association

^bSociety of Industrial and Organizational Professionals (endorses APA standards)

^cAcademy of Management

^dInternational Chamber of Commerce/ESOMAR

^eSociety of Human Resource Management

positing that it would be more effective to use negatively toned statements (e.g., thou “shall not”) that are clear, concise, and contain no “wobble room” (Raiborn & Payne, 1990). In over 60% of the cases, codes were developed by committee, reviewed by either special committee or executive board, revised at least every 5 years, developed for internal reasons (e.g., to provide guidance, enhance professionalism and responsibility of members), and were still believed by the executive directors to need a major overhaul (Tucker et al., 1999). As an ethical construct, integrity (e.g., morality, honesty, sincerity, candor, responsibility, trust) was prioritized in 52% of the cases. However, when it came to the executive directors’ impressions of member application and consideration of the penalties for unethical conduct, only 36% believed that members actually considered the ethical code in everyday business dealings and only 39% believed that members saw that the consequences of violating the ethical code as significant (Tucker et al., 1999). Other researchers had also recognized that in relation to code development, without member or employee buy-in, codes (the development of which is a value-laden process) would not be effective (Murphy, 1995), nor would they have ethical validity at the organizational or individual levels (Messikomer & Cirka, 2010). It was also recognized that both organizational leaders and professional associations can be instrumental in facilitating ethical environments and will have similar considerations in attempting to do so (Howell & Avolio, 1992).

Throughout the 2000s, the research on codes continued its evolution (Stevens, 2008) driven by various philosophies (Small, 2001). In terms of code content, and in an effort to address common areas where conflict of interest manifested, most codes included general principles, and many included specific behavioral standards.

According to Walker (2009):

Conflicts of interest are one of the more important areas of an organization’s compliance efforts because how an organization manages conflicts can be a meaningful component, or bellwether, of the culture of an organization ... when an organization has a well-developed conflicts policy that is consistently and uniformly enforced, the compliance culture will typically benefit (p. 15).

As a point of comparison, the organization and structure of the ethics codes of five professional associations are shown in relation to the standards used by the American Psychological Association (APA), a professional organization with one of the most comprehensive codes of ethics. These organizations were chosen for comparison based upon their relative diversity. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 show categorical ethics areas, used as a main heading in the respective code. The APA, Society of Industrial and Organizational Professionals (SIOP), and Academy of Management (AoM) codes shared the most similar structure (e.g., introduction, preamble with a statement of the organization’s commitment to ethics, description of general principles stated in aspirational or normative language, and extensive explanation of specific standards for ethical behavior). By comparison, the International Chamber of Commerce/European Society for

Table 2.3 Comparison of professional association code content: general principles

Organization	APA ^a	SIOP ^b	AoM ^c	ICC/ESOMAR ^d	SHRM ^e
Issue resolution	X	X	X	X	X
Competence	X	X		X	X
Human relations	X	X	X	X	X
Privacy and confidentiality	X	X	X	X	
Advertising and public statements	X		X		
Records and fees	X				X
Education and training	X				X
Research and publication	X	X	X	X	X
Assessment	X				
Therapy	X				

Notes:

^aAmerican Psychological Association

^bSociety of Industrial and Organizational Professionals

^cAcademy of Management

^dInternational Chamber of Commerce/ESOMAR

^eSociety of Human Resource Management

Opinion and Marketing Research (ICC/ESOMAR) and Society of Human Resource Management (SHRM) were uniquely structured. Some noteworthy comparisons are:

- The APA code uses language to indicate that members “must” consider the code in addition to laws and guidance from other significant bodies, whereas the AoM uses language to indicate that its members “should” consider the code’s principles and be committed to uphold principles and standards.
- The ICC/ESOMAR code clearly defines its purpose as a framework for self-regulation worldwide with a stated goal of minimizing the need for government (national or international) legislation or regulation on the profession, whereas others are less direct.
- All codes included a balance of aspirational, normative, and compliance-oriented statements.
- In sum, codes identified a variety of stakeholders (society, students, colleagues, affected parties, subjects, clients, etc.).
- All Codes included reference to reporting and compliance processes.

In addition, the APA and the SIOP were the most comprehensive in conveying the basis for code assessments. ICC/ESOMAR and SHRM each had unique code structures. ICC/ESOMAR included an introduction, defined purpose (which included five objectives for the code), eight key fundamentals, a defined scope over market research activities in conjunction with other entities, direction on how the code should be interpreted, and fourteen articles. The SHRM structure was divided into six parts: professional responsibility, professional development, ethical leadership, fairness and justice, conflicts of interest, and use of information. For each of the aforementioned areas, the SRHM code enunciated core principles, intent, and guidelines but did not include elaborations upon compliance violations. This is not surprising as the elements of trust, integrity, reciprocity, and self-regulation characterize a moral community, which, in turn, should also be reflected in a compliant profession (Sama & Shoaf, 2008).

Common sanctions mentioned across the codes (regardless of the rigor with which the ethics violation process unfolded) involved ultimate suspension or removal from membership of the association, although sanctions could be more severe in some cases if the law were also involved. None of the codes included reference to how or whether its effectiveness was being measured, nor made reference as to whether any metric had changed as a result of the code (reduced lawsuits due to unethical behavior, enhanced job satisfaction, etc.).

It should be noted that organizations need not position conflicted situations as purely negative but recognize they may be beneficial to an organization and should be appreciated for the contributions to new insight that they do provide in the guidance of future code revisions. Many companies, in an attempt to circumvent learning from experience, will administer annual questionnaires with conflict-related items to employees and related stakeholder groups (Walker, 2009). Furthermore, not all conflicts are experienced by each stakeholder equally.

Walker (2009) suggests:

In conducting a conflicts risk assessment one should try to identify different types of risks created by different categories of employees ... the more detailed an organization's risk assessment, the more carefully tailored its controls and policies can be ... and should include those situations that are most likely to arise at an organization or be most harmful to the organization. (pp. 16–17)

The codes of these professional associations are as diverse as those of the organizations themselves, varying by (1) depth and scope of behaviors; (2) number and type of principles, rules, guidelines, advisory options, and values; (3) degree of relevant content; (4) length; (5) format; and (6) tone or language (Bullock & Panicker, 2003; Gaumnitz & Lere, 2004; Skubik & Stening, 2009). Codes with more depth and breadth may reflect the maturity of a profession or simply the proactive mobilization of the industry leaders to make a difference and elevate the profession from its current levels. In sum, although the strategic insight to be gained by comparing the contents or structure of codes across organization may be limited due to the diverse nature and roles of the organizations themselves, insights into the maturity of the profession may be gleaned.

It Takes More: Institutionalization

While codes can serve to increase awareness of moral principles and can contribute to a positive ethical climate and can serve as a control mechanism within the organization, they are merely part and parcel of a complex web of formal and informal infrastructures that work to promote integrity within a profession (De Cremer, Tenbrunsel, & van Dijke, 2010; Valentine & Johnson, 2005). Although it is generally accepted that no code is perfect (Skubik & Stening, 2009; Valentine & Barnett, 2002), several causes for code's ineffectiveness seem to be more common than others:

- Code effectiveness is not determined by legalistic compliance-oriented statements but by culture and cooperation (Schwartz, 2000; Trevino & Weaver, 2003). Most studies have identified that the most important determinant of an organization's climate is the everyday observable behavior of the leaders, specifically in the exercise of referent power (Mayer et al., 2010) and through transformational leadership (Engelbrecht, van Aswegen, & Theron, 2005).
- Governance mechanisms are ineffective (e.g., traditional top-down attempts at code governance and forced compliance are ineffective, actual or perceived enforcement is not strong enough, all relevant stakeholders cannot participate in the code development process, or the standards of several governing bodies may conflict) (Mabe & Rollin, 1986; Stevens, 2008).
- User adoption is dependent upon code relevancy and implementation integrity (Mabe & Rollin, 1986; Stevens, 2008; Trevino, Hartman, & Brown, 2003). According to Messikomer and Cirka (2010), "... when codes are developed for the 'wrong' reasons and when the development process fails to involve employees, is not values-based, and lacks authentic leadership, the code will become a 'lifeless,' useless artifact" (p. 66).
- Some issues (e.g., conflicts between client autonomy or self-direction and welfare of the client) cannot be handled by a code (Mabe & Rollin, 1986).
- As the professional landscapes change, elements of a code may become less relevant (Mabe & Rollin, 1986).

Due to these long-standing causes for a code's ineffectiveness, some researchers have branded codes as "toothless tigers" (Petersen & Krings, 2009) and suggested an ineffective code is justification for the intervention of government regulation, licensing, or legislation in certain areas (Gotterbarn, 2009). Toward a better understanding of governance and compliance issues, some researchers searched for universal metrics that could explain a code's effectiveness (Gaumnitz & Lere, 2002; Schwartz, 2005) comparing content, process, leadership, and governance aspects across organizations (Murphy, 1989; Skubik & Stening, 2009; Tucker et al., 1999). Others have focused on the role of ethical climate or "the holistic impression that individuals have regarding ethical policies, practices, and procedures within a unit or organization" (Mayer et al., 2010, p. 7). There appears to be general agreement that a code's effectiveness is encouraged by:

- General guiding principles and specific standards for behavior
- User buy-in and perceptions that code content is relevant and justified
- User knowledge and trust in specific mechanisms or performance indicators (e.g., reporting processes and review of violations)
- Effective communications and promotions (e.g., user perceives a culture for open discussions)
- User engagement in and assimilation of respective socialization processes within the organization or profession in such a way as to manifest ethically responsible thinking and behavior
- An ethical climate contextualized by ethical leadership (Bonn & Fisher, 2005; Brown, Trevino, & Harrison, 2005; Gotterbarn, 2009; Hoogervorst, DeCremer, & van Dijke, 2010; Mayer et al., 2010; Murphy, 2005; Schwartz, 2004; Wood & Rimmer, 2003; Wotruba, Chonko, & Loe, 2001)

Process

To date, there is an inadequate supply of longitudinal research examining the underlying mechanisms that explain the connections between leadership and ethical behavior. However, a few published reports exist and provide insight into how the leadership of two national associations choose to approach or manage the code development and revision processes. Providing one of the few biographical longitudinal reports of how a national professional association effectively developed a Code, Messikomer and Cirka (2010) relay a step-by-step process reflecting normative validity and ethically integrity. Table 2.4 reveals the process used by The National Associations of Move Managers (NAMM) appeared to include the majority of aforementioned criteria necessary for an effective code. Although the development process used by NAMM was very successful in engaging members, and achieving buy-in and perceived validity of process and content, the ensuing years did not show as much promise.

The association increasingly struggled against waning involvement from its members in the ongoing implementation of the code as evidenced by scheduled plenary sessions at later workshops that had low attendance by conference attendees. The NAMM process of code development may act as a model for code developers. The question still remains as to how to keep member engagement levels high throughout the code implementation process.

In contrast to the above success in code development experienced by NAMM stands an example of another professional association, the Academy of Management (AoM). Skubik and Stening (2009) brought focus to the 10-year-old code of the AoM, and in a critical observation of the code over time, they note a mixture of healthy attempts toward building an effective code that are undercut by the ethical integrity of the process (e.g., absence of process-related elements vital to a code which the members will buy-in to). After an all-Academy task force combined with the Academy's Board of Governors approved the initial code, 91% of AoM members voted in favor of its adoption.

Table 2.4 Newly formed national professional association code development process

Year 1: Professional Trade Organization formed by industry leaders
Establish governing board and hire ethics consultants; affirm process expectations
Give ongoing assurances to members that there is a strong commitment to the creation of a relevant and viable “living code of ethics” that would guide future behavior and frame the industry’s ethical standards and culture
Ask members to submit listings of ethical dilemmas that are likely to be faced in the profession (derive scenarios for use in the workshops during Conference #1)
Year 2: Conference #1 – goal: identify core and aspirational values
Run educational and interactive plenary workshops where members form groups are informed about the nature and role of ethics codes, asked to identify which relevant core values are manifested in each ethical dilemma scenario, formulate how resolution may occur, and surmise a listing of relevant aspirational values
Year 3: Conference #2 – goal: develop a draft code of ethics
Run plenary workshops where members form groups, are given a core value to work with (e.g., Responsibility), and asked to generate (1) a principle statement (e.g., Sr. Managers have an obligation to...because...), (2) behavioral guidelines (e.g., clearly communicate in writing...), (3) a sample situation (e.g., slice-of-life dilemma featuring the above value), and (4) a sample solution (e.g., slice-of-life appropriate solution to the dilemma). Compile input and present draft code to members and board at conference end
Post conferences – appoint ethics task force to finalize code in consultation with membership

Note:

^aMessikomer and Cirka (2010) highlight the ethical integrity and validity (Newton, 1994; Paine, 1994) inherent in this code development process used by the National Association of Move Managers (NAMM)

After this initial thrust, there was silence and no reported efforts were made by AoM in the 5 or more years following regarding implementation or assessment of the code’s effectiveness (Skubik & Stening, 2009). Apparently without member vote, the Academy’s Board of Governors approved a new code late in 2005, prompting a call to all Academy members to engage in conversation and debate about the value of the new code and determine where revisions were needed, and a caution to all professional associations (especially associations comprised of nonmandatory membership) about the need to involve members in code development (Skubik & Stening, 2009). While there were a number of criticisms, it is important to note that the AoM experience does provide some food for thought in that they did structurally enhance the governance structure for code implementation. In a concerted effort to encourage increased self-regulation and member problem-solving skills, AoM expanded their governance structure during this time to include an Ethics Committee to assist with policy and procedural issues involving education, inquiries, code violation charges, an Ethics Ombudsperson, an Ethics Education Committee, an Ethics Adjudication Committee, and an Ethics Appeal Panel (Skubik & Stening, 2009). Critics may still argue the good of a governance structure without buy-in from members or forced compliance methods.

Efforts such as those undertaken by NAMM and AoM are admirable in practice and in attempt because learning (whether from failures or successes) brings a profession forward. This ideology appears to be the foundation from which a movement akin to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is rising for the professions, specifically Professional Social Responsibility (PSR) whereby PSR is motivated by servant leadership (Reece, 2002; Spears & Lawrence, 2002).

Implicit and Explicit Institutionalization of Ethics

Other causes for a code’s ineffectiveness have been uncovered and are beginning to garner more attention. Gino and Pierce (2010) found that when individuals assess the situations around them and identify a perceived inequity, they may be willing to cross ethical boundaries (e.g., dishonest

helping such as approving uncovered expenses or dishonest hurting such as withholding information that could help someone) to hurt or help others in order to restore perceived equity and reduce emotional distress (e.g., jealousy, envy, compassion, or empathy) caused by the inequity. Based upon equity theory, this study reveals that being unethical can be “other-centered,” and when motivation to be unethical is focused on restoring equity, the wrongness of the action will be tend to be discounted and ethical “fading” may occur (De Cremer et al., 2010; Gino & Pierce, 2010; Tenbrunsel & Messick, 2004). Dynamics such as these in the work climate are reflective of the state of the implicit institutionalization of ethics.

Specifically, Singhapakdi et al. (2010) clarified that:

Implicit ethics institutionalization refers to a work climate in which ethical behavior is understood by employees to be crucial in the makeup and functioning of the firm. For example, a company that has a high level of implicit ethics institutionalization is one that informally expects all of its managers ... to demonstrate a high level of professionalism, honesty, and integrity. In contrast, explicit ethics institutionalization refers to the codification of ethical behavior in terms of codes of ethics, policy manuals, orientation programs, and ethics committees (p. 78).

In other words, ethical climates (whether functional or dysfunctional) reflect employee role identities and social extant contracts as they intersect with work resources and, in turn, may play an integral role (implicit or explicit) in Quality of Work Life (QWL) and QWL programs (Dunfee, 1991; Singhapakdi et al., 2010; Sirgy, Reilly, Jiyun, & Efraty, 2008). Ethics has been identified as one of the top risks in workforce management (Leisy, 2009). Thus, it is important that human resource processes place individuals into leadership positions that can handle work-conflict issues. Berenbeim (2010) reports twelve “essential ethics and compliance leadership qualities” identified by The Conference Board Research Working Group: organizational agility, politically savvy, presentation skills, comfort around higher management, ethics and values, integrity and trust, conflict management, managerial courage, approachability, composure, perspective, and being willing to stand for what is right. Reynolds (2009) also identifies some similar characteristics for compliance officers to demonstrate. It is critically important for organizations to provide codes and code training that incorporates clear presentations of the organization’s commitment to social responsibility, as this has been shown to enhance job satisfaction (Valentine & Fleischman, 2008), employee incorruptibility (Valentine & Johnson, 2005), and overall perception of the organization’s commitment to ethics (Valentine & Fleischman, 2004) which are in turn related to QWL. Priorities such as these in the human resource function are thought to impact an individual’s work attitudes and are deemed a desired component of strategic human resource management and evidence of an “ethical stewardship” framework through which strategic planning occurs (Caldwell, Truong, Linh, & Tuan, 2011; Valentine & Fleischman, 2004).

Research has found that organizations scoring high on QWL measures also tend to provide employees with resources that help meet their basic and developmental needs (Singhapakdi et al., 2010). The definition of QWL has been defined as “employee satisfaction with a variety of needs through resources, activities and outcomes stemming from participation in the workplace” (Sirgy, Efraty, & Lee, 2001, p. 242). As such, QWL programs may inadvertently cause perceived inequities among employees (e.g., certain job descriptions allowing for flextime or telecommuting while others do not), which may result in rationalizations for unethical behaviors in an attempt to restore equity. Other researchers find that leaders, protecting their own interests (e.g., receiving recognition for their units performance), may not show disapproval of unethical follower behavior when the result of the behavior is increased performance of the work unit (Hoogervorst et al., 2010; Mayer et al., 2010). Furthermore, followers appear to be quite adept at identifying which unethical behaviors will be condoned or not disapproved of (Hoogervorst et al., 2010), which also appears to be a function of the ethical climate (Mayer et al., 2010). This dysfunctional pattern of unethical leader-follower behavior may be repaired through governance systems which, in part, monitor or influence accountability through informal or formal mechanisms, as long as the leader’s self-interest is not overriding social pressures or other

compliance pressures (De Cremer & van Dijk, 2009; Hoogervorst et al., 2010) or reducing leader resistance through practical training and sensitization on how to properly handle unethical follower behavior (Hoogervorst et al., 2010).

Considerations of International Professional Ethical Standards

Today, science cannot yet predict or measure code effectiveness, yet the corporate landscapes in America and Europe have become littered with corporate codes (Chonko, Wotruba, & Loe, 2003), with 58% of the 100 largest multinational companies having ethical codes (Kaptein, 2004) and an increasing number of European companies adopting codes in the hopes of regulating labor relations (Sobczak, 2003).

As markets globalize, employees and professionals are meshed together in ways that expose greater culturally based conflicts of interest and complicate ethical decision-making processes. Salbu (1994) warns of premature ethical codification and calls for a stage-gate process for the international codification of business ethics, whereby time is first allowed for organic development of an international community's values and conscience, and as facilitated dialogues continue, efforts are made to make tangible a voluntary set of codes which eventually act as a bridge to the ultimate codification (e.g., by law, treaties, or international professional associations of business ethics). Codes are interpreted by users through legal, social, and cultural perceptual screens; therefore, codes used by an international user base must be developed and implemented using open communication and include explanations and examples that produce ethical clarity and reduce "ethical gaps" (Bonn & Fisher, 2005; Salbu, 1994).

Facilitating ethical accountability in a global context will require an understanding of the multistakeholder governance structures that comprise a profession or the professions comprising an industry. International stakeholders may include governments, nongovernment organizations, labor organizations, businesses, United Nations agencies, academic associations, social entrepreneurs, peer networks, multistakeholder coalitions, or professional associations (Gilbert, Rasche, & Waddock, 2011). Clarke and Fuller (2010) present a promising process model for the development of shared strategy by multiorganizational cross-sector social interaction (CSSI) or partnerships. Given that professional ethics training programs are corporate programs with plans, processes, and persons that are developed, implemented, and evaluated within a stakeholder and environmental context, the Clarke and Fuller (2010) model may be a helpful new approach for internationally oriented entities as attempts to influence the ethical behavior of professionals evolve.

According to Crane (2010):

The governance of CSSIs is also prompting us to reconsider how we actually conceptualize societal governance. First, it signals a shift to hybrid forms of governance that blends hierarchy, market, and network-based forms of coordination and control. And second, it represents a move away from static and formalized governance from above by a sovereign authority to more fragmented, emergent, dispersed, situational, and issue-based mode of governance from within (p. 18).

This approach may be considered a form of humanistic governance by Pirson and Turnbull (2011), "in contrast to traditional corporate governance, network governance introduces a division of power via multiple boards, checks and balances, and active stakeholder engagements" (p. 101), or a form of feminist corporate governance model because of its relational, collaborative orientation (Machold, Ahmed, & Farquhar, 2008).

On the journey toward ethical accountability in the international arena, open and productive discourse involves complexities such as considerations of equal voice, roles, fair representation of stakeholder groups, and commitment to the process in its entirety (e.g., agreeing to not pull

out of the process if seemingly unrecoverable disputes occur). In addition to multistakeholder governance perspectives, considerations should also be given to local, regional, and national levels (e.g., how local-level culture-specific professional ethical standards translate into an international or global context) (Gilbert et al., 2011).

References

- Benson, G. C. S. (1989). Codes of ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 8, 305–319.
- Berenbeim, R. E. (2010, Spring). Utilizing HR and ethics and compliance collaboration to promote an ethical culture. *Employment Relations Today*, 17–26.
- Bonn, I., & Fisher, J. (2005). Corporate governance and business ethics: Insights from the strategic planning experience. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, 13(6), 730–738.
- Brown, M. E., Trevino, L. K., & Harrison, D. A. (2005). Ethical leadership: A social learning perspective for construct development and testing. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 97, 117–134.
- Bullock, M., & Panicker, S. (2003). Ethics for all: Differences across scientific society codes. *Science and Engineering Ethics*, 9(2), 159–170.
- Caldwell, C., Truong, D. X., Linh, P. T., & Tuan, A. (2011). Strategic human resource management as ethical stewardship. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 98, 171–182.
- Chonko, L. B., Wotruba, T. R., & Loe, T. W. (2003). Ethics code familiarity and usefulness: Views on idealist and relativist managers under varying conditions of turbulence. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 42, 237–252.
- Clarke, A., & Fuller, M. (2010). Collaborative strategic management: Strategy formulation and implementation by multi-organizational cross-sector social partnerships. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 94, 85–101.
- Clarkson, M. B. E., & Deck, M. C. (1992). *Effective codes of ethics: A stakeholder approach*. Toronto, Ontario: The Clarkson Centre for Business Ethics.
- Crane, A. (2010). From governance to governance: On blurring boundaries. *Journal of Business*, 94, 17–19.
- Cressey, D. R., & Moore, C. A. (1983). Managerial values and corporate codes of ethics. *California Management Review*, 25(4), 53–77.
- Davis, M. (1988, June). Working with your company's code of ethics. *Management Solutions*, 5–10.
- DeCremer, D., Tenbrunsel, A. E., & van Dijke, M. (2010). Regulating ethical failures: Insights from psychology. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 95, 1–6.
- De Cremer, D., & Dijk, E. (2009). Paying for sanctions in social dilemmas: The effects of endowment asymmetry and accountability. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 109(1), 45–55.
- Di Norcia, V. (2002). The knowledge economy and moral community. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 38(1/2), 167–177.
- Dunfee, T. W. (1991). Business ethics and extant social contracts. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 1(1), 23–51.
- Engelbrecht, A. S., van Aswegen, A. S., & Theron, C. C. (2005). The effect of ethical values on transformational leadership and ethical climate in organizations. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 36, 19–26.
- Ferrell, O. C. (1999). An assessment of the proposed academy of marketing. *Science Code of Ethics for Marketing Educators*, 19, 225–228.
- Frankel, M. S. (1989). Professional codes: Why, how, and with what impact? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 8(2,3), 109–115.
- Gaumnitz, B. R., & Lere, J. C. (2002). Contents of codes of ethics of professional business organizations in the U.S. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 35, 35–49.
- Gaumnitz, B. R., & Lere, J. C. (2004). A classification scheme for codes of business ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 49(4), 329–335.
- Gilbert, D. U., Rasche, A., & Waddock, S. (2011). Accountability in a global economy: The emergence of international accountability standards. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 21(1), 23–44.
- Gino, L., & Pierce, L. (2010). Lying to level the playing field: Why people may dishonestly help or hurt others to create equity. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 95, 89–103.
- Gotterbarn, D. (2009). ICT Governance and what to do about the toothless tiger(s): Professional organizations and codes of ethics. *Australian Journal of Information Systems*, 16(1), 165–184.
- Hoogervorst, N., DeCremer, D., & van Dijke, M. (2010). Why leaders do not always disapprove of unethical follower behavior: It depends on the leader's self-interest and accountability. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 95, 29–41.
- Howell, J. M., & Avolio, B. J. (1992). The ethics of charismatic leadership: Submission or liberation? *The Academy of Management Executive*, 6(2), 43–54.

- Kaptein, M. (2004). Business codes of multinational firms: What do they say? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 50, 13–31.
- Leisy, B. (2009, January 19). Interview with Bill Leisy/Interviewer: Unknown. *Workforce Management*, 88(1), 1/2.
- Mabe, A. R., & Rollin, S. A. (1986). The role of a code of ethical standards in counseling. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 64, 294–297.
- Machold, S., Ahmed, P. K., & Farquhar, S. S. (2008). Corporate governance and ethics: A feminist perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 81(3), 665–678.
- Mathews, M. C. (1987). Codes of ethics: Organizational behavior and misbehavior. *Research in Corporate Social Performance and Policy*, 9, 107–130.
- Mayer, D. M., Kuenzi, M., & Greenbaum, R. L. (2010). Examining the link between ethical leadership and employee misconduct: The mediating role of ethical climate. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 95, 7–16.
- McDonald, G. M., & Zepp, R. A. (1989). Business ethics: Practical proposals. *Journal of Management Development (U.K.)*, 8(1), 55–66.
- Messikomer, C. M., & Cirka, C. C. (2010). Constructing a code of ethics: An experimental case of a national professional organization. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 95, 55–71.
- Murphy, P. E. (1988). Implementing business ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 30(2), 907–915.
- Murphy, P. E. (1989, Winter). Creating ethical corporate structures. *Sloan Management Review*, 81–87.
- Murphy, P. E. (1995). Corporate ethics statements: Current status and future prospects. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 14, 727–740.
- Murphy, P. E. (2005). Developing, communicating and promoting corporate ethics statements: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 62, 183–189.
- Newton, L. H. (1994). The many faces of the corporate code. In L. H. Newton & M. M. Ford (Eds.), *Taking sides: Clashing views on controversial issues in business ethics and society* (3rd ed., pp. 81–88). Guildford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group.
- Paine, L. S. (1994). Managing for organizational integrity. *Harvard Business Review*, 72(2), 106–117.
- Petersen, L. E., & Krings, F. (2009). Are ethical codes of conduct toothless tigers for dealing with employment and discrimination? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 85, 501–514.
- Pirson, M., & Turnbull, S. (2011). Toward a more humanistic governance model: Network governance structures. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 99(1), 101–114.
- Pitt, H. L., & Groskaufmanis, K. A. (1990). Minimizing corporate civil and criminal liability: A second look at corporate codes of conduct. *The Georgetown Law Journal*, 78, 1559–1654.
- Raiborn, C. A., & Payne, D. (1990). Corporate codes of conduct: A collective conscience continuum. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 9, 879–889.
- Reece, S. (2002, December). The professions: growth or decay? *RSA Journal*, 18–21.
- Reynolds, S. (2009). Compliance officers, want to become user friendly in the workplace. *Managing Imports and Exports*, 7, 10–14.
- Salbu, S. R. (1994). True codes versus voluntary codes of ethics in international markets: Towards the preservation of colloquy in emerging global communities. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Business Law*, 15(3), 327–371.
- Sama, L. M., & Shoaf, V. (2008). Ethical leadership for the professions: Fostering a moral community. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 78, 39–46.
- Sanderson, G. R., & Varner, I. I. (1984, July). What's wrong with corporate codes of conduct? *Management Accounting*, 28–31.
- Schwartz, M. S. (2000). Why ethical codes constitute an unconscionable regression. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 23, 173–184.
- Schwartz, M. S. (2004). Effective corporate codes of ethics: Perceptions of code users. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 55, 323–343.
- Schwartz, M. S. (2005). Universal moral values for corporate codes of ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 59, 27–44.
- Singhapakdi, A., Sirgy, M. J., Lee, D.-J., & Vitell, S. J. (2010). The effects of ethics institutionalization on marketing managers: The mediating role of implicit institutionalization and the moderating role of socialization. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 30(1), 77–92.
- Sirgy, M. J., Efraty, D., Siegel, P., & Lee, D.-J. (2001). A new measure of quality of work life (QWL) based on need satisfaction and spillover theory. *Social Indicators Research*, 55, 241–302.
- Sirgy, M. J., Reilly, N., Jiyun, W., & Efraty, D. (2008). A work-life identity model of well-being: towards a research agenda linking quality-of-work-life (QWL) programs with quality of life (QOL). *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 3(3), 181–202.
- Skubik, D. W., & Stening, B. W. (2009). What's in a credo? A critique of the academy of management's code of ethical conduct and code of ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 85, 515–525.

- Small, R. (2001). Codes are not enough: What philosophy can contribute to the ethics of educational research. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 35(3), 387–406.
- Snell, R. S., & Herndon, N. C. (2000). An evaluation of Hong Kong's corporate code of ethics initiative. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 17(3), 493–518.
- Sobczak, A. (2003). Codes of conduct in subcontracting networks: A labour law perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 44, 225–234.
- Spears, L. C., & Lawrence, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Focus on servant leadership for the 21st century*. New York: Wiley.
- Stevens, B. (1996). Using the competing values framework to assess corporate ethical codes. *Journal of Business Communications*, 33(1), 71–83.
- Stevens, B. (2008). Corporate ethical codes: Effective instruments for influencing behavior. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 78, 601–609.
- Tenbrunsel, A. E., & Messick, D. M. (2004). Ethical fading: The role of self-deception in unethical behavior. *Social Justice Research*, 17(2), 223–235.
- Trevino, L. K., Hartman, L. P., & Brown, M. (2003). A qualitative investigation of perceived executive ethical leadership: Perceptions from inside and outside the executive suite. *Human Relations*, 56(1), 5–37.
- Trevino, L. K., & Weaver, D. (2003). *Social scientific perspectives: Managing ethics in business organizations*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Tucker, L. R., Stathakopoulous, V., & Patti, C. H. (1999). A multidimensional assessment of ethical codes: The professional business association perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 19, 287–300.
- Valentine, S., & Barnett, T. (2002). Ethics codes and sales professionals' perceptions of their organizations' ethical values. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 40, 191–200.
- Valentine, S., & Fleischman, G. (2004). 'Ethics training and businesspersons' perceptions of organizational ethics'. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 52(4), 381–190.
- Valentine, S., & Fleischman, G. (2008). Ethics programs, perceived corporate social responsibility and job satisfaction. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 77, 159–172.
- Valentine, S., & Johnson, A. (2005). Codes of ethics, orientation programs, and the perceived importance of employee incorruptibility. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 61, 45–53.
- Vinten, G. (1990). Business ethics: Busybody or corporate conscience. *Leadership and Organizational Development Journal*, 11(3), 4–11.
- Walker, R. (2009, January–February). Effectively handling conflicts. *Journal of Health Care Compliance*, 11(1), 13–18.
- White, B. J., & Montgomery, B. R. (1980). Corporate codes of conduct. *California Management Review*, 23(2), 80–87.
- Wood, G., & Rimmer, M. (2003). Codes of ethics: What are they really and what should they be? *International Journal of Value-Based Management*, 16, 181–195.
- Wotruba, T. R., Chonko, L. B., & Loe, T. W. (2001). The impact of ethics code familiarity on manager behavior. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 33, 59–69.

Chapter 3

Employee Well-Being: An Integrative Perspective

M. Joseph Sirgy

What Is Employee Well-Being?

To begin with, the reader should note that the concept of employee well-being is referred in the literature by different terms such “work well-being,” “quality-of-work life,” “quality of working life,” and “work quality of life.” There are many definitions and conceptualizations of employee well-being. For the sake of brevity, I will address five definitional examples: (1) meaningful work, (2) an affective response to the work environment, (3) the ratio of positive to negative affect experienced at work, (4) need satisfaction through organizational resources, (5) satisfaction in work life, and (6) job-specific well-being and context-free well-being.

Employee Well-Being as Meaningful Work

One can argue that employees’ sense of well-being is based first and foremost on engaging in meaningful work. Meaningful work provides employees a sense of purpose, feelings of pride in work accomplishments, status, and a sense of dignity and self-respect.

Robert Lane, a political psychologist and economist in his now seminal book, *The Market Experience* (1991), and his more recent book, *The Loss of Happiness in Market Democracies* (2000), argued that the market does not contribute to quality of life through enhancing economic well-being alone, but also through meaningful work. Meaningful work contributes to self-esteem, the sense of control over one’s environment, and happiness in life. In other words, according to Lane, employee’s sense of well-being derives from meaningful work (cf. Lane, 1996).

According to Wrzeniewski and her colleagues (e.g., Wrzeniewski, 2003; Wrzeniewski & Dutton, 2001), employees who view their job, not as a job but more of a calling, find more meaning in their work and find their work more satisfying than those who regard their job as an economic means.

M.J. Sirgy, Ph.D. (✉)

Marketing Department, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA 24061, USA
e-mail: sirgy@vt.edu

Employee Well-Being as an Affective Response Toward the Work Environment

There are some I/O psychologists and management scholars who view employee well-being in terms of job satisfaction or merely job attitude (Judge & Klinger, 2008). For example, Hulin and Judge (2003) treat it as a multidimensional concept involving employee psychological responses to one's job with three major dimensions: (a) cognitive (evaluation), affective (emotional), and behavior (conative). Other researchers adopt the view of job satisfaction involving affective responses to various dimensions of the work environment. For example, the popular *Job Description Index* (JDI) (Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969) is a measure of job satisfaction that is based on this view. The JDI measure involves capturing employee satisfaction to five dimensions of the work environment: (1) work, (2) pay, (3) promotion policies, (4) supervision, and (5) coworkers. Locke (1976) adds a few other dimensions: recognition, working conditions, and company and management.

Other conceptualizations of job satisfaction are based on a more comprehensive set of factors related to the work environment. For example, Lewellyn and Wibker (1990) developed a measure of job satisfaction based on capturing employee satisfaction with the following aspects of the work environment:

- Amount of independence the employee has experienced on his/her job
- Opportunities the employee has to use his/her skills and abilities
- Working relationship with the employee's supervisor
- Amount of pay the employee receives
- Opportunities for promotion
- Fluctuation in the workload
- Amount of time the employee works
- Time spent traveling on the job
- Amount of information the employee receives regarding procedures, and forthcoming changes
- Working relationships with the employee's coworkers
- Status of the employee's position
- Kind of work the employee does
- Amount of job-related stress

Employee Well-Being as Ratio of Positive to Negative Affect Experienced at Work

Another conceptualization of employee well-being involves the amount of positive and negative affect experienced in the workplace. Employee's sense of well-being is heightened when he or she experiences more positive than negative affect regularly at work.

For example, Staats and Partlo (1992) have defined quality-of-work life in terms of job uplifts and hassles. They asserted that a high quality-of-work life of an employee is a job situation in which he or she experiences plenty of job uplifts and little job hassles. The authors conducted a study showing that job uplifts are more predictive of older employee's life satisfaction than job hassles. That hassles and uplifts are somewhat independent, comparable to the notion of satisfiers versus dissatisfiers. Staats and colleagues (Staats, Colbert, & Partlo, 1995; Staats & Partlo, 1992)

measured their concept of employee well-being using the *Hassles and Uplifts Scale* (De Longis, Coyne, Dakof, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1982). The measure asks respondents how much of a hassle an event was today and how much of an uplift it was today. The specific items are directed toward fellow workers, customers, supervisors, nature of work, work load, job security, meeting deadlines, enough money for necessities, and enough money for leisure.

Employee Well-Being as Need Satisfaction Through Organizational Resources

A popular measure of work well-being is the *Need Satisfaction Questionnaire* developed by Porter (1961). Porter conceptualized employee well-being in terms of need satisfaction stemming from an interaction of workers' needs (survival, social, ego, and self-actualization needs) and those organizational resources relevant for meeting them (cf. Efraty & Sirgy, 1990).

For example, Sirgy, Efraty, Siegel, and Lee (2001) developed and validated a measure of employee well-being based on need satisfaction. The measure was designed to capture the extent to which the work environment, job requirements, supervisory behavior, and ancillary programs in an organization are perceived to meet various developmental needs of an employee. Specifically, they identified seven major needs, each having several dimensions: (1) health and safety needs (protection from ill health and injury at work and outside of work, and enhancement of good health), (2) economic and family needs (pay, job security, and other family needs), (3) social needs (collegiality at work and leisure-time off work), (4) esteem needs (recognition and appreciation of work within the organization and outside the organization), (5) actualization needs (realization of one's potential within the organization and as a professional), (6) knowledge needs (learning to enhance job and professional skills), and (7) aesthetic needs (creativity at work as well as personal creativity and general aesthetics).

The measure's convergent and discriminant validities were tested, and the data provided support for construct validity. Furthermore, the measure's nomological (predictive) validity was tested through hypotheses deduced from spillover theory. This measure was further validated by subsequent studies (e.g., Lee, Singapakdi, & Sirgy, 2007; Singhapakdi, Sirgy, & Lee, 2010; Singhapakdi, Sirgy, Lee, & Vitell, 2010).

Employee Well-Being as Satisfaction in Work Life

The seminal studies of Andrews and Withey (1976) and Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) in quality-of-life research have established the notion that life satisfaction is essentially a satisfaction hierarchy, and that life satisfaction is determined by satisfaction in major life domains such as work life, family life, love life, spiritual life, social life, leisure life, etc. For example, Andrews and Withey predicted (using multiple regression) subjects' life satisfaction scores ("How do you feel about life as a whole?" with responses captured on a 7-point delighted-terrible scale). They found that satisfaction with various life domains (see Table 3.1) explained from 52% to 60% of the variance. Job satisfaction in the Andrews and Withey study as well as work satisfaction in the Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers study accounted for a significant portion of the total variance in several measures of global well-being.

Table 3.1 Domains of life concerns

Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976)	Andrews and Withey (1976)
Nonworking activities	Life in the USA today
Family life	National government
Standard of living	Local government
Work	Economic situation
Marriage	Community
Savings and investments	Services and facilities
Friendships	Education
City or county	Jobs
Housing	Neighborhood
Amount of education	Friends and associates
Neighborhood	Home
Life in the USA	Leisure and leisure-time activities
Usefulness of education	Family
Health	Self
Religion	Interpersonal relations
National government	
Organizations	

In the same vein, some I/O psychologists and management scholars have conceptualized and measured employee well-being in terms of satisfaction with work life. For example, Hart (1994) developed a measure of quality-of-work life by adapting Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin's (1985) Satisfaction with Life Scale. The specific items of the Hart's measure are:

- "In most ways, my life at work is close to my ideal."
- "The conditions of my life at work are excellent."
- "I am satisfied with my life at work."
- "So far, I have gotten the important things I want in my life at work."
- "If I was able to live my work life over again, I would change almost nothing."

Subjects rate these statements on 7-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Hart produced a reliability coefficient of 0.88 and a correlation of 0.68 between this measure and a single 9-point scale that assesses global job satisfaction.

Job-Specific Well-Being and Context-Free Well-Being

Warr (1987, 1994, 1999, 2007) has described employee well-being in terms of the type of affect an employee experiences in relation to the job and in general. These dimensions are (1) displeasure/pleasure, (2) anxiety/comfort, and (3) depression/enthusiasm. He asserted that the vast majority of the studies related to well-being use one of these dimensions as the dependent variable. With respect to the displeasure/pleasure dimension, this is an affective dimension capturing the positive and negative emotions related to the workplace and in general (context free). The anxiety/comfort dimension capture feelings of anxiety that combine low pleasure with high mental arousal. Comfort, in contrast, is essentially low arousal pleasure. The third dimension of depression/enthusiasm captures feelings of enthusiasm and positive motivation on one extreme and depression and sadness on the other extreme.

What Is the Relationship Between Job Satisfaction and Personal Happiness?

Before making an attempt to answer this question, I need to explain to the reader what I mean by “happiness.” Happiness is a multifaceted concept. Quality-of-life researchers equate happiness to subjective well-being, positive/negative affect, life satisfaction, perceived quality of life, psychological well-being, mental health, positivity, flourishing, authentic happiness, and eudaimonia (Argyle, 2001; Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008; Fredrickson, 2010; Keyes & Haidt, 2003; Seligman, 2001; Sirgy, 2002; Wright, 2010).

One can argue that many of these happiness concepts can be categorized in terms of a hierarchy of three levels that parallels what Seligman (2001) refers to as the pleasant life, the engaged life, and (3) the meaningful life. Many quality-of-life researchers treat the concepts of positive/negative affect and objective happiness in hedonic terms. These concepts seem to fit the conception of the pleasant life—the most concrete level of happiness. In other words, quality of life or well-being is viewed in terms of positive hedonic experiences for the most part.

Concepts such as life satisfaction, perceived quality of life, subjective well-being, and psychological well-being tend to reflect a broader conception of happiness—a view that has both cognitive and affective elements. That is, happiness is essentially positive experiences based on achieving important life goals as well as experiencing positive hedonic events. Thus, we can treat these concepts of happiness as hierarchically more elevated (more abstract and more encompassing) than the hedonic concepts of happiness.

The remaining concepts of positive mental health, positivity, flourishing, authentic happiness, and eudaimonia tend to reflect the broadest definition of happiness—it not only reflect experiences related to the pleasant life and the engaged life but also to experiences related to the meaningful life. Quality-of-life researchers describe these higher-level concepts of happiness in terms of personal growth, self-actualization, flourishing life, meaningful life, virtuous life, character and strength, and resilience. One can argue that this highest level conception of happiness is the most abstract and all encompassing—it incorporates the lower-level experiences associated with of the pleasant life and the engaged life.

In sum, the concept of happiness is indeed multifaceted. As the reader plows through the remainder portions of this chapter, he or she should keep in mind the multifaceted nature of the concept. In other words, reference to happiness can mean subjective well-being, positive/negative affect, life satisfaction, perceived quality of life, psychological well-being, mental health, positivity, flourishing, authentic happiness, and eudaimonia. I will try to be specific in the way I use the term happiness by anchoring it down to the way quality-of-life researchers have used it in particular studies.

In a large-scale seminal study, Andrews and Withey’s (1976) measure of work well-being (the Efficacy Index) was found to be significant and a very strong predictor of life satisfaction. The study controlled for the effects of family, money, amount of fun one is having, house/apartment, things done with family, time to do things, spare-time activities, recreation, national government, and consumer. Similarly, Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) showed that satisfaction with work contributes approximately 18% variance accounted for in life satisfaction, controlling for the effects of nonworking activities, family life, standard of living, savings and investments, marriage, friendships, and housing.

In most quality-of-life studies, attitude toward work is closely linked to life satisfaction (e.g., Schmitt & Bedian, 1982; Shaver & Freedman, 1976). Furthermore, early research on self-esteem and job satisfaction among salespeople established the link between them (e.g., Bagozzi, 1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c). In a longitudinal study, Elfering, Grebner, Semmer, and Kaier-Freiburghaus (2005) found that job satisfaction produces changes in subjective well-being (e.g., lack of job control predicts lack of energy on nonwork days).

Rice, Near, and Hunt (1980) reviewed 23 studies and found a pattern of association between job satisfaction and life satisfaction for both men and women, with the association being stronger for men. The association between job satisfaction and life satisfaction is well known in organizational psychology as the “spillover hypothesis.” More recently, Heller, Judge, and Watson (2002) retested the spillover hypothesis found support for the hypothesis; however, the authors also found that the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction diminishes significantly when personality factors are controlled.

Other evidence is available, suggesting that job satisfaction spills over into other life domains such as marital life and home life. For example, using a 12-year panel study, Rogers and May (2003) found that job satisfaction and marital quality are positively correlated over time (cf. Doumas, Margolin, & John, 2003; Kang, 2001).

How Does Job Satisfaction Influence Personal Happiness? Mediators

There are a number of psychological explanations put forth by quality-of-life researchers that helps us understand how employee well-being affects personal happiness. These can be categorized in terms of five major types of theories: domain satisfaction theories (spillover, segmentation, compensation, and border), role theories (conflict, boundary, and identity), resource theories (scarcity), ego-involvement theories (engagement, involvement, and flow), human development theories (hygiene factors versus motivators, self-determination), and goal theories (selection/optimization/compensation, time management, and goal selection/planning/implementation). See Table 3.2.

Figure 3.1 shows an overall framework that links job satisfaction with personal happiness. The theories described in this section dealing with the research question—how does job satisfaction influence personal happiness—are shown in Fig. 3.1 as “mediators” (i.e., explanatory concepts linking job satisfaction with personal happiness).

Domain Satisfaction Theories

We will discuss four theories in this section that are all relation to life domains and how affect in one domain influences affect in other domains and thus personal happiness at large.

Table 3.2 Theories linking job satisfaction with personal happiness

<i>Domain satisfaction theories</i>	<i>Ego-involvement theories</i>
Spillover	Engagement
Segmentation	Flow
Compensation	
Border	
<i>Role theories</i>	<i>Human development theories</i>
Conflict	Hygiene factors versus motivators
Boundary	Self-determination
Identity	
<i>Resource theories</i>	<i>Goal theories</i>
Scarcity	Selection and optimization
Facilitation	Time management
Vitamins	Goal selection and implementation

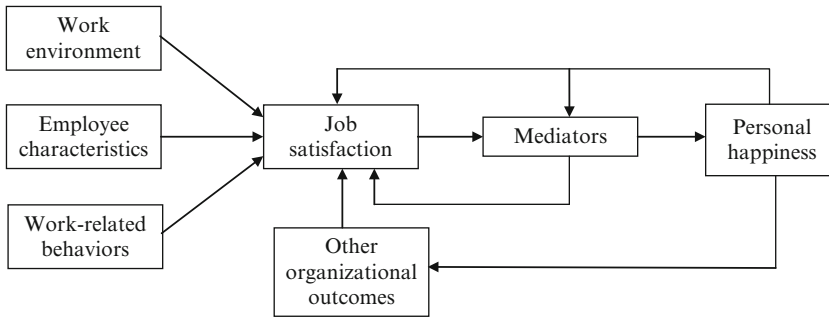


Fig. 3.1 An integrated model of employee well-being

Spillover

The *spillover effect* refers to the process and outcome by which affective experiences in the work life domain influences the affect experienced in other life domains and overall life. The spillover effect is known in quality-of-life research as “bottom-up theory” (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999; Sirgy, 2002). Essentially, bottom-up spillover is the spillover of affect from subordinate life domains to superordinate ones, specifically from life domains such as leisure, family, job, and health to overall life. That is, feelings within a given life space within the overall hierarchy of life experiences spill vertically from bottom to top. Satisfaction with a given life domain is determined by satisfaction with one’s concerns in that domain. For example, one can argue that satisfaction with work life is determined by satisfaction with the employee’s interaction with coworkers, relationship with one’s supervisor, job facets, work demand, and work environment. An employee’s evaluation of these dimensions of the work domain (and/or the direct experience of positive and/or negative affect) can be viewed as satisfaction/dissatisfaction with life conditions or concerns within the work domain. The hierarchy model of life satisfaction thus argues that satisfaction with overall life is determined by satisfaction with the major life domains. Satisfaction with a given domain is determined by satisfaction with the life conditions/concerns within that domain. In sum, bottom-up spillover implies that employee life satisfaction can be increased by allowing positive affect in work life to spill over onto the most superordinate domain (overall life).

There are many studies that have used the notion of spillover to explain the association between work satisfaction and life satisfaction. For example, David Efraty and I (Efraty & Sirgy, 1990, 1992, 1995) examined the effect of occupational prestige and bureaucratization on the spillover between job satisfaction and life satisfaction. We have shown that indeed, both occupational prestige and bureaucratization have significant effects on job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and the spillover between job and life satisfaction. That is, the study indicated that employees with occupations of high prestige tend to experience higher levels of job satisfaction, higher levels of life satisfaction, and higher level of spillover between job satisfaction and life satisfaction compared to employees with low prestige occupations. Similarly, employees working in decentralized bureaucracies were found to experience higher levels of job satisfaction, higher levels of life satisfaction, and higher levels of spillover between job satisfaction and life satisfaction (cf. Efraty, Sirgy, & Siegel, 1997, 2000).

A meta-analysis study examining the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction indicates that the average correlation is about 0.35 (Tait, Padgett, & Baldwin, 1989). In other words, there is sufficient empirical evidence suggesting that there may be a spillover of job satisfaction unto life satisfaction. But then, is there evidence for causation? A longitudinal study

by Judge and Watanabe (1993) found evidence of mutual influence—that is, job satisfaction does indeed influence life satisfaction but also that life satisfaction does influence job satisfaction. Interesting, the same study shows that the pattern of influence from job satisfaction to life satisfaction is stronger than the pattern of influence from life satisfaction to job satisfaction (cf. Judge & Locke, 1993).

Not only does job satisfaction spill over vertically from work life (a specific life domain) to life satisfaction (most abstract life domain in the satisfaction hierarchy) but also horizontally to adjacent life domains such as family life, love life, social life, financial life, leisure life, and community life. For example, Piotrkowski (1978) described many cases in which male employees who felt happy at work also report happiness at home, and conversely, those who felt bad at work also felt bad at home. In other words, feelings about aspects of the workplace tend to influence other life domains, which in turn may influence satisfaction with life overall (cf. Crouter, 1984; Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997).

The extent of spillover of job satisfaction to life satisfaction and other life domains is moderated by job involvement (Bamundo & Kopleman, 1980; Steiner & Truxillo, 1989; Thompson, Kopelman, & Schriesheim, 1992). That is, employees who are more involved in their jobs are likely to experience greater spillover than those who are less involved. This moderation effect makes much sense in light of the findings on gender differences—the trend shows that in past studies, the correlation between job satisfaction and life satisfaction was as low as 0.16, but it increased to 0.31 in recent studies.

Segmentation

The *segmentation effect* refers to the strategy by which people isolate experiences and affect in one life domain, thus preventing affect transfer between life domains (Sirgy, 2002; Staines, 1980). Much evidence exists, suggesting that people segment their affective experience in various life domains, and they create impermeable walls around those domains. Doing so protects the integrity of positive life domains from being affected by possible spillover of negative affect from neighboring life domains. For example, a person who experiences much adversity at work (e.g., work demand is causing too much stress) segments the negative affect in the work domain to prevent spillover to family life.

Research by Lucas, Diener, and Suh (1996) has demonstrated that the global category of happiness is composed of separable well-being variables (e.g., work satisfaction, home satisfaction, and life satisfaction). These variables sometimes move in different directions over time (cf. Scollon & Diener, 2006).

With respect to the segmentation effect between work life and nonwork life, such a phenomenon is evidenced through a lack of correlation between satisfaction in one life domain (e.g., job satisfaction) and other life domains (e.g., leisure satisfaction, family satisfaction, life satisfaction). In one study (Kossek, Lautsch, & Eaton, 2006), individual well-being was found to be highest among employees who had higher job control (i.e., control over where, when, and how they worked) and segmented work from nonwork life.

Compensation

The *compensation effect* refers to the method by which people attempt to balance their affect across life domains. For example, a person who feels quite dissatisfied with his/her job may try to channel much of his/her energy to feel good in other areas of his life. He/she may channel his/her energy into religion, family, sexual relationships, leisure, and so on. Doing so “compensates” for the dissatisfaction he/she experiences on the job. Thus, the person attempts to create balance

in affect across domains. If he/she experiences negative affect in one life domain, the person becomes motivated to engage in activities to increase positive affect in other domains to ensure a minimum level of overall life satisfaction.

Evans and Ondrack (1990) hypothesized that the extent to which workers may experience spillover, segmentation, and compensation between work and leisure may be dependent on individual differences such as growth needs, locus of control, and self-monitoring. For example, employees with high growth needs who find themselves in impoverished jobs are likely to compensate by immersing themselves in satisfying leisure activities. However, their study involving 1,193 male blue-collar, full-time workers did not bear this out.

Judge and Watanabe (1994) compared and contrasted the prevalence of spillover, segmentation, and compensation effects using a national stratified national sample of US employees and found that 68% of employees experienced spillover, 20% experienced segmentation, and 12% experienced compensation.

Border

Border theory (Clark, 2000) posits that work-family balance (satisfaction in the work and family life domains) is typically achieved through different means as a function of the similarity of work and family domains and the strength of the boundaries between these two domains. Consider the example of a family that runs a mom-and-pop store and the husband and wife live upstairs above the store. In this case, work and family domains tend to be similar, blurring the two domains and the borders (boundaries) between these two domains are likely to be permeable. Border theory proposes that work-family balance is facilitated by the mixing of the two domains because they have weak borders.

Clark (2002a) developed measures to capture the permeability of the borders between the work and family domains and conducted validation studies to confirm the notion that the greater the permeability of the borders between work and family domains the more likely that there will be greater communication between husbands and wives at home about work. However, the same study revealed that greater permeability between work and family domains leads to greater work-family conflict. Consequently, Clark (2002b) tried to address this anomaly by making the distinction between permeability and flexibility. This subsequent study found that the lowest levels of work-family conflict registered with those couples who had high flexibility but low permeability.

Desroches, Hilton, and Larwood (2005) developed and validated the Work-Family Integration-Blurring Scale to capture both flexibility and permeability. Specifically, their study provided evidence for the notion that the blurring of work and family roles tend to facilitate work-family transitions; however, the same blurring makes work-family conflict more likely.

Role Theories

There are three theories that I will discuss below that share the same language of role theory. These are conflict theory, boundary theory, and identity theory.

Conflict

Conflict theory (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) assumes that employees experience conflict between work and nonwork life domains (e.g., family life) because the demands of the roles of work life

and nonwork life are inherently incompatible due to their different norms and responsibilities. The goal here is to reduce role conflict—conflict between the work and family roles. Doing so reduces stress in general, which serves to decrease employee's dissatisfaction with life.

For example, studies have shown that the use of flextime work arrangements and childcare services at work are effective strategies that helps employees manage demand of both work and family role by reducing role conflict, thus enhancing subjective well-being (e.g., Rau & Hyland, 2002).

Boundary

Boundary theory (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000) focuses on the ease or difficulty of transitioning from work to nonwork roles. This relative ease or difficulty of transitioning from work to nonwork roles is viewed as a continuum, varying from complete segmentation to complete integration. An example of an employee that experiences complete integration is the nun who lives and works in a convent. The nun's work and nonwork domains are highly integrated. An example of complete segmentation is the exotic dancer whose work is completely compartmentalized to the night life (her work). She has a family and devotes time and energy to her family during the day and conceals her occupation to her family and friends.

Both segmentation and integration can lead to greater well-being. Integration may lead to well-being when role boundaries are blurred. In this case, integration contributes significantly to well-being by diffusing the tension arising from holding multiple roles and the demands of these roles. Integration also reduces the effort needed if one were to segment and meet role demands in multiple domains. Alternatively, compared to integration, segmentation can do a better job, contributing to well-being when the individual experiences negative affect in one life domain and needs to buffer the spillover of negative emotions unto other domains. Thus, boundary theory predicts overall well-being to the extent that the employee manages to successfully integrate or segment as a function of work and family demands and role constraints.

Voydanoff (2005) developed a model that integrates the concepts of work-family fit, work-family balance, and boundary-spanning strategies. Specifically, work-family fit involves two dimensions: work demands-family resources fit (e.g., a male medical doctor whose wife is also a doctor; hence, he supports her with family chores to accommodate her busy schedule) and family demands-work resources fit (e.g., an employee using the company's on-site childcare services). In essence, the employee engages in boundary-spanning strategies (e.g., part-time work, reducing job responsibilities, flex time, job sharing, telecommuting, and so on) to enhance work-family fit. The employee who experiences work-family fit is likely to evaluate both life domains (work and family) positively, which in turn contributes to overall well-being.

Identity

In the same vein, Sirgy, Reilly, Wu, and Efraty (2008) developed a theoretical model relating the quality-of-work life with the quality of life (i.e., subjective well-being). They argued that quality-of-work life affects quality of life through role identity. Specifically, a quality-of-work-life program contributes to subjective well-being through six pathways: (1) providing appropriate work resources to meet the expectations of employee role identities, (2) reducing role conflict in work and nonwork life, (3) enhancing multiple role identities, (4) reducing role demands, (5) reducing stress related to work and nonwork role identities, and (6) increasing the value of role identity.

For example, high involvement programs act as a conduit to help employees express their thoughts and feelings in important organizational decisions, and this input is likely to influence the final management decision. High involvement programs afford employees with a greater

sense of meaningfulness in their work activities, which *increases the value of their work role identity*. In contrast, another quality-of-work-life program such as work at home or flextime contributes to the employee' overall sense of well-being by *reducing conflict between family and work roles; work at home also serves to reduce the work role demand and concomitant stress and enhances multiple role identities—work and family roles*.

Resource Theories

There are a number of other theories of work and personal happiness that are grounded in the notion of resources, and how resources (resources provided in the workplace or resources that emanate from the person's background) can enhance employee well-being and happiness. These theories include scarcity, facilitation, and the vitamin analogy.

Scarcity

Scarcity theory (Goode, 1960; Marks, 1977; Seiber, 1974) posits that people have finite resources of time and energy to devote to multiple life domains. Therefore, they allocate scarce resources to meet the various demands of their various roles in multiple domains (e.g., work and family life). Resources are allocated as a direct function of commitment of the employee to multiple roles. If employees are committed to their occupational role, they are likely to allocate much time and energy to that role. However, commitment to roles (family and work roles) tends to vary with some employees "overcommit" to their work roles and "undercommit" to their family roles. In this situation, employees experience role strain in the role they "undercommit"—manifested in allocating less time and energy to that role.

Decisions that lead to the efficient use of personal resources that can meet demand of one's various roles in multiple life domains lead to greater well-being by reducing role strain.

Facilitation

Wayne, Grywacz, Carlson, and Kacmar (2007) developed a model referred to as the Resources-Gain-Development Perspective that captures the notion that personal and environmental resources contributing positively in one life domain (e.g., work or family) are also likely to facilitate similar positive experiences in another domain. Specifically, positive personality characteristics such as positive affectivity and high self-efficacy may cause the employee to experience positive emotions in work life. Such experiences facilitate similar experiences in other domains such as family, social, and community life. Similarly, positive environmental characteristics at work (e.g., supportive supervisor, friendly coworkers, training, and mentoring) do not only contribute to positive emotional states in the work domain (i.e., job satisfaction) but also may facilitate similar positive reactions in other life domains. This occurs as a function of learning. The employee learns skills and behaviors that are likely to enhance positive experiences at work that may transfer to the family domain and others.

Much evidence is accumulating to document the positive effects of facilitation on well-being. Facilitation effects are linked with higher levels of job satisfaction, organizational citizenship, organizational commitment, self-esteem, self-acceptance, and life satisfaction (e.g., Balmforth & Gardner, 2006; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1992; Perrone, Egisdottir, Webb, & Blalock, 2006; Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002).

The Vitamin Analogy

Warr (1987, 2007) identified nine aspects of the environment that can affect employee well-being and personal happiness. These are (1) opportunity for personal control, (2) opportunity for skill use, (3) externally generated goals, (4) variety, (5) environmental clarity, (6) contact with others, (7) availability of money, (8) physical security, and (9) valued social position. Personal happiness is influenced by these environmental conditions of the workplace in a manner analogous to the effect of vitamins on physical condition. Vitamins play a major role in physical health in that vitamin deficiencies give rise to ill health. By the same token, too much vitamins may not be a good thing. Good health necessitates adequate levels of vitamins, not vitamin overdose. In many cases, vitamin overdose may lead to ill health.

The nine environmental conditions that Warr identified are akin to vitamins. Employees should experience them in adequate quantities to contribute to job satisfaction and personal happiness. Too much or too little may contribute to employee ill-being, not well-being.

Ego-Involvement Theories

There seems to be much research on the concepts of employee engagement and flow. These theories imply that the employees become cognitively and affectively involved in work-related activities, and the greater their involvement in these activities the greater the well-being.

Engagement

One can argue that employees who are engaged in their jobs are likely to experience a higher level of well-being and happiness than those who are less engaged (Stairs & Galpin, 2010). Employee engagement has high affinity to the concepts of job involvement (e.g., Brown, 1996). Employees who are engaged in their jobs or express a high level of job involvement regard their work as a major part of their personal identity. The job is central to their self, their identity. They experience a state of flow. This complete absorption in job-related activities contributes positively and significantly to subjective well-being.

The seminal research by Hackman and Oldham (1976) on the Job Characteristics Model is based on the notion that skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback are environmental factors that can be manipulated by management to heighten employee engagement and involvement, which in turn leads to positive organizational outcomes such as job performance, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship, and low turnover rates.

Stairs and Galpin (2010) conceptualize employee engagement in terms of three dimensions: work enjoyment, work challenge, and work meaning. Employees that enjoy their work, feel their job is challenging, and find meaning in their assigned tasks are likely to feel happier than those who do not experience these states. In other words, happiness results from the interactive effects of these three dimensions of engagement.

Flow

Work activities are pleasurable when the challenge is matched with the employee's skill level (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). When an employee engages in an activity that is either too easy or too difficult, he or she is not likely to experience flow—a state of total absorption with the work

activity. Csikszentmihalyi has argued repeatedly that a happy life is not an excellent life. To lead an excellent life is to engage in activities that help us grow and fulfill our potential (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975, 1982, 1990, 1997). In his book *Finding Flow*, he states:

The quality of life does not depend on happiness alone, but also on what one does to be happy. If one fails to develop goals that give meaning to one's existence, if one does not use the mind to its fullest, then good feelings fulfill just a fraction of the potential we possess. A person who achieves contentment by withdrawing from the world "to cultivate his own garden," like Voltaire's *Candide*, cannot be said to lead an excellent life. Without dreams, without risks, only a trivial semblance of living can be achieved. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, p. 22)

Human Development Theories

There are at least two theories used by I/O psychologists and quality-of-life researchers that are grounded in human development. One theory dates back to the 1960s, namely, Herzberg two-factor theory. Another is self-determination theory emanating from social-personality psychology and adopted in both I/O psychology and quality-of-life studies.

Hygiene Factors Versus Motivators

Herzberg's two-factor theory (Herzberg, 1966; Herzberg et al. 1957) proposes that the primary determinants of employee well-being are factors intrinsic to the work that employees do (i.e., recognition, achievement, responsibility, advancement, and personal growth). These factors are referred to as "motivators" because they motivate employees to excel in the workplace. By the same token, these motivators determine satisfaction in the workplace for the most part. In contrast, factors that determine dissatisfaction are referred to as "hygiene factors." These are extrinsic to the work itself and include company policies, supervisory practices, working conditions, salaries, and wages, and interactions with coworkers. Herzberg's theory essentially suggests that personal happiness can be achieved when the workplace provides opportunities for personal growth (motivators). Similarly, the workplace can undermine personal happiness through conditions and aspects that lead to dissatisfaction and negative feelings at work.

Self-determination

Self-determination theory (SDT) is attributed to Richard M. Ryan and Edward L. Deci. See their article in the *American Psychologist*, summarizing much of the subjective well-being research guided by self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Self-determination theory posits that subjective well-being can be enhanced by satisfying three major needs: competence, autonomy, and relatedness. These three needs, based on SDT, are essential to social development and personal well-being. Of course, these three needs are likely to be met in the workplace, thus explaining how the workplace contributes to happiness.

Cognitive evaluation theory (CET) is a precursor of SDT and also developed by Deci and Ryan (1985). One can construe CET as a subtheory of SDT, focusing on the needs of competence and autonomy. The essence of CET in an organizational context is the notion that there are social and environmental factors at work (e.g., task feedback, communication between employee and coworkers, rewards given as a function of employee performance) that facilitate and undermine intrinsic motivation. For example, supervisor feedback that promotes employee's sense of effectance,

and freedom from demeaning evaluations, can go a long way to enhance intrinsic motivation and subjective well-being. Specifically, feelings of competence conjoin with the sense of autonomy to conduce the expression of intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is operationalized when an employee engages in a job activity because the employee is interested in the activity itself instead of the tangential rewards or punishment associated with the activity (e.g., doing the job to earn a living or to avoid the boss' possible reprimand).

SDT builds on CET by adding relatedness needs to the list of intrinsic motives that play a major role in subjective well-being. Intrinsic motivation manifests itself through internalization and integration. Self-determination can be viewed along a continuum from "nonself-determined" to "self-determined." When an employee engages in job activities in nonself-determined ways, the person is said to be "amotivated." His/her behavior is regulated by extrinsic rewards and punishment. He/she does not sense control over the activity situation (i.e., the perceived locus of causality is impersonal). Therefore, the behavior related to that activity is essentially nonintentional and nonvaluing. He/she does not feel a sense of competence or control engaging that task. The other extreme is self-determined behavior that reflects intrinsic motivation. In essence, intrinsically motivated behavior is inherently intrinsically regulated. The employee's perception of causality is internal, and his/her behavior comes across as interested in the activity, that he/she enjoys the activity and feels quite satisfied.

The relative internalization of a job activity is a function of relatedness, competence, and autonomy. That is, for that activity to be fully internalized, the employee has to have support from significant others who are either role models or provide moral support, thus satisfying the need for relatedness. The activity has to generate feelings of effectance, making the employee feel competent in this endeavor, thus satisfying the need for competence. Furthermore, the employee has to make an autonomous decision to engage in the activity. Doing so allows the employee to feel a sense of ownership of the activity, thus satisfying the need for autonomy.

Goal Theories

Although goal theory has turned into a research paradigm in social-personality psychology, the language of goal theory spurred specific theoretical development in I/O psychology and quality-of-life studies. I will review three theoretical models in this vein: the Selection/Optimization/Compensation model, the Time Management model, and the Goal Selection/Implementation model.

Selection, Optimization, and Compensation

The Selection, Optimization, and Compensation (SOC) model is a life strategy theory, was developed in the context of successful aging, but is used to across all the lifespan stages of development by Baltes and Baltes and colleagues (Baltes, 1997; Baltes & Baltes, 1990; Baltes & Heyden-Gahir, 2003; Freund & Baltes, 2002). It was also applied to work-life balance (Baltes, Clark, & Chakrabarti, 2010). Selection involves goal setting (or changing current goals to new goals in light of loss or failure). Optimization refers to changes in allocation of resources to achieve the set goals. This may include investment of time and energy to acquire new skills that are instrumental to the attainment of the set goals. Compensation refers to activities the person may resort to maintain a desired level of functioning given decreases in resources.

Employees using SOC strategies to deal with work-family conflict were found to score higher on well-being measures than those who do not use such strategies (Baltes & Heyden-Gahir, 2003; Young, Baltes, & Pratt, 2007).

Time Management

Macan, Shahani, Dipboye, and Philips (1990) have argued that employee's well-being can be enhanced by managing their time wisely. This means that (1) goals have to be set and prioritized, (2) planning to achieve the stated goals by breaking the goal down into specific tasks and making "to-do list," and (3) organizing for action which involves maintaining a system of organization that facilitates action.

This model was used in the context of work-family conflict (Adams & Jex, 1999). The study findings revealed that employees who score low on time management tend to experience higher levels of work-family conflict.

Goal Selection/Implementation

A few years ago, I (Sirgy, 2006) developed this model to help explain work-life satisfaction dynamics. The proposed theory has five central tenets. First, work-life satisfaction is enhanced by *selecting to pursue the kind of work goals in which goal attainment is likely to induce positive affect* (e.g., work satisfaction, feelings of pride, sense of accomplishment, social recognition) in the work-life domain. Second, work-life satisfaction is enhanced by *selecting to pursue the kind of goals that are likely to be attained*; thus, goal attainment ensures the experience of positive affect (e.g., work satisfaction, feelings of pride, sense of accomplishment, social recognition) in the work-life domain. Third, work-life satisfaction is enhanced by *engaging in a process of goal selection likely to lead to goal attainment*, thus ensuring the experience of positive affect (work satisfaction, feelings of pride, sense of accomplishment, social recognition) in the work-life domain. Fourth, work-life satisfaction is enhanced by *taking action to implement important work goals*. Goal implementation increases the likelihood of goal attainment and the experience of positive affect (e.g., work satisfaction, feelings of pride, sense of accomplishment, social recognition) in the work-life domain. And finally, work-life satisfaction is enhanced through the *attainment of important work goals*, thus ensuring the experience of positive affect (e.g., work satisfaction, feelings of pride, sense of accomplishment, social recognition) in the work life domain.

What Are Other Consequences of Job Satisfaction and Personal Happiness?

Much of the research on job satisfaction shows that this construct is related to many employee and organizational outcomes. These include:

- Job performance (e.g., Greenhaus, Bedian, & Mossholder, 1987; Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2000; Wright & Cropanzano, 2007; Rain, Lane, & Steiner, 1991)
- Job involvement and effort (e.g., Carter, Pounder, Lawrence, & Wozniak, 1990; Efraty & Sirgy, 1990; Efraty, Sirgy, & Claiborne, 1991; Lewellyn & Wibker, 1990)
- Organizational identification and commitment (e.g., Carter et al., 1990; Efraty & Sirgy, 1990; Efraty et al., 1991; Lewellyn & Wibker, 1990; Wright & Bonett, 2007)
- Work attendance (e.g., Scott & Taylor, 1985)
- Intention to quit (e.g., Carter et al., 1990; Efraty & Sirgy, 1990; Efraty et al., 1991; Lewellyn & Wibker, 1990)
- Employee turnover (e.g., Hom, 2001; Wright & Bonett, 2007)

- Decision to retire (e.g., Hanish & Hulin 1991)
- Prosocial and organizational citizenship (e.g., Roznowski, Miller, & Rosse, 1992)
- Workplace incivility (e.g., Mount, Ilies, & Johnson, 2006)

Wright (2010) uses Fredrickson (2001, 2010) broaden-and-build theory to explain the effects of employee well-being (and psychological well-being) on a host of employee cognitive/affective/conative responses as well as other organizational outcomes. Positive emotions (i.e., positivity) serve to broaden the employee's momentary thought-action repertoires by expanding an array of thoughts and actions in the workplace. In contrast, negative emotions (i.e., negativity) diminish the same mechanisms. Employees experiencing a high level of positivity than negativity tend to be more creative, outgoing, and sociable than those experiencing negativity.

Positive employees tend to remember favorable events better and are less likely to interpret ambiguous events as threatening than negative employees. Positivity also helps employees build personal resources of all kinds—physical, emotional, intellectual, and social resources. These personal resources help employees thrive in the workplace in various ways. Thus, positivity can account for higher job performance, job involvement and effort, organizational commitment, work attendance, and prosocial and organizational citizenship behaviors. By the same token, positivity also accounts for lower levels of intention to quit, decisions to retire, employee turnover, and workplace incivility.

What Are the Predictors of Job Satisfaction?

Much research has been done in this area, especially in job satisfaction (for excellent reviews of the research literature on job satisfaction see Jayaratne, 1993; Locke, 1976; and Warr, 1999). Examples of significant factors from I/O psychology are factors that can be categorized in three major groups: (1) the work environment, (2) employees' characteristics, and (3) work behavior (cf. Gallie, 1996; Warr, 1999).

The Work Environment

Much research investigating the effects of specific job characteristics on job satisfaction was initiated by the now famous Job Characteristics Model of Hackman and Oldham (1976). That model focused the effects of task identity, task significance, skill variety, autonomy, and feedback on job satisfaction. There is much evidence accumulating over the years, showing how the work environment (job facets) plays an important role in job satisfaction (see Judge & Church, 2000 for a review of this literature).

Locke (1976) developed a theoretical model that has come to be known as Value-Percept Theory, explaining employee well-being not only in terms of job facets but the gap between want and have related to these facets and moderated by the importance of these facets. Many studies have provided evidence to support this conception of employee well-being. For example, McFarlin and Rice (1991) examined specific job facets that impact job satisfaction. Survey results supported the hypothesis that facet job satisfaction is a function of three basic determinants: (1) facet amount, (2) facet wanted, and (3) facet importance. Examples of job facets include salary, opportunity to take action, freedom to do work own way, learning opportunities, opportunity to suggest work procedures, promotion opportunities, involvement in the solution of work problems, performance feedback, and contact with client or customer. Specifically, facet satisfaction

was highest when employees wanted a large amount of a job facet, were currently receiving a large amount of the facet, and felt that facet was personally important (cf. Rice, Pierce, Moyer, & McFarlin, 1991).

Also related to the work environment, Hulin, Roznowski, and Hachiya (1985) and Hulin (1991) developed a theoretical model that asserts that employee well-being is a function of the balance between role inputs (i.e., what the employee puts into the work role such as amount of training, the amount of experience from previous jobs, and work effort) and role outcomes (i.e., what is received by the employee in terms of pay, status, recognition, friendships, etc.). The more the role outcomes vis-à-vis role inputs the greater the employee well-being.

As previously mentioned, Warr (1999) was able to identify at least ten environmental determinants of employee well-being. These will be addressed below.

Opportunity for Personal Control

This may take form in allowing employees to make major decisions or at least participate in collective decision-making. Employees are given enough autonomy to make decisions concerning how they can produce the required outcome. That is, they are not micromanaged. Their supervisor is not scrutinizing their every move. For example, workplace spirituality is recognized as a means to allow employees greater personal control. Workplace spirituality is usually defined in terms of meaningful work, sense of community in the workplace, and alignment of personal and organizational values (Pawar, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). Research has found that workplace spirituality is positively associated with employee attitude toward work (e.g., Milliman et al. 1999), work satisfaction, employee feelings of frustration, job involvement, organizational identification (e.g., Kolodinsky, Giacalone, & Jurkiewicz, 2008), employee productivity, and organizational commitment (e.g., Fry, Vitucci, & Cedillo, 2005).

Opportunity for Skill Use

Employees feel good about their work situation when they are allowed and encouraged to use their valued skills and are recognized for these skills (e.g., Cummings & Malloy, 1977; Glaser, 1980). For example, a study conducted by Campain and McClelland (1993) showed that overall job satisfaction increased significantly after the jobs of clerical workers were enlarged to increase skill utilization and their special knowledge and abilities.

Externally Generated Goals

High job demand and high workload lead to dissatisfaction with work. When other goals (such as family responsibilities) conflict with work goal, employees become disenchanted and frustrated. For example, Verducci and Gardner (2005) have shown that employee well-being can be significantly diminished when the nature of one's job forces employees to engage in tasks that they may be reluctant to do. They illustrate this point by citing the case of American journalists in the late 1990s that saw their profession as involving the pursuit of important stories in a careful and deliberate manner (i.e., verify their sources and provide scrupulous documentation and evidence). The market demand in relation to the journalism profession changed to cover sensational stories (the dramatic and horrific) and to report quickly and cut corners. These changes have left journalists feeling frustrated and unhappy about their jobs and careers (cf. Fischman, Solomon, Greenspan, & Gardner, 2004; Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, & Damon, 2001).

Much research has shown that high job demand does take its toll on certain dimensions of employee well-being such as anxiety, depression, emotional exhaustion, and burnout (e.g., Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Sevastos, Smith, & Cordery, 1992; Spector & O'Connell, 1994). However, other research has shown that some moderate levels of job demand are positively associated with employee well-being (e.g., Burger, 1989; De Jonge & Schaufeli, 1998; Karasek, 1979). The effect of role demand on employee well-being is most evident in studies examining work-family conflict (e.g., Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997; Rice, Frone, & MacFarlin, 1992; Thomas & Ganster, 1995).

Variety

The very popular Job Characteristics Model (Hackman & Oldham, 1976) specifies skill variety as an important determinant of job satisfaction. Skill variety is essentially the extent to which the job allows one to do different tasks. Much research has documented the effects of variety on employee well-being (e.g., Glaser, 1980).

Environmental Clarity

This involves information about role expectations and behaviors likely to meet these expectations. The Job Characteristics Model (Hackman & Oldham, 1976) specifies task identity and feedback as important determinants of job satisfaction. Task identity is essentially the degree to which one can see one's work from beginning to end. Feedback is the degree to which the work itself provides feedback for how the employee is performing the job.

For example, in one study, Welsh and Parr (1990) showed how providing adequate information about the role of the sales people can contribute significantly to job satisfaction—information about the company products and customers, the company policies and procedures, competitor characteristics, and time management techniques; and information about overcoming frustration, loneliness, and irregular hours, confronting aggressive competitors and persuading reluctant customers.

Availability of Money

Much research has highlighted the role of financial resources in job satisfaction. Jayartne (1993), based on a review of the literature, concluded that organizational determinants such as pay and status are significant and robust determinants of job satisfaction (cf. Plater, Rahtz, & Katz, 1995). Clark and Oswald (1996) found that job satisfaction is not a function of the absolute level of pay but on pay relative to other coworkers with the same education and job classification (cf. Brown, Gardner, Oswald, & Qian, 2003).

Physical Security

Much research related to job satisfaction has shown that employee perceptions of the safety of the physical surroundings and working conditions play a significant role in job dissatisfaction (see Jayaratne, 1993, for literature review).

Supportive Supervision

Similarly, much evidence has accumulated in the literature, suggesting that positive leadership, supervisor's empathy, and management support for employees play a significant role in employee satisfaction with work (see Jayaratne, 1993, for literature review).

Opportunity for Interpersonal Contact

Satisfaction with work is affected by the opportunity afforded to how employees interact with colleagues, make friends, and collaborate with others on work-related task. For example, numerous studies have documented the job satisfaction impact of teamwork (e.g., Nandan & Nandan, 1995; Qvale & Hanssen-Bauer, 1990). Teamwork is viewed as a formal form of collaboration in which team members simply confer with each other on issues before the team (Brill, 1976). Team members' exchange views freely to express agreement or disagreement. Teamwork is characterized by reciprocal trust and respect among team members. There is a certain degree of felt interdependence of functions, tasks, and shared decision-making.

Verducci and Gardner (2005) have conducted a large-scale study to explore what is good work and invariably found evidence that the effective use of source resources at work makes a difference in employee well-being. The use of social resources involves seeking obtaining support from coworkers and collaborating with them on organizational tasks (i.e., teamwork), as well as acting as mentors and role models for others.

Valued Social Position

Much research has shown that employee well-being is directly related to occupational status and job rank in the management hierarchy (see Jayaratne, 1993 for a review of the literature). Status is indeed a significant and robust determinant of job satisfaction.

The Job Characteristics Model (Hackman & Oldham, 1976) specifies task significance as an important determinant of job satisfaction. Task significance is the degree to which the employee perceives that his/her job is important and is recognized as such by others.

Employee Characteristics

As reviewed by Judge and Larsen (2001), much evidence exists suggesting that job satisfaction is very much influenced by dispositional characteristics of the employee. Consider the seminal study by Staw and Ross (1985) who found evidence that measures of job satisfaction were reasonably stable over time and even when workers changed jobs (i.e., they still feel the same way irrespective of the job). Examples of factors in this category are affective disposition, occupational status, employee age, and family background, religious beliefs, and values.

Affective Disposition

Affective disposition refers to two personality traits—positive affectivity and negative affectivity—that reflect the emotional style and feelings about one self. Much evidence has accumulated and suggested that employee's affective disposition does play a significant role in many

measures of employee well-being (e.g., Cropanzano & James, 1990; Elliott, Chatrand, & Harkins, 1994; George, 1989; Munz, Huelsman, Konold, & McKinney, 1996; Watson & Pennebaker, 1989; Watson & Slack, 1993; Watson & Walker, 1996).

For example, Brief, Burke, George, Robinson, and Webster (1988) conducted a study that showed that employees scoring high on negative affectivity and a measure of negative affect at work during the previous week. Other studies focusing on positive affectivity (e.g., Judge & Locke, 1993; Necowitz & Roznowski, 1994; Schaubroeck, Ganster, & Kemmerer, 1996; Watson & Slack, 1993) showed that positive affectivity is more related to intrinsic than extrinsic job satisfaction. Thoresen, Kaplan, Basky, Warren, and de Chermont (2003) conducted a meta-analysis that revealed that negative affectivity was somewhat more strongly related to job satisfaction than positive affectivity.

The Big Five Personality Traits

Judge, Heller, and Mount (2002) found that the three Big Five traits (neuroticism, extraversion, and conscientiousness) were significantly related to job satisfaction. Specifically, neuroticism was negatively related to job satisfaction, whereas both extraversion and conscientiousness were positively related.

Core Self-evaluation

Core self-evaluations are fundamental beliefs that people have about themselves and the way they function in the world at large (Judge, Locke, & Durham, 1997). Specifically, core self-evaluation is a broad personality trait comprised of four major dimensions: self-esteem, generalized self-efficacy, locus of control, and emotional stability. A meta-analysis between core self-evaluation and job satisfaction revealed a strong positive correlation (Judge & Bono, 2001).

Employee Age

There is some evidence that suggests that older employees experience higher job-specific well-being than younger employees (Birdi, Warr, & Oswald, 1995; Pugliesi, 1995; Warr, 1992). Warr (1999) discusses several explanation of this effect. One explanation is the assertion that on the average, older employees tend to have high-level and more status positions than younger employees. A second explanation is the possibility that older employees have more dampened reward expectations than their younger counterparts. These expectations dampen with experience (i.e., older employees become more realistic in their expectations).

Gender Differences

Large-scale surveys in the USA do not show any differences in job satisfaction (see Pugliesi, 1995 for a literature review). However, large-scale surveys in the UK show differences in favor of women (i.e., women report more satisfied at work than men) (Clark, 1996). Clark explained this finding by arguing that women have lower expectations of reward conditions at work than men.

With respect to gender differences in relation to satisfaction with specific job facets, studies have shown men seem to be more satisfied than women with the opportunity for personal control

(reported in Pugliesi, 1995). Conversely, women seem to be more satisfied than men in regards to supportive supervision (again reported in Pugliesi, 1995). Roxburgh (1996) reported findings that suggest that women employees are more affected by high job demand and low variety than men employees. Furthermore, there is some evidence suggesting that women employees tend to experience higher levels of burnout than men employees (e.g., Kauppinen-Toropainen, Kandolin, & Mutanen, 1983; Maslach & Jackson, 1981).

Other Factors

Other studies have shown that the other factors such as personal motivation affects employee well-being (e.g., Cummings & Malloy, 1977; Glaser, 1980); family background in the way families serve as a formative source of positive values, good habits, and professional direction (e.g., Verducci & Gardner, 2005); and religious and spiritual values in that employees get inspired by the belief that they may be doing “God’s work” (e.g., Verducci & Gardner, 2005).

Work-Related Behaviors

Work-related behaviors refer to constructs such as job performance, absenteeism, turnover, and discretionary activities. How are these related to employee well-being?

Job Performance

An early meta-analytic study provided evidence suggesting a relationship between job performance and job satisfaction, and more for intrinsic than extrinsic job satisfaction (Iaffaldano & Muchinsky, 1985). This general finding was reinforced by subsequent studies (e.g., Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Bommer, 1996; Shore & Martin, 1989).

Absenteeism

Employee absence from work is considered to be a substitute construct to job performance in the sense that employees who do poorly on their job are likely to be more absent from work than those who do well on their job. Absences from work due to sickness, attending to family matters, dealing with personal problems, and so on do take a toll on employee productivity and job performance. In a meta-analysis, Farrell and Stamm (1988) found a negative relationship between job satisfaction and absenteeism. This finding was reinforced by Melamed, Ben-Avi, Luz, and Green (1995) who focused on satisfaction with specific job facets and absenteeism.

Turnover

Similar to absenteeism, turnover is taken as a sign of low job performance (Warr, 1999). Two meta-analyses provided ample evidence of a negative relationship between job satisfaction and turnover (Carsten & Spector, 1987; Hom, Caranikas-Walker, Prussia, & Griffeth, 1992). In other words, research clearly shows that job dissatisfaction is an important predictor of employees quitting their job, which in turn accounts for the employee turnover rate.

Discretionary Activities

Warr (1999) have argued that job satisfaction may be related to discretionary activities—those that employees choose to engage at free will and are not required of them because of job demand. Warr identified three types of discretionary activities: (1) voluntary overtime, (2) prosocial activity, and (3) adaptive behavior. For example, Gechman and Weiner (1975) have produced evidence that school teachers who volunteer extra time (unpaid) tend to be more satisfied with their jobs than those who volunteer less. Prosocial activity at work refers to activities that employees engage in to help others (e.g., provide assistance to coworkers, volunteering to take on needed tasks, and making suggestions to improve quality). A meta-analysis study (Organ & Ryan, 1995) provided evidence suggesting that job satisfaction is positively related with employee prosocial behavior at work. Adaptive behavior is the kind of behavior that employees undertake to adapt to a changing environment at work (employees undergoing more formal and informal training, learning new things on their own, serving on working groups to solve organizational problems, and so on). There is some suggestive evidence indicating that employees who score high on well-being measures tend to engage in more adaptive behaviors than those who score low (e.g., Birdi, Gardner, & Warr, 1998).

Conclusion

This chapter is designed to provide the reader a simple and integrated perspective of employee well-being to report on what I consider important findings in this growing area of research in I/O psychology, management, and quality-of-life studies. In doing so, I made an attempt to answer the following research questions: What is employee well-being? What is the relationship between employee well-being and subjective well-being (i.e., positive and negative affect, life satisfaction, absence of depression)? How does employee well-being affect subjective well-being? What are other consequences of employee well-being? What determines employee well-being?

My hope is that this chapter will further motivate I/O psychologists, management scholars, and quality-of-life researchers to engage in research to further develop the research on employee well-being. Such research is very important in organizational research for theoretical and practical purposes (e.g., Ashkanasy, 2011; Blanchflower & Oswald, 2011; Judge & Kammeter-Mueller, 2011). Future research should systematically and methodically test the various theoretical notions concerning the antecedents and consequences of employee well-being. Furthermore, I believe that this program of research should provide fruitful information to managers who are keen in enhancing their employees' well-being.

References

- Adams, G. A., & Jex, S. M. (1999). Relationships between time management, control, work-family conflict, and strain. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 4*, 72–77.
- Andrews, F. M., & Withey, S. B. (1976). *Social indicators of well-being: America's perception of life quality*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Argyle, M. (2001). *The psychology of happiness* (2nd ed.). East Sussex, UK: Routledge.
- Ashforth, B. E., Kreiner, G. E., & Fugate, M. (2000). All in a day's work: Boundaries and micro role transitions. *The Academy of Management Review, 25*, 472–491.
- Ashkanasy, N. M. (2011). International happiness: A multilevel perspective. *The Academy of Management Perspectives, 25*, 23–29.

- Bagozzi, R. P. (1978). Salesforce performance and satisfaction as a function of individual differences, interpersonal and situational factors. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *15*, 517–531.
- Bagozzi, R. P. (1980a). Performance and satisfaction in an industrial salesforce: An examination of their antecedents and similarity. *The Journal of Marketing*, *44*, 65–77.
- Bagozzi, R. P. (1980b). Salespeople and their managers: An exploratory study of some similarities and differences. *Sloan Management Review*, *21*, 15–25.
- Bagozzi, R. P. (1980c). The nature and causes of self-esteem, performance, and satisfaction in the sales force: A structural equation approach. *Journal of Business*, *53*, 315–331.
- Balmforth, K., & Gardner, D. (2006). Conflict and facilitation between work and family: Realizing the outcomes for organizations. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *35*, 69–76.
- Baltes, B. B., Clark, M. A., & Chakrabarti, M. (2010). Work-life balance: The roles of work-family conflict and work-family facilitation. In P. A. Linley, S. Harrington, & N. Garcea (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of positive psychology and work* (pp. 201–212). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baltes, P. B. (1997). On the incomplete architecture of human ontogeny: Selection, optimization, and compensation as foundation of developmental theory. *The American Psychologist*, *52*, 366–380.
- Baltes, P. B., & Baltes, M. M. (Eds.). (1990). *Successful aging: Perspectives from the behavioral sciences*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Baltes, P. B., & Heyden-Gahir, H. A. (2003). Reduction of work-family conflict through the use of selection, optimization, and compensation behaviors. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *88*, 1005–1018.
- Bamundo, P. J., & Kopleman, R. E. (1980). The moderating effects of occupation, age, and urbanization on the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *17*, 106–123.
- Birdi, K. S., Gardner, C. R., & Warr, P. B. (1998). Correlates and perceived outcomes of four types of employee development activity. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *82*, 845–857.
- Birdi, K. S., Warr, P. B., & Oswald, A. (1995). Age differences in three components of employee well-being. *Applied Psychology*, *44*, 345–373.
- Blanchflower, D. G., & Oswald, A. J. (2011). International happiness: A new view on the measure of performance. *The Academy of Management Perspectives*, *25*, 6–22.
- Brief, A. P., Burke, M. J., George, J. M., Robinson, B. S., & Webster, J. (1988). Should negative affectivity remain an unmeasured variable in the study of job stress? *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *73*, 193–198.
- Brill, N. I. (1976). *Teamwork: Working together in the human services*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.
- Brown, G. D. A., Gardner, J., Oswald, A., & Qian, J. (2003, June). *Rank dependence in pay satisfaction*. Paper presented at the Brookings/Warwick conference, Washington, DC.
- Brown, S. P. (1996). A meta-analysis and review of organizational research on job involvement. *Psychological Bulletin*, *120*, 235–255.
- Burger, J. M. (1989). Negative reactions to increases in perceived personal control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *56*, 246–256.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., & Rodgers, W. L. (1976). *The quality of American life: Perceptions, evaluations, and satisfactions*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Campion, M. A., & McClelland, C. L. (1993). Follow-up and extension of the interdisciplinary costs and benefits of enlarged jobs. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*, 339–351.
- Carsten, J. M., & Spector, P. E. (1987). Unemployment, job satisfaction, and employee turnover: A meta-analytic test of the Muchinsky model. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *72*, 374–381.
- Carter, C. G., Pounder, D. G., Lawrence, F. G., & Wozniak, P. J. (1990). Factors related to organizational turnover intentions of Louisiana extension service agents. In H. L. Meadow & M. J. Sirgy (Eds.), *Quality-of-life studies in marketing and management* (pp. 170–181). Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech, Center for Strategy and Marketing Studies.
- Clark, A. E. (1996). Job satisfaction in Britain. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *34*, 189–217.
- Clark, A. E., & Oswald, A. J. (1996). Satisfaction and comparison income. *Journal of Public Economics*, *61*, 359–381.
- Clark, S. C. (2000). Work/family border theory: A new theory of work/family balance. *Human Relations*, *53*, 747–770.
- Clark, S. C. (2002a). Communicating across the work/home border. *Community, Work, and Family*, *5*, 23–48.
- Clark, S. C. (2002b, August). *Borders between work and home, and work/family conflict*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Management Conference, Denver, CO.
- Cropanzano, R., & James, K. (1990). Some methodological considerations for the behavioral genetic analysis of work attitudes. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *75*, 433–439.
- Crouter, A. C. (1984). Spillover from family to work: The neglected side of the work-family interface. *Human Relations*, *37*, 425–442.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1975). *Beyond boredom and anxiety*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1982). Towards a psychology of optimal experience. In L. Wheeler (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology* (Vol. 2). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1997). *Finding flow: The Psychology of engagement with everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
- De Jonge, J., & Schaufeli, W. B. (1998). Job characteristics and employee well-being: A test of Warr's Vitamin Model in health-care workers using structural equations modeling. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *19*, 387–407.
- De Longis, A., Coyne, J. C., Dakof, G., Folkman, S., & Lazarus, R. S. (1982). Relationship of daily hassles, uplifts, and major life events to health status. *Health Psychology*, *1*, 119–136.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York: Plenum.
- Desroches, S., Hilton, J. M., & Larwood, L. (2005). Preliminary validation of the work-family integration-blurring scale. *Journal of Family Issues*, *26*, 442–462.
- Diener, E., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2008). *Happiness: Unlocking the mysteries of psychological wealth*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *49*, 71–75.
- Diener, E., Suh, E., Lucas, R., & Smith, H. (1999). Subjective well-being: Three decades of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, *125*, 276–302.
- Doumas, D. M., Margolin, G., & John, R. S. (2003). The relationship between daily marital interaction, work, and health-promoting behaviours in dual-earner couples: An extension of the work-family spillover model. *Journal of Family Issues*, *24*, 3–20.
- Efraty, D., & Sirgy, M. J. (1990). The effects of quality of working life (QWL) on employee behavioral responses. *Social Indicators Research*, *22*, 31–47.
- Efraty, D., & Sirgy, M. J. (1992). Occupational prestige and bureaucratization effects on the spillover between job satisfaction and life Satisfaction. In M. J. Sirgy, H. L. Meadow, D. R. Rahtz, & A. C. Samli (Eds.), *Developments in quality-of-life studies in marketing* (Vol. 4, pp. 115–119). Blacksburg, VA: Academy of Marketing Science.
- Efraty, D., Sirgy, M. J., & Claiborne, C. B. (1991). The effects of personal alienation on organizational identification: A quality-of-work life model. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *6*, 57–78.
- Efraty, D., Sirgy, M. J., & Siegel, P. (2000). The job/life satisfaction relationship among professional accountants: Psychological determinants and demographic differences. In E. Diener & D. Rahtz (Eds.), *Advances in quality-of-life theory and research* (Vol. 1, pp. 129–157). Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Efraty, D., Sirgy, M. J., & Siegel, P. H. (1997). The job satisfaction/life satisfaction relationship for professional accountants: The moderating effect of organizational commitment. In H. L. Meadow (Ed.), *Developments in quality-of-life studies* (Vol. 1, p. 25). Blacksburg, VA: International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies.
- Elfering, A., Grebner, S., Semmer, N. K., Kaier-Freiburghaus, D., et al. (2005). Chronic job stressors and job control: Effects on event-related coping stress and well-being. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *78*, 237–254.
- Elliott, T. R., Chatrand, J. M., & Harkins, S. W. (1994). Negative affectivity, emotional distress, and the cognitive appraisal of occupational stress. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *45*, 185–201.
- Evans, M., & Ondrack, D. A. (1990). Individual differences in the accommodation to work and leisure. In H. L. Meadow & M. J. Sirgy (Eds.), *Quality-of-life studies in marketing and management* (pp. 125–139). Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech, Center for Strategy and Marketing Studies.
- Farrell, D., & Stamm, C. L. (1988). Meta-analysis of the correlates of employee absence. *Human Relations*, *41*, 211–227.
- Fischman, W., Solomon, B., Greenspan, D., & Gardner, H. (2004). *Making good: How young people cope with moral dilemmas at work*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2001). The role of positive emotions in positive psychology: The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *The American Psychologist*, *56*, 219–226.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2010). *Positivity: Top-notch research reveals the 3-to-1 ratio that will change your life*. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Freund, A. M., & Baltes, P. B. (2002). Life-management strategies of selection, optimization, and compensation: Measurement by self-report and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 642–662.
- Frone, M. R., Yardley, J. K., & Markel, K. S. (1997). Developing and testing an integrative model of the work-family interface. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *50*, 145–167.
- Fry, L. W., Vitucci, S., & Cedillo, M. (2005). Spiritual leadership and army transformation: Theory, measurement, and establishing a baseline. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *16*, 835–862.
- Gallie, D. (1996). The quality of employment: Perspectives and problems. In A. Offer (Ed.), *The pursuit of the quality of life* (pp. 163–187). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gardner, H., Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Damon, W. (2001). *Good work: When excellence and ethics meet*. New York: Basic Books.

- Gechman, A. S., & Wiener, Y. (1975). Job involvement and satisfaction as related to mental health and personal time devoted to work. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *60*, 521–523.
- George, J. M. (1989). Mood and absence. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *74*, 317–324.
- Glaser, E. M. (1980). Productivity gains through worklife improvement. *Personnel Journal*, *59*, 71–77.
- Goode, W. J. (1960). A theory of role strain. *American Sociological Review*, *41*, 793–806.
- Greenhaus, J. H., Bedian, A. G., & Mossholder, K. W. (1987). Work experiences, job performances, and feelings of personal and family well-being. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *31*, 200–215.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *The Academy of Management Review*, *10*, 76–88.
- Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. (1976). Motivation through design of work: Test of a theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *16*, 250–279.
- Hanish, K. A., & Hulin, C. L. (1991). General attitudes and organizational withdrawal: An evaluation of a causal model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *39*, 110–128.
- Hart, P. M. (1994). Teacher quality of work life: Integrating work experiences, psychological distress and morale. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *67*, 109–132.
- Heller, D., Judge, T. A., & Watson, D. (2002). The confounding role of personality and trait affectivity in the relationship between job and life satisfaction. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *23*, 815–825.
- Herzberg, F. (1966). *Work and the nature of man*. Cleveland: World.
- Herzberg, F., Mausner, B., Peterson, R. D., & Capwell, D. F. (1957). *Job attitudes: Review of research and opinion*. Pittsburgh, PA: Psychological Service of Pittsburgh.
- Hom, P. W. (2001). The legacy of Hulin's work on turnover thinking and research. In F. D. Drasgow & J. M. Brett (Eds.), *Psychology of work: Theoretically based empirical research* (pp. 169–187). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hom, P. W., Caranikas-Walker, F., Prussia, G. E., & Griffeth, R. W. (1992). A meta-analytical structural equations analysis of a model of employee turnover. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *77*, 890–909.
- Hulin, C. L. (1991). Adaptation, persistence, commitment in organizations. In M. Dunnette & L. Hough (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 445–507). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Hulin, C. L., & Judge, T. A. (2003). Job attitudes. In W. C. Borman, D. R. Ilgen, & R. J. Klimoski (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Industrial and organizational psychology* (pp. 255–276). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Hulin, C. L., Roznowski, M., & Hachiya, D. (1985). Alternative opportunities and withdrawal decisions: Empirical and theoretical discrepancies and an integration. *Psychological Bulletin*, *97*, 233–250.
- Iaffaldano, M. T., & Muchinsky, P. M. (1985). Job satisfaction and job performance: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *97*, 251–273.
- Jayarathne, S. (1993). The antecedents, consequences, and correlates of job satisfaction. In R. T. Golembiewski (Ed.), *Handbook of organizational behavior* (pp. 111–141). New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc.
- Judge, T. A., & Bono, J. E. (2001). Relationship of core self-evaluation traits—self-esteem, generalized self-efficacy, locus of control, and emotional stability—with job satisfaction and job performance: A meta-analysis. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*, 80–92.
- Judge, T. A., & Church, A. H. (2000). Job satisfaction: Research and practice. In C. L. Cooper & E. A. Locke (Eds.), *Industrial and organizational psychology: Linking theory with practice* (pp. 166–198). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Judge, T. A., Heller, D., & Mount, M. K. (2002). Five-factor model of personality and job satisfaction: A meta-analysis. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *87*, 530–541.
- Judge, T. A., & Kammeter-Mueller, J. D. (2011). Happiness as a societal value. *The Academy of Management Perspectives*, *25*, 30–41.
- Judge, T. A., & Klinger, R. (2008). Job satisfaction: Subjective well-being at work. In M. Eid & R. J. Larsen (Eds.), *The science of subjective well-being* (pp. 393–413). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Judge, T. A., & Larsen, R. J. (2001). Dispositional affect and job satisfaction: A review and theoretical extension. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *86*, 67–98.
- Judge, T. A., & Locke, E. A. (1993). Effect of dysfunctional thought processes on subjective well-being and job satisfaction. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*, 475–490.
- Judge, T. A., Locke, E. A., & Durham, C. C. (1997). The dispositional causes of job satisfaction: A core evaluations approach. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *19*, 151–188.
- Judge, T. A., Thoresen, C. J., Bono, J. E., & Patton, G. K. (2000). The job satisfaction-job performance relationship: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *127*, 376–407.
- Judge, T. A., & Watanabe, S. (1993). Another look at the job satisfaction-life satisfaction relationship. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*, 939–948.
- Judge, T. A., & Watanabe, S. (1994). Individual differences in the nature of the relationship between job and life satisfaction. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *67*, 101–107.
- Kang, S. N. (2001). The relationship between job and marital satisfaction: Overall and facet satisfaction among professionals. *Dissertation Abstracts International B: Sciences and Engineering*, *62*(6), 2958. (UMI No. AAI 3017289).

- Karasek, R. A. (1979). Job demands, job decision latitude, and mental strain: Implications for job design. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24, 285–308.
- Kauppinen-Toropainen, K., Kandolin, I., & Mutanen, P. (1983). Job dissatisfaction and work-related exhaustion in male and female work. *Journal of Occupational Behaviour*, 4, 193–207.
- Keyes, C. L. M., & Haidt, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Flourishing: Positive psychology and the life well-lived*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Kolodinsky, R. W., Giacalone, R. A., & Jurkiewicz, C. L. (2008). Workplace values and outcomes: Exploring personal, organizational, and interactive workplace spirituality. *The Journal of Business Ethics*, 81, 465–480.
- Kossek, E. E., Lautsch, B. A., & Eaton, S. C. (2006). Telecommuting, control, and boundary management: Correlates of policy use and, control, and work-family effectiveness. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 68, 347–367.
- Lee, D.-J., Singapakdi, A., & Sirgy, M. J. (2007). Further validation of a need-based quality-of-work-life (QWL) measure: Evidence from marketing practitioners. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 2, 273–287.
- Lane, R. E. (1991). *The market experience*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lane, R. E. (1996). Quality of life and quality of persons: A new role for government? In A. Offer (Ed.), *The pursuit of the quality of life* (pp. 256–294). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lane, R. E. (2000). *The loss of happiness in market democracies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lee, R. T., & Ashforth, B. E. (1996). A meta-analytic examination of the correlates of the three dimensions of job burnout. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81, 123–133.
- Lennon, M. C., & Rosenfield, S. (1992). Women and mental health: The interaction of job and family conditions. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 33, 316–327.
- Lewellyn, P. A., & Wibker, E. A. (1990). Significance of quality of life on turnover intentions of certified public accountants. In H. L. Meadow & M. J. Sirgy (Eds.), *Quality-of-life studies in marketing and management* (pp. 182–193). Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech, Center for Strategy and Marketing Studies.
- Locke, E. A. (1976). The nature and causes of job satisfaction. In M. D. Dunnette (Ed.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Lucas, R. E., Diener, E., & Suh, E. (1996). Discriminant validity of well-being measures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 616–628.
- Macan, T. H., Shahani, C., Dipboye, R. I., & Philips, A. P. (1990). College student's time management: Correlations with academic performance and stress. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 82, 760–768.
- Marks, R. S. (1977). Multiple roles and role strain: Some notes on human energy, time, and commitment. *American Sociological Review*, 42, 921–936.
- Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1981). The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Occupational Behaviour*, 2, 113–125.
- McFarlin, D. B., & Rice, R. W. (1991). Determinants of satisfaction with specific job facets: A test of Locke's model. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 6, 25–38.
- Melamed, S., Ben-Avi, I., Luz, J., & Green, M. S. (1995). Objective and subjective work monotony: Effects on job satisfaction, psychological distress, and absenteeism in blue-collar workers. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 80, 29–42.
- Milliman, J., Ferguson, J., Trickett, D., & Condemi, B. (1999). Spirit and community at Southwest Airlines. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 12, 221–233.
- Mount, M., Ilies, R., & Johnson, E. (2006). Relationship of personality traits and counterproductive work behaviors: The mediating effects of job satisfaction. *Personnel Psychology*, 59, 591–622.
- Munz, D. C., Huelsman, T. J., Konold, T. R., & McKinney, J. J. (1996). Are there methodological and substantive roles for affectivity in job diagnostics survey relationships? *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81, 795–805.
- Nandan, S., & Nandan, M. (1995). Improving quality of care and quality of work life through interdisciplinary health care teams. In H. L. Meadow, M. J. Sirgy, & D. R. Rahtz (Eds.), *Developments in quality-of-life studies in marketing* (Vol. 5, pp. 80–86). DeKalb, IL: Academy of Marketing Science and the International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies.
- Necowitz, L. B., & Roznowski, M. (1994). Negative affectivity and job satisfaction: Cognitive processes underlying the relationship and effects on employee behaviors. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 45, 270–294.
- Organ, D. W., & Ryan, K. (1995). A meta-analytic review of attitudinal and dispositional predictors of organizational citizenship behavior. *Personnel Psychology*, 48, 775–802.
- Pawar, B. S. (2008). Two approaches to workplace spirituality facilitation: A comparison and implications. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 29, 544–567.
- Pawar, B. S. (2009a). Some of the recent organizational behavior concepts as precursors to workplace spirituality. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 88, 245–261.
- Pawar, B. S. (2009b). Individual spirituality, workplace spirituality and work attitudes: An empirical test of direct and interaction effects. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 30, 759–777.

- Pawar, B. S. (2009c). Workplace spirituality facilitation: A comprehensive model. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *90*, 375–386.
- Perrone, K. M., Egidottir, S., Webb, L. K., & Blalock, R. H. (2006). Work-family interface: Commitment, conflict, coping, and satisfaction. *Journal of Career Development*, *32*, 286–300.
- Piotrkowski, C. S. (1978). *Work and the family system*. New York: Free Press.
- Plater, M. A., Rahtz, D. R., & Katz, J. P. (1995). Compensation package alignment: Implications for recruiting and enhancing quality of work life for matriculating college students. In H. L. Meadow, M. J. Sirgy, & D. R. Rahtz (Eds.), *Developments in quality-of-life studies in marketing* (Vol. 5, pp. 128–132). DeKalb, IL: Academy of Marketing Science and the International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies.
- Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., & Bommer, W. H. (1996). Meta-analysis of the relationships between Kerr and Jermier's substitutes for leadership and employee job attitudes, role perceptions, and performance. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *81*, 380–399.
- Porter, L. W. (1961). A study of perceived need satisfaction in bottom and middle management jobs. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *45*, 1–10.
- Pugliesi, K. (1995). Work and well-being: Gender influences on the psychological consequences of employment. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *36*, 57–71.
- Qvale, T. U., & Hanssen-Bauer, J. (1990). Implementing QWL in large scale project organizations: 'Blue Water' site design in the Norwegian offshore oil industry. In H. L. Meadow & M. J. Sirgy (Eds.), *Quality-of-life studies in marketing and management* (pp. 529–535). Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech, Center for Strategy and Marketing Studies.
- Rain, J. S., Lane, I. M., & Steiner, D. D. (1991). A current look at the job satisfaction/life satisfaction relationship: Review and future considerations. *Human Relations*, *44*, 287–307.
- Rau, L. B., & Hyland, M. M. (2002). Role conflict and flexible work arrangements: The effects of applicant attraction. *Personnel Psychology*, *55*, 111–136.
- Rice, R. W., Frone, M. R., & MacFarlin, D. B. (1992). Work-nonwork conflict and the perceived quality of life. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *13*, 155–168.
- Rice, R. W., Near, J. P., & Hunt, R. G. (1980). The job satisfaction-life satisfaction relationship: A review of empirical research. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *1*, 37–64.
- Rice, R. W., Pierce, R. S., Moyer, R. P., & McFarlin, D. B. (1991). Using discrepancies to predict the perceived quality of work life. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *6*(Fall), 39–56.
- Rogers, S. J., & May, D. C. (2003). Spillover between marital quality and job satisfaction: Long-term patterns and gender differences. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *65*, 482–495.
- Roxburgh, S. (1996). Gender differences in work and well-being: Effects of exposure and vulnerability. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *37*, 265–277.
- Roznowski, M., Miller, H. E., & Rosse, J. G. (1992, August). *On the utility of broad-band measures of employee behavior: The case for employee adaptation and citizenship*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Management, Las Vegas, NV.
- Ruderman, M. N., Ohlott, P. J., Panzer, K., & King, S. N. (2002). Benefits of multiple roles for managerial women. *The Academy of Management Journal*, *45*, 369–386.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *The American Psychologist*, *55*, 68–78.
- Schmitt, N., & Bedian, A. G. (1982). A comparison of LISREL and two-stage least squares analysis of a hypothesized life-job satisfaction reciprocal relationship. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *67*, 806–817.
- Scollon, C. N., & Diener, E. (2006). Love, work, and changes in extraversion and neuroticism over time. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *91*, 1152–1165.
- Scott, K. D., & Taylor, G. S. (1985). An examination of conflicting findings on the relationship between job satisfaction and absenteeism: A meta-analysis. *The Academy of Management Journal*, *28*, 599–612.
- Seiber, S. D. (1974). Toward a theory of role accumulation. *American Sociological Review*, *39*, 567–578.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (2001). *Authentic happiness: Using the new positive psychology to realize your potential for lasting fulfillment*. New York: Free Press.
- Sevastos, P., Smith, L., & Cordery, J. L. (1992). Evidence on the reliability and construct validity of Warr's (1990) well-being and mental health measures. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *65*, 33–49.
- Shaver, P., & Freedman, J. (1976). Your pursuit of happiness. *Psychology Today*, *10*(August), 27–29.
- Shore, L. M., & Martin, H. J. (1989). Job satisfaction and organizational commitment in relation work performance and turnover intentions. *Human Relations*, *42*, 625–638.
- Singhapakdi, A., Sirgy, M. J., & Lee, D.-J. (2010a). Is small business better than big business for marketing managers? *Journal of Business Research*, *63*, 418–423.
- Singhapakdi, A., Sirgy, M. J., Lee, D.-J., & Vitell, S. J. (2010b). The effects of ethics institutionalization on marketing managers: The mediating role of implicit institutionalization and the moderating role of socialization. *Journal of Macromarketing*, *30*, 77–92.

- Sirgy, M. J. (2002). *The psychology of quality of life*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Sirgy, M. J. (2006). Developing a conceptual framework of employee well-being by applying goal concepts and findings from personality social psychology. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 1, 7–38.
- Sirgy, M. J., Efraty, D., Siegel, P., & Lee, D.-J. (2001). A new measure of quality-of-work life (QWL) based on need satisfaction and spillover theories. *Social Indicators Research*, 55(September), 241–302.
- Sirgy, M. J., Reilly, N. P., Wu, J., & Efraty, D. (2008). A work-life identity model of well-being: Towards a research agenda linking quality of work life (QWL) programs with quality of life (QOL). *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 3, 181–202.
- Smith, P. C., Kendall, L. M., & Hulin, C. (1969). *The measurement of satisfaction in work and retirement*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Spector, P. E., & O'Connell, B. J. (1994). The contribution of personality traits, negative affectivity, locus of control, and Type A to the subsequent reports of job stressors and job strains. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 67, 1–11.
- Staats, S., Colbert, B., & Partlo, C. (1995). Uplifts, hassles, and quality of life in older workers. In M. J. Sirgy & A. C. Samli (Eds.), *New dimensions of marketing/quality-of-life research* (pp. 117–136). Westport, CT: Quorum Books.
- Staats, S., & Partlo, C. (1992). Uplifts, hassles, and quality of life in workers over 50 years of age. In M. J. Sirgy, H. L. Meadow, D. R. Rahtz, & A. C. Samli (Eds.), *Developments in quality-of-life studies in marketing* (Vol. 4, pp. 101–106). Blacksburg, VA: Academy of Marketing Science.
- Staines, G. L. (1980). Spillover versus compensation: A review of the literature on the relationship between work and nonwork. *Human Relations*, 33, 111–129.
- Stairs, M., & Gaplin, M. (2010). Positive engagement: From employee engagement to workplace happiness. In P. A. Linley, S. Harrington, & N. Garcea (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of positive psychology and work* (pp. 155–172). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Staw, B. M., & Ross, J. (1985). Stability in the midst of change: A dispositional approach to job attitudes. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 70, 469–480.
- Steiner, D. D., & Truxillo, D. M. (1989). An improved test of the disaggregation hypothesis of job and life satisfaction. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 62, 33–39.
- Tait, M., Padgett, M. Y., & Baldwin, T. T. (1989). Job and life satisfaction: A re-evaluation of the strength of the relationship and gender effects as a function of the date of study. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 74, 502–507.
- Thomas, L. T., & Ganster, D. C. (1995). Impact of family-supportive work variables on work-family conflict and strain: A control perspective. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 80, 6–15.
- Thompson, C. A., Kopelman, R. E., & Schriesheim, C. A. (1992). Putting all one's eggs in the same basket: A comparison of commitment and satisfaction among self- and organizationally employed men. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77, 738–748.
- Thoresen, C. J., Kaplan, S. A., Basky, A. P., Warren, C. R., & de Chermont, K. (2003). The affective underpinnings of job perceptions and attitudes: A meta-analytic review and integration. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129, 914–945.
- Verducci, S., & Gardner, D. (2005). Good work: Its nature, its nurture. In F. A. Huppert, N. Baylis, & B. Keverne (Eds.), *The science of well-being* (pp. 343–359). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Voydanoff, P. (2005). Toward a conceptualization of perceived work-family fit and balance: A demands and resources approach. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, 822–836.
- Warr, P. (1987). *Work, unemployment, and mental health*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Warr, P. (1992). Age and occupational well-being. *Psychology and Aging*, 7, 37–45.
- Warr, P. (1994). A conceptual framework for the study of work and mental health. *Work and Stress*, 8, 84–97.
- Warr, P. (1999). Well-being and the workplace. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 392–412). New York: Russell Sage.
- Warr, P. (2007). *Work, happiness, and unhappiness*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Watson, D., & Pennebaker, J. W. (1989). Health complaints, stress, and distress: Exploring the central role of negative affectivity. *Psychological Review*, 96, 234–254.
- Watson, D., & Slack, A. K. (1993). General factors of affective temperament and their relation to job satisfaction over time. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Process*, 54, 181–202.
- Watson, D., & Walker, L. M. (1996). The long-term stability and predictive validity of trait measures of affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 567–577.
- Wayne, J. H., Grywacz, J. G., Carlson, D. S., & Kacmar, K. M. (2007). Work-family facilitation: A theoretical explanation and model of primary antecedents and consequences. *Human Resource Management Review*, 17, 63–76.

- Welsh, D. H. B., & Parr, J. (1990). The social information processing approach and climate: Toward improving salesforce work life. In H. L. Meadow & M. J. Sirgy (Eds.), *Quality-of-life studies in marketing and management* (pp. 204–214). Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech, Center for Strategy and Marketing Studies.
- Wright, T. A. (2010). More than meets the eye: The role of employee well-being in organizational research. In P. A. Linley, S. Harrington, & N. Garcea (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of positive psychology and work* (pp. 143–154). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, T. A., & Bonett, D. G. (2007). Job satisfaction and psychological well-being as nonadditive predictors of workplace turnover. *Journal of Management*, *33*, 141–160.
- Wright, T. A., & Cropanzano, R. (2007). The happy/productive worker thesis revisited. In J. Martocchio (Ed.), *Research in personnel and human resource management* (Vol. 26, pp. 269–313). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Wrzeniewski, A. (2003). Finding positive meaning in work. In K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, & R. E. Quinn (Eds.), *Positive organizational scholarship: Foundations of a new discipline* (pp. 296–308). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Wrzeniewski, A., & Dutton, J. E. (2001). Crafting a job: Revisioning employees as active crafters of their work. *The Academy of Management Review*, *26*, 179–201.
- Young, L. M., Baltes, B. B., & Pratt, A. (2007). Using selection, optimization, and compensation to reduce job/family stressors: Effective when it matters. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *18*, 1–29.

Chapter 4

Work Stress: Help Me Get My Feet Back on the Ground

Amy E. Mickel and Elise J. Dallimore

As boundaries across personal and professional domains become more blurred and work hours and responsibilities continue to expand, stress is more pervasive in the workplace. Stress is experienced by an increasing number of working individuals and at heightened levels. In the 2008 National Study by Families and Work Institute, 41% of respondents reported experiencing three or more indicators of stress “sometimes,” “often,” or “very often” within the past month, and a comparison between 2002 and 2008 data shows that the average stress level of the American workforce has increased significantly (Aumann & Galinsky, 2008).

Webster, Beehr, and Christiansen (2010) define stress as a “general term that encompasses a process through which variables in the workplace environment can lead to poor psychological and/or physical health and well-being” (p. 68). Not only does stress negatively affect individuals’ physical and mental health and overall well-being (e.g., O’Driscoll & Dewe, 2001), but it also impacts important organizational outcomes. For example, stressed employees report being less engaged in their jobs, having lower job satisfaction, and increasing desires to leave their jobs (e.g., Aumann & Galinsky, 2008). In addition, stress can reduce job performance (e.g., Gilboa, Shirom, Fried, & Cooper, 2008) and increase absenteeism (e.g., Darr & Johns, 2008).

As stress becomes more widespread, even more pressing is the question of how can working individuals’ stress be managed and/or prevented. The answers to this question are further complicated when people experience stress-related decisions as ethical dilemmas, which can occur especially when stress is an integral part of an organization’s cultural climate and is accepted as a “normal” aspect of work.

A.E. Mickel, Ph.D. (✉)

College of Business Administration, California State University, Sacramento,
6000 J Street, Sacramento, CA 95819-6088, USA
e-mail: mickela@csus.edu

E.J. Dallimore, Ph.D.

Department of Communication Studies, Northeastern University,
125 Holmes Hall, Boston, MA 02115, USA
e-mail: e.dallimore@neu.edu

Decisions to Manage Stress as Ethical Dilemmas

Individual-level ethical decision making and behavior are frequently explained using James Rest's four-component stage analysis: moral awareness, moral judgment, moral motivation, and moral behavior (Rest, 1986; Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau, & Thoma, 1999). After the first stage of moral awareness where an individual recognizes a moral problem exists in a situation, a person then makes a moral judgment about how he/she intends to deal with the issue, followed by motivation, and then action. It is during the moral judgment phase that those experiencing stress at work may perceive decisions as ethical dilemmas. For example, employees who are stressed due to work overload may find themselves deciding whether or not to reduce work input and/or hours in order to manage their stress. This decision becomes an ethical issue when stress is embedded in the organization's climate. Do I care for my well-being at the expense of my work and organization or do I privilege my work over my well-being?

According to Kohlberg's (1969) cognitive-moral development approach, a person reasons about what he/she should do (i.e., what is right) based on concern for obedience to authority (e.g., the organization), fear of punishment (e.g., negative repercussions at work), exchange in relationships (e.g., organization will support you in a time of need), relying on the expectations of others (e.g., organizational members), rules or laws (e.g., organizations formal and informal policies and practices), or looking to universally held principles of rights (e.g., I deserve to have a positive well-being, free from stress). Because research has found that most people do *not* determine what is "right" based on universal rights but rather place emphasis on other factors such as significant people and rules/laws (Rest et al., 1999), organizations and their climates end up playing extremely important roles in moral decisions impacting one's work (Treviño, Weaver, & Reynolds, 2006). This is exemplified in a recent news article about how overworked employees fail to confront their bosses when feeling overworked and stressed for fear of losing their jobs (Pounds, 2010).

The influential role organizations have on their members' ethical-related decisions is further supported by a number of studies. For example, perceptions of organizations' ethical climates (Cullen, Victor, & Bronson, 1993; Schminke, Ambrose, & Neubaum, 2005), subclimates (Weber, 1995), leadership (e.g., Brown, Treviño, & Harrison, 2005; Treviño, Hartman, & Brown, 2000), and work peers (Zey-Ferrell & Ferrell, 1982) have all been found to influence individuals' ethical decision-making processes. Therefore, when referring back to the scenario of stressed employees in a climate where stress is "normal" and most are stressed, it is not surprising that committed organizational members would decide against reducing their work input and/or hours at the expense of their well-being; in other words, such individuals choose to be stressed because they feel it is the "right" decision.

Further contributing to their ethical dilemmas, employees are even receiving professional advice to make decisions at the expense of their well-being. For example, in her "Keep Your Job: A 10-point Survival Guide," longtime executive coach Deb Bright provides the following advice: "For now, forget about work-life balance." She is quoted as saying: "having time for outside interests has to go right out the window for now You need to concentrate on doing whatever it takes to make yourself indispensable" (Fisher, 2009). However, others like Lisa Gates (life balance coach) highlight the importance of a positive well-being. Countering Bright's advice, she writes: "Living in balance in a down economy is essential, not only for your well-being outside of work, but to assure you remain agile and flexible and capable of making good, values-based decisions in and about your work" (Gates, 2009). Gates then quotes Tracy Brightman, Fed-Ex's SVP for Human Resources, who claims "[p]roper work-life balance is a key factor in employee satisfaction and productivity," thus acknowledging the significant role organizations play relative to these issues.

However, some organizations, including those concerned about their employees' well-being, may not understand how their organizations' cultural climates can contribute to (a) employees'

perceptions of stress-related decisions as ethical dilemmas and (b) their subsequent decisional outcomes to choose against actively managing their stress. If organizations are concerned about stress in the workplace—whether they feel that is the moral thing to do or to prevent negative organizational outcomes such as reduced productivity and satisfaction—we encourage organizations to first look at how their cultures and norms may be contributing to ethical dilemmas for employees. Organizations may then want to consider establishing norms of encouraging any organizational member experiencing stress to (a) discuss their situations with others, (b) take the necessary action to reduce and prevent stress, and (c) feel that dealing with stress-related issues in the workplace is acceptable. To enforce these norms, organizations may choose to improve their communication channels about stress-related topics, by encouraging such methods as “authentic dialogue” and “authentic discussion.”¹ These suggestions are designed to help reduce the chance that employees will perceive decisions related to stress management as ethical dilemmas.

As with any quality-of-life and work-life initiative, it is important to also have structural support such as specific practices that assist with stress management, in addition to cultural climate support (Kossek, Lewis, & Hammer, 2010). In future sections of this chapter, we turn to proposing specific ways organizations can assist employees to actively manage their stress. Before introducing these strategies, we first provide a brief review of relevant literature.

Stressors and Reasons for Handling Them Differently

Coping with Workplace Stressors

Stress literature makes the distinction between hindrance stressors which threaten personal goals and challenge stressors which support personal goals (e.g., Cavanaugh, Boswell, Roehling, & Boudreau, 2000). Strains such as poor health, burnout, and anxiety are often the result of experiencing stressors (O’Driscoll & Dewe, 2001). Since this chapter is designed to describe ways to assist employees in dealing with negative outcomes of stress, we choose to initially focus on work-related, hindrance-based stressors in our literature search. In a recent meta-analytic study which integrates 169 samples ($N = 35,265$ employees), seven work-related stressors are identified as having negative relationships with performance (Gilboa et al., 2008). These stressors include role ambiguity, role conflict, role overload, job insecurity, work–family conflict, environmental uncertainty, and situational constraints. Of these stressors, role ambiguity and situational constraints have the highest true score correlations (ρ) with performance ($\rho \geq -.24$) (which includes a range of different measures such as general, self-rated, supervisor-rated, and quantitative and qualitative assessment of performance). Other significant correlations worth noting include role conflict with quantitative ($\rho = -.25$) and qualitative ($\rho = -.16$) assessment of performance, role overload with qualitative assessment of performance ($\rho = -.16$), work–family conflict with general ($\rho = -.12$) and self-rated performance ($\rho = -.16$), job insecurity with general ($\rho = -.19$) and self-rated performance ($\rho = -.18$), and environmental uncertainty with general performance ($\rho = -.11$). However, as our literature search progressed, it revealed that individuals’ ability to cope with stress varies. To fulfill the main objective of describing ways to assist employees who

¹Authentic dialogue “involves talking with our body and emotions, intellect, and spirit” and is about “shared inquiry, a way of thinking and reflectingThe focus is on understanding the other person, not only making them understand you[It] involves questioning and sharing doubt, as opposed to debating” (Kohlrieser, 2006, p. 37). Often promoted in classroom environments, authentic discussions incorporate authentic dialogue through dialogically oriented “interactions where participants present and consider multiple perspectives and often use others’ input in constructing their contributions” (Hadjiouannou, 2007, p. 370).

are experiencing stress due to stressors in the workplace, we decided to identify and focus on those factors that appear to explain or contribute to one's ability or inability to cope with such stressors.

In a study focusing on obstacles working professionals encounter while working to achieve a high quality of life, two general categories of obstacles emerge: (a) those internally based and self-related and (b) those originating from external sources such as work, nonwork, and general-life issues (Dallimore & Mickel, 2006). Many of the externally based obstacles are related to work-related stressors identified by Gilboa et al. (2008). In this study, time constraints and job demands (identified as obstacles) can be related to role overload; life demands, family, and issues of balance (obstacles) are related to work–family conflict; and health and money (obstacles) are related to situational constraints. Moreover, the internally based and self-related obstacles appear to explain or contribute to our understanding of what factors may influence one's ability to cope with stressors. Personal qualities and characteristics (e.g., inability to say no, desire to please, lack of confidence to speak) emerge as obstacles working professionals face in Dallimore and Mickel's (2006) study. Further analyses of additional literature reveal a number of other studies that identify internally based or self-related factors which influence one's ability to cope with or manage stress.

We have decided, therefore, to organize subsequent sections of this chapter around those internally based factors which appear to be the most influential in impacting individuals' stress management. We identify ways organizations can address such factors, which in turn should help those employees having difficulty coping with work-related stressors. We choose to do this for two main reasons. First, a significant amount of research has already focused on the sources of work-related stressors and potential ways to deal with those. For example, antecedents to work–family conflict are categorized as time-based, strain-based, and behavior-based (Dierdorff & Ellington, 2008; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985); examples of practices designed to tackle these antecedents and diminish experiences of work–family conflict include flexible hours, remote work policies, dependent care benefits, and part-time and reduced workload arrangements (Kelly et al., 2008). Second, since a certain level of stress is present for all work and sometimes can even be beneficial (e.g., challenge-related stressors), it makes sense to uncover factors affecting one's ability to cope with hindrance stressors. Moreover, significantly less research has examined internally based factors, their impact on a person's ability to cope with stress, and ways to combat them.

Internally Based Factors that May Influence One's Ability to Manage Stress

Adopting Dallimore and Mickel's (2006) definition, we define internally based factors as those "self-related or personal, focusing heavily on personal qualities and characteristics" (p. 73). An extensive review of current research reveals four internally based factors that appear to have a high potential of influencing one's ability to manage stress. These include (a) self-efficacy/beliefs about self, (b) fatigue/exhaustion, (c) mood, and (d) age/stage of life. These factors are presented here, followed by a discussion about specific ways an organization and its employees can help manage stress by addressing these factors.

Self-Efficacy/Beliefs About Self

Self-efficacy, which is a subjective assessment of one's own capabilities (Bandura, 1997), has been found to be a powerful predictor of behavior in many situations (e.g., Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998). With regard to stress-related topics, Barnes and Van Dyne (2009) theorize that self-efficacy (in conjunction with decision latitude) should have strong implications for workload management strategies used by knowledge workers experiencing high levels of job demands (i.e., a work-related stressor). Previously discussed in Dallimore and Mickel's (2006) inductive

study designed to determine what obstacles working professionals face in pursuit of high quality of life, obstacles related to “self” emerge. More specifically, poor organizational skills, inability to say no, wanting to please others, negative perceptions of self, poor decision-making skills, etc., are reported by study respondents as significant obstacles they face in efforts to enhance their life quality. Grounded in research, we conclude that individuals’ beliefs about their stress-management capabilities can have significant implications for their actual stress-coping abilities. Thus, strategies to positively enhance a person’s beliefs about him/herself should prove to be beneficial.

Fatigue/Exhaustion

Employees in today’s work organizations are subject to both physical and emotional fatigue which can negatively impact people’s functioning (e.g., attitudes, behaviors, and work performance) (Barnes & VanDyne, 2009). Physical fatigue occurs when a person’s sleep reservoir is depleted; sleep reservoirs are filled during sleep and drained by physical demands (Hursh et al., 2004; Saper, Scammell, & Lu, 2005). Ongoing fatigue/exhaustion problems occur when sleep reservoirs are not replenished. Illustrating that physical fatigue is a serious problem in the United States, more than a quarter (27%) of the respondents in the 2008 National Study by Families and Work Institute report experiencing sleep problems affecting their job performance “sometimes,” “often,” or “very often” within the past month (Aumann & Galinsky, 2008). Severe sleep problems such as insomnia are negatively associated with physical and mental quality of life, work productivity, absenteeism, and activity functioning (Bolge, Doan, Kannan, & Baran, 2009). In this study, for example, the insomnia group experienced significantly greater impairment in daily activities, “reporting an average of 47.6% activity impairment, which is more than three times higher than that reported by the non-insomnia group” (p. 420). Based on this research, we conclude that physical fatigue can negatively impact one’s stress-management abilities, suggesting the need to address sleep-related issues in the workplace.

In addition to physical fatigue, emotional fatigue is a reoccurring problem in the workplace. Emotional fatigue and exhaustion are feelings of being emotionally overextended or drained (Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). Barnes and Van Dyne (2009) theorize that emotional fatigue operates similarly to physical fatigue; it occurs when a person’s emotional reserve is depleted. Emotionally demanding interactions with people such as unpleasant supervisors (Leiter & Maslach, 1988) or demanding patients and customers (Bakker, Schaufeli, Sixma, Bosveld, & Van Dierendonck, 2000) are the types of experiences that deplete one’s emotional reservoir, leaving a person feeling drained and emotionally exhausted. Barnes and Van Dyne argue that replenishing emotional reservoirs is necessary to diminish emotional fatigue and become emotionally recovered. They suggest recovery activities to include recreation, vacation, and time away from the emotionally demanding contexts. Like physical fatigue, we argue emotional fatigue can also have significant implications for one’s ability to cope with stress, implying that organizations should consider supporting emotional recovery activities.

Mood

Affective states or mood also have the potential to influence one’s stress coping abilities. In their article, Folkman and Moskowitz (2000) argue that positive affective states (i.e., good mood) have implications for stress management; specifically, they purport that positive affect has significant adaptational functions in the stress-coping process. This makes sense in light of research that has shown that pleasant feelings can influence decision-making processes (Isen & Means, 1983; Isen, Means, Patrick, & Nowicki, 1982), enhance cognitive flexibility and creativity

(Isen & Daubman, 1984; Isen, Johnson, Mertz & Robinson, 1985), and increase capacity to integrate newly presented information (Estrada, Isen, & Young, 1997). Therefore, strategies designed to elevate mood such as exercise should prove fruitful.

In addition, there is substantial research that suggests experiencing stress can alter mood. For example, increased time pressure/workload (a work-related stressor) is found to be significantly related to heightened negative moods across work and family domains (Hetty van Emmerik & Jawahar, 2006). Beliefs about stressors are also found to influence mood. Daniels, Hartley, and Travers (2006) find that negative affect (i.e., bad mood) is strongly associated with negative beliefs about the stressors. Collectively, findings suggest experienced stress-mood-stress coping relationships are highly integrated and reciprocal. Therefore, strategies to help employees reframe a situation to see it in a positive light (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2000; Mickel & Dallimore, 2009) could be useful in stress prevention and management.

Age/Stage of Life

Lastly, age/stage of life also appears to explain differences in stress-coping abilities. In a recent meta-analytic study focused on stressors-performance relationships, the effect of age on this relationship is highlighted (Shirom, Gilboa, Fried, & Cooper, 2008). For example, age had a significant moderating effect ($B = .47, p \leq .05$) on the relationship between role ambiguity (stressor) and general performance. Findings from this study suggest that as age increases, individuals are able to better cope with stressors resulting in their ability to perform better in stressful, demanding work situations.

Along the same lines, problem-solving skills and decision-making effectiveness is found to increase with age for certain types of tasks (Thornton & Dumke, 2005). The theoretical rationale for these findings is that age tends to reflect accumulated wisdom and experience resulting in more effective coping abilities (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Quinones, Ford, & Teachout, 1995). Therefore, providing opportunities for younger, less-experienced workers to learn and gain support from older, more-experienced organizational members could be beneficial.

Related to age, stage of life contributes to understanding why different types of stress-reduction strategies may be more effective for certain age groups. For example, work social support from family members is found to be more effective in alleviating family-to-work conflict for those 45 years old and younger (Matthews, Bulger, & Barnes-Farrell, 2010). This makes sense when life stage is considered. In this study, the majority of those over the age of 45 report no children under 18 at home, while the majority of those between 29 and 45 years old reports having children under 18 at home. Further illustrating that life stage may be related to usefulness of different coping strategies, Folkman and Lazarus (1980) find different age groups using coping patterns appropriate for their life stage. Therefore, matching those with similar life-stage stressors and encouraging the use of different coping mechanisms should be considered by organizations interested in assisting their employees with stress.

Organizational Programs

There is a growing body of evidence showing that organizational programs can enhance organizational members' life quality, for example, by reducing stress related to work and nonwork identities and role conflict in work and nonwork life (Sirgy, Reilly, Wu, & Efraty, 2008). Such programs have included alternative work arrangements, employment benefits (e.g., insurance and retirement benefits), ancillary programs (e.g., child and elderly care) (Kelly et al., 2008), and cognitive-behavior interventions (Sidle, 2008). Kelly et al. argue that such programs can be

effective because “work-family initiatives change employees’ perception of the work environment and this reduces work-family conflict” (p. 331). While attention to life-quality issues has increased, there are calls for more extensive research along a variety of “pathways” (e.g., Kelly et al.). More specifically, Kelly et al. argue the need for “broadening the conceptualization” of work-life initiatives, including a “wider range of workplace changes than the common set of formal work-family policies” (p. 322).

Employee Assistance

In response to calls to broaden the conceptualization of work-life initiatives, we present here specific strategies and stress-management practices related to internal factors that influence the stress response. These suggestions include (a) training employees on boundary and coping strategies, (b) promoting short- and long-term recovery activities, and (c) incorporating life quality into socialization and mentoring programs and encouraging social support. We argue these recommendations have the potential to assist employees with internally based obstacles identified above and in turn help them reduce and manage stress.

Boundary and Coping Strategies

A range of boundary, tension-management, and coping strategies have been identified in relevant research (Daniels, Beesley, Cheyne, & Wimalasiri, 2008; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2009; McCleese, Eby, Scharlau, & Hoffman, 2007; Mickel & Dallimore, 2009) with specific implications for managing stress related to work-life conflict and/or quality-of-life decision making. This research pinpoints knowledge and/or behavioral areas where training could function to assist employees in better managing stress; training employees on these strategies—as successfully utilized by others when negotiating work-life conflict—would be one way to broaden the conceptualization of work-life initiatives as advocated above.

Research has promoted training efforts as a potential strategy for managing a range of workplace stressors. For example, Daniels et al. (2008) who, when advocating for improved job control, also insist that these “should be augmented by training to improve job knowledge and problem solving skills and knowledge-management initiatives” (p. 869). Additionally, McCleese et al. (2007) identify plateau-specific coping strategies and suggest that providing development opportunities for employees (e.g., additional training and educational assistance) may help with plateauing (i.e., the point in one’s career when future promotions are unlikely). Further, they argue organizational efforts such as “stress management training and employee assistance programs” may also help employees cope with the psychological aspects of plateauing (p. 297). Similarly, we contend that training employees on specific strategies identified in relevant research would be beneficial.

We first highlight some implications of this research specifically for increasing self-efficacy, improving mood, and/or shifting one’s perspective² (i.e., making a concerted effort to view life events through a more positive lens). Kreiner et al. (2009) describe four boundary tactics that have

²Shifting one’s perspective to be more positive is also supported by “positive thinking” proponents who see value in embracing optimism or those who promote cognitive framing as a means of using the power of thoughts to shape reactions. Resources promoting this perspective can be found in a variety of outlets ranging from popular press (e.g., Peale, 1952) to academic-based sources (Stanford, 2007).

been identified as helpful for individuals in creating “their ideal level and style of work-home segmentation or integration” (p. 704). Specifically, their focus on behavioral tactics (e.g., using other people or technology to facilitate boundary work) and communicative tactics (e.g., setting expectations and/or confronting violators) have implications for self-efficacy. If employees can be trained to more effectively utilize mentors and technology in establishing and maintaining boundaries, then self-efficacy may be enhanced in at least two ways. First, it gives employees more experience and confidence in creating boundaries to more effectively manage their work and home life. Second, in doing so, it allows employees to more effectively do their jobs by reducing stressors related to work-life conflict and giving them confidence in their ability to continue to do so in the future. It also makes sense that by setting and clarifying expectations (and training employees how this might be done), employees might feel better equipped to manage stress as they work to reduce uncertainty regarding work expectations and develop greater confidence to meet these expectations. Further, the utilization of social support networks—including socialization and mentoring programs—not only can serve to clarify employee expectations, but have implications for improving mood as experienced workers provide support regarding advice for successfully addressing both professional (e.g., occupationally and organizationally based expectations) and personal concerns.

Further, Mickel and Dallimore’s (2009) strategies specifically related to adopting a guiding philosophy (e.g., family or God first) and/or an ongoing practice (e.g., church attendance or exercise)—and McCleese et al.’s (2007) focus on the value of engaging in nonwork activities (e.g., exercise, leisure activities, etc.)—can be helpful for a variety of reasons including building employee confidence by potentially enhancing employees’ mental, physical, spiritual, and/or emotional health and well-being. It makes sense that individuals who have a clear sense of their priorities—and the relationship of those priorities to their work—will be better able to manage stress including the ability to make trade-offs when necessary to manage work-life conflict.

In terms of other strategies for improving mood, of relevance are Kreiner et al.’s (2009) findings regarding temporal tactics (e.g., controlling work time and finding respite), physical tactics (e.g., adapting physical boundaries by erecting or dismantling barriers between work and home domains) as well as communicative tactics (e.g., setting expectations and/or confronting violators). By utilizing these tactics, employees may feel more in control of their time and their lives and, in doing so, feel improved mood and more empowered. Additionally, Mickel and Dallimore’s (2009) strategies related to “no perceived loss” and the adoption of either a present and/or future orientation provide frameworks for making sense of life events in ways that minimize one’s sense of loss or that something of significance is being given up without something of value being gained in return.

The value of training employees on a range of specific strategies—from boundary use to altering one’s perspective or orientation—emerges in these studies. Employee assistance in the form of training and support for nonwork activities (including activities designed to enhance mental health and recovery from fatigue and exhaustion) also emerges clearly as a strategy for coping with stress.

Employee Recovery

Need for recovery is “the sense of urgency that people feel to take a break from their demands, when fatigue builds up” (Demerouti, Taris, & Bakker, 2007, p. 205); further, the need for recovery is seen as an early stage of long-term strain including psychological distress. Efforts to promote both short-term (e.g., social activities and exercise time) and more long-term (e.g., vacations) recovery efforts could help with stress by addressing fatigue and exhaustion as well as psychological concerns including mood issues.

We have highlighted studies calling for a range of recovery activities. Demerouti et al. (2007) examine how the need for recovery and strain-based home-to-work interference (HWI) affect cognition and in-role performance at work. They find that high levels of HWI and high need for recovery predicted low levels of concentration (which is then longitudinally associated with low self-reported in-role performance); these findings support other research showing that high levels of fatigue and stress impair cognitive functioning. In discussing the practical implications of their findings, it is suggested that among other recommendations, “organizations ... should facilitate recovery and participation of employees in family life ... and should enhance the means and policies that they provide to facilitate family life” (p. 216).

Promoting recovery and psychological-detachment practices, Sonnentag, Kuttler, and Fritz (2010) find that stressful job situations not only lead to emotional exhaustion but also to low levels of detachment from work during nonwork time. They contend that these low levels of detachment then lead to a “mental connection” that translates stressors into poor well-being. While they recognize that staying connected to one’s job is not always negative, Sonnentag et al. purport that the “negative aspects of not detaching outweigh the positive ones when it comes to strain symptoms” (2010, p. 363). Therefore, they advocate strategies to assist with detachment including nonwork activities like hobbies that require one’s full attention, talking with a spouse about work when first coming home then moving onto other topics for the rest of the evening, and other “rituals” designed to help employees detach.

Advocating for more active forms of leisure, Joudrey and Wallace (2009) find that leisure—previously viewed as a “positive diversion” or “time out” from stressful situations and “a context for rejuvenation and renewal” (p. 197)—can be an effective anti-stress measure contributing to employee health and wellness and, in the long term, productivity. Further, vacations were found to be a means of alleviating psychological distress including depression.

Adding to earlier findings demonstrating the positive effects of external recovery such as weekends or vacation, Sanz-Vergel, Demerouti, Moreno-Jimenez, and Mayo’s (2010) research specifically supports the positive effects of “daily internal recovery.” Their work further adds to research on mood and concludes that the expression of positive emotions both at work and home seems to be a powerful strategy to reduce WFC (work–family conflict) and enhance WFF (work–family facilitation).

In sum, organizational efforts to help enhance recovery can extend beyond “diminishing” demands at work (Demerouti et al., 2007). For example, US companies identified by Fortune Magazine as the “100 Best Companies to Work For” engage in such efforts such as fully paid sabbaticals (a benefit offered by 19% of these companies), on-site health clubs (offered by 69%), or subsidized gym memberships (offered by 72%), foregrounding exercise as a means of daily recovery (Fortune, 2010). This research also lends support for a variety of organizationally sponsored activities ranging from support groups to training in areas such as conflict management and emotional intelligence as well as relaxation strategies such as meditation groups, yoga, pilates, etc. Each of these areas has implications for both physical and emotional fatigue with extended benefits for such issues as difficulty sleeping and/or problems associated with insomnia.

Employee Socialization, Mentoring, and Social Support

Organizations can also help employees reduce stress by providing both formal mentoring and socialization programs as well as more informal opportunities for employees to learn from others, including individuals ranging from experienced senior management to those in a similar life or career stage (or those just slightly beyond). Additionally, general social support including discussing problems with colleagues, friends, and family (Daniels et al., 2008; McCleese et al., 2007) is of value in managing stress.

In terms of actual socialization programs, research (Dallimore, 1998) has found that effective socialization efforts are both formal and informal in nature and address not only professional issues (e.g., requirements for successful performance review) but a range of personal, nonwork related issues (e.g., child care) as well. Further, practical strategies include systematically providing relevant advice to new employees. For example, Dallimore (2003) finds that newly socialized employees (i.e., those having recently moved past initial assimilation) could identify both memorable messages (i.e., important/valuable information received) as well as absences (i.e., information they wish they had known). This information could be helpful to newcomers with stress reduction associated with uncertainty and/or the adjustment to new organizational and role-based demands, especially as it includes information that is often taken for granted by more established employees and/or management.

Effective mentoring programs, like socialization programs, typically utilize both formal and informal components and recognize the value of efforts which utilize mentoring pairs or teams comprised of varied organizational representatives including (a) both senior and more peer-equivalent mentors, (b) mentors possessing a varied range of “desirable” organizational skills or competencies, and/or (c) a mentor within an employee’s work group/team as well as an outside mentor drawn from elsewhere in the organization (e.g., someone to whom the employee does not directly work or report and is not responsible for evaluating that employee’s performance). Further, research has sought to explore the impact of same-sex vs. mixed-sex mentoring relationships (Hoigaard & Mathisen, 2009); however, even with mixed results, evidence suggests effective training, communication skills, and trust are important for successful mentoring. Assuming these elements are present, mentoring programs that promote the discussion of stress in the mentor–mentee relationship could be useful in stress prevention and management.

For both socialization and mentoring efforts that include stress management, pairing newcomers and less experienced employees with more senior organizational members should be considered. The value of more senior employees relative to stress management can be seen in research findings (Shirom et al., 2008) which suggest that as “age increases people tend to obtain higher coping resources that benefit them in performing stressful work demands” (p. 1387) and that coping mechanisms associated with both age and tenure “may complement each other to help these individuals develop better coping skills than younger less experienced counterparts” (p. 1389). In addition, pairing those who have experienced similar personal–professional demands may prove beneficial.

In addition to socialization and mentoring efforts, encouraging employees to seek general social support should be helpful to them in stress management. This is supported by research such as Martins, Eddleston, and Veiga’s (2002) study that finds the level of socioemotional support, as reported by participants, significantly moderates the relationship between work-life conflict and career and life satisfaction; in other words, those with stronger social support when dealing with work-life conflict have higher career and life satisfaction. It has been found that “the importance of family social support for work seems to be amplified for those individuals who have the most family related demands” (Matthews et al., 2010, p. 87). Daniels et al.’s (2008) study provides additional support for the importance of social support networks. In their examination of problem-focused (i.e., targeting solving problems) and emotion-focused (i.e., targeting emotional distress regulation, reflecting emotional support) coping, Daniels et al. utilize the demands-control-support model (DCSM) which indicates that control and social support “facilitate effective coping with work demands” (p. 845). Their findings (e.g., job characteristics such as autonomy can be implemented for the purpose of emotional support) have practical implications. For example, “emotional-approach coping,” involving the active expression of emotions in the context of supportive relationships, is deemed to produce emotional benefits including the understanding of emotional difficulties. Further, they conclude that both problem-focused and emotional-approach coping can be enacted by eliciting support from others.

While research regularly documents the importance of social support (Joudrey & Wallace, 2009; Sanz-Vergel et al., 2010) often specifically focusing on family support, social support from those within the organization has also been found to be helpful. For example, in his study looking at both work–family benefit availability (i.e., formal support) and managerial support (i.e., informal support), Behson (2005) finds social support from managers to explain more variance in employee outcomes such as job satisfaction, work-to-family conflict, and stress than more formal work–family policies. Similarly, Matthews et al. (2010) find supportive supervision as a resource that reduces the perception of role stressors.

These findings collectively provide additional support for organizational mentoring and socialization efforts. They also extend to more general social support efforts including employee training and development practices.

Concluding Thoughts and Recommendations

We contend that organizations can help employees improve life satisfaction and reduce stress by embracing practical strategies that emerge from the research summarized above. For example, the potential role of support systems (including both formal and informal mentoring and socialization efforts) and even support groups at work that specifically focus on positive social support will be helpful in encouraging recovery (Sanz-Vergel et al., 2010). Organizations can sponsor, or at least subsidize, training relevant to the boundary tactics and coping strategies described above.

Further, there is well-documented evidence that leisure activities can serve as coping strategies and as means of reducing stress (Joudrey & Wallace, 2009; McCleese et al., 2007) especially when such activities represent some form of daily practice (Mickel & Dallimore, 2009). Therefore, we contend that organizations should at the very least promote such activities through practices ranging from subsidized gym memberships to on-site gym facilities. Some research (McCleese et al.) further recognizes (a) the value of nonwork activities (including exercise, leisure activities, stress management, mentoring) and (b) the benefits of discussing problems, mental coping strategies (e.g., positive thinking, waiting, controlling emotions) (McCleese et al.), and psychological detachment (Sonntag et al., 2010). This research lends support for integrating company-sponsored programs or classes that teach meditation and other relaxation techniques (e.g., focused meditation, yoga, pilates) as well as training in areas such as conflict management and managing emotions in the workplace (e.g., emotional intelligence awareness and training). Based on the research findings reported earlier, such organizational efforts could provide viable, practical assistance to employees in managing stress.

In addition, while not explicitly identified as a work-related stressor, we encourage individuals to embrace a more balanced life. As Sirgy and Wu (2009) argue:

people who have balance in their lives (life satisfaction stemming from multiple life domains) are likely to experience higher levels of subjective well-being than those who have imbalance (life satisfaction stemming from a single life domain). (p. 194)

We also advocate examining some of the best practices used by organizations that encourage balanced living such as supporting volunteer efforts by employees. For example, Patagonia clothing company has created the Patagonia Employee Internship Program where employees can leave their jobs to work for the environmental group of their choice. Patagonia continues to pay their salaries and benefits while they are gone, and environmental groups worldwide get them for free (Environmental internships, n.d.). Similarly, Whole Foods Market has a Team Member Volunteer Program where employees can volunteer to help local and global communities, primarily focused on health- and hunger-related issues as well as poverty issues in developing-world communities that supply Whole Foods stores with products (Community giving, n.d.).

In sum, we contend practices described above will help employees “get their feet back on the ground” by focusing on internally based factors (i.e., self-efficacy, mood, and fatigue/exhaustion) that can influence stress coping; these efforts will, in turn, help employees with stress management, reduction, and prevention. In addition, this chapter addresses the call for “broadening the conceptualization” of work-life initiatives by identifying a range of strategies besides “the common set of formal work-family policies” (Kelly et al., 2008, p. 322).

On a final note, we encourage employers and employees to be aware and have concern about stress-related issues in their workplace; not only can stress create negative organizational and individual outcomes, but assisting those experiencing stress (including yourself) can also be considered a moral responsibility. Like others interested in work-life initiatives (Kossek et al., 2010), we argue that integrating cultural climate and structural support (e.g., specific practices) will be the most effective way to address stress-related issues in work settings. Therefore, we hope that both the strategies discussed above, along with creating a culture supportive of stress reduction (i.e., a culture in which making the decision to try and more effectively manage stress does not create an ethical dilemma), are considered by organizations and their members. As the number of those experiencing stress and stress levels increase, so does the need to address stress in the workplace. Addressing such issues is the “right” and ethical thing to do for so many reasons.

References

- Aumann, K., & Galinsky, E. (2008). *The state of health in the American workforce: Does having an effective workplace matter?* New York: Families and Work Institute.
- Bakker, A. B., Schaufeli, W. B., Sixma, H. J., Bosveld, W., & Van Dierendonck, D. (2000). Patient demands, lack of reciprocity, and burnout: A five-year longitudinal study among general practitioners. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 21*, 425–441.
- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: W.H. Freeman.
- Barnes, C. M., & Van Dyne, L. (2009). ‘I’m tired’: Differential effects of physical and emotional fatigue on workload management strategies. *Human Relations, 62*(1), 59–92.
- Behson, S. J. (2005). The relative contribution of formal and informal organizational work-family support. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 66*, 487–500.
- Bolge, S. C., Doan, J. F., Kannan, H., & Baran, R. W. (2009). Association of insomnia with quality of life, work productivity, and activity impairment. *Quality of Life Research, 18*, 415–422.
- Brown, M., Treviño, L. K., & Harrison, D. (2005). Ethical leadership: A social learning perspective for construct development and testing. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 97*, 117–134.
- Cavanaugh, M. A., Boswell, W. R., Roehling, M. V., & Boudreau, J. W. (2000). An empirical examination of self-reported work stress among US managers. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 85*, 65–74.
- Community giving. (n.d.). *On whole foods market website*. Retrieved from <http://www.wholefoodsmarket.com/company/giving.php>
- Cullen, J. B., Victor, B., & Bronson, J. W. (1993). The ethical climate questionnaire: An assessment of its development and validity. *Psychological Reports, 73*, 667–674.
- Dallimore, E. J. (1998). *The role of memorable messages in the socialization of new university faculty: The impact of gender and disciplinary affiliation on organizational and occupational assimilation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle, WA.
- Dallimore, E. J. (2003, Fall). Memorable messages as discursive formations: The gendered socialization of new university faculty. *Women’s Studies in Communication, 26*(2), 214–265.
- Dallimore, E. J., & Mickel, A. E. (2006). Quality of life: Obstacles, advice, and employer assistance. *Human Relations, 59*, 61–103.
- Daniels, K., Beesley, N., Cheyne, A., & Wimalasiri, V. (2008). Coping processes linking the demands control-support model, affect and risky decisions at work. *Human Relations, 61*(6), 845–874.
- Daniels, K., Hartley, R., & Travers, C. J. (2006). Beliefs about stressors alter stressors’ impact: Evidence from two experience sampling studies. *Human Relations, 59*(9), 1261–1285.
- Darr, W., & Johns, G. (2008). Work strain, health, and absenteeism: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 13*(4), 293–318.

- Demerouti, E., Taris, T. W., & Bakker, A. B. (2007). Need for recovery, home–work interference and performance: Is lack of concentration the link? *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *71*, 204–220.
- Dierdorff, E. C., & Ellington, J. K. (2008). It's the nature of the work: Examining behavior-based sources of work-family conflict across occupations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(4), 883–892.
- Environmental internships. (n.d.). *On Patagonia's website*. Retrieved from <http://www.patagonia.com/web/us/patagonia.go?assetid=1963>
- Estrada, C. A., Isen, A. M., & Young, M. J. (1997). Positive affect facilitates integration of information and decreases anchoring in reasoning among physicians. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *72*(1), 117–135.
- Fisher, A. (2009, January 7). Ask Annie: Keep your job: A 10-point survival guide. *Fortune Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://money.cnn.com/2009/01/06/news/economy/10.tips.fortune/index.htm>
- Folkman, S., & Lazarus, R. (1980). An analysis of coping in middle-aged community sample. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *21*, 219–239.
- Folkman, S., & Moskowitz, J. T. (2000). Positive affect and the other side of coping. *American Psychologist*, *55*(6), 647–654.
- Fortune Magazine*. (2010, February 8). 100 best companies to work for: Best benefits. Available from CNNMoney.com Website, <http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/bestcompanies/2010/perkfinder/>
- Gates, L. (2009, January 21). Are you ditching work-life balance because you're afraid of losing your job? *Productivity*. Retrieved from <http://www.lifehack.org/articles/productivity/are-you-ditching-work-life-balance-because-youre-afraid-of-losing-your-job.html>
- Gilboa, S., Shirom, A., Fried, Y., & Cooper, C. (2008). A meta-analysis of work demand stressors and job performance: Examining main and moderating effects. *Personnel Psychology*, *61*, 227–271.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of Management Review*, *10*, 76–88.
- Hadjiouannou, X. (2007). Bringing the background to the foreground: What do classroom environments that support authentic discussions look like? *American Educational Research Journal*, *44*, 370–399.
- Hetty van Emmerik, I. J., & Jawahar, I. M. (2006). The independent relationships of objective and subjective workload with couples' mood. *Human Relations*, *59*, 1371–1392.
- Hoigaard, R., & Mathisen, P. (2009). Benefits of formal mentoring for female leaders. *International Journal of Evidence Based Coaching and Mentoring*, *7*(2), 64–70.
- Hursh, S. R., Redmond, D. P., Johnson, M. L., Thorne, D. R., Belenky, G., Balkin, T. J., et al. (2004). Fatigue models for applied research in war fighting. *Aviation, Space, and Environmental Medicine*, *75*, A44–A53.
- Isen, A. M., & Daubman, K. A. (1984). The influence of affect on categorization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *47*, 1206–1217.
- Isen, A. M., Johnson, M., Mertz, E., & Robinson, G. (1985). Positive affect and the uniqueness of word association. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *48*, 1413–1426.
- Isen, A. M., & Means, B. (1983). The influence of positive affect on decision-making strategy. *Social Cognition*, *2*(1), 18–31.
- Isen, A. M., Means, B., Patrick, R., & Nowicki, G. (1982). Some factors influencing decision-making strategy and risk taking. In M. S. Clark & S. J. Fiska (Eds.), *Affect and cognition* (pp. 213–261). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Joudrey, A. D., & Wallace, J. E. (2009). Leisure as a coping resource: A test of the job demand-control-support model. *Human Relations*, *62*(2), 195–217.
- Kelly, E. L., Kossek, E. E., Hammer, L. B., Durham, M., Bray, J., Chermack, K., et al. (2008). Chapter 7: Getting there from here: Research on the effects of work-family initiatives on work-family conflict and business outcomes. *The Academy of Management Annals*, *2*, 305–349.
- Kohlberg, L. (1969). Stage and sequence. The cognitive developmental approach to socialization. In D. A. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory* (pp. 347–480). Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Kohlrieser, G. (2006). The power of authentic dialogue. *Leader to Leader*, *42*, 36–40.
- Kossek, E. E., Lewis, S., & Hammer, L. B. (2010). Work—life initiatives and organizational change: Overcoming mixed messages to move from the margin to the mainstream. *Human Relations*, *63*, 3–19.
- Kreiner, G. E., Hollensbe, E., & Sheep, M. L. (2009). Do I build a bridge or secure the border? Negotiating the work-home interface via boundary work tactics. *Academy of Management Journal*, *52*(4), 704–730.
- Leiter, M. P., & Maslach, C. (1988). The impact of interpersonal environment on burnout and organizational commitment. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *9*, 297–308.
- Martins, L. L., Eddleston, K. A., & Veiga, J. F. (2002). Moderators of the relationship between work-family conflict and career satisfaction. *Academy of Management Journal*, *45*(2), 399–409.
- Matthews, R. A., Bulger, C. A., & Barnes-Farrell, J. L. (2010). Work social supports, role stressors, and work–family conflict: The moderating effect of age. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *76*(1), 78–90.

- McCleese, C. S., Eby, L. T., Scharlau, E. A., & Hoffman, B. H. (2007). Hierarchical, job content, and double plateaus: A mixed-method study of stress, depression and coping responses. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 71*, 282–299.
- Mickel, A. E., & Dallimore, E. J. (2009). Life-quality decisions: Tension-management strategies used by individuals when making tradeoffs. *Human Relations, 62*, 627–668.
- O'Driscoll, M. P., & Dewe, P. J. (2001). Mediators and moderators of stressor-strain linkages. In P. L. Perrewe & D. C. Ganster (Eds.), *Research in occupational stress and well-being: Vol. 1. Exploring theoretical mechanisms and perspectives* (pp. 257–287). New York: Elsevier Science.
- Peale, N. V. (1952). *The power of positive thinking*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Pounds, M. H. (2010, January 27). Talking to your boss about easing your workload: Overworked employees may be afraid to complain. *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*. Retrieved from <http://www.sun-sentinel.com/business/fl-marcia-overworked-20100127,0,3119496,print.column>
- Quinones, M. A., Ford, J. K., & Teachout, M. S. (1995). The relationship between work experience and job performance: A conceptual and meta-analytic review. *Personnel Psychology, 48*(4), 887–910.
- Rest, J. R. (1986). *Moral development: Advances in research and theory*. New York: Praeger.
- Rest, J. R., Narvaez, D., Bebeau, M. J., & Thoma, S. J. (1999). *Postconventional moral thinking: A neo-Kohlbergian approach*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Sanz-Vergel, A. I., Demerouti, E., Moreno-Jiménez, B., & Mayo, M. (2010). Work-family balance and energy: A day-level study on recovery conditions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 76*(1), 118–130.
- Saper, C. B., Scammell, T. E., & Lu, J. (2005). Hypothalamic regulation of sleep and circadian rhythms. *Nature, 437*(7063), 1257–1263.
- Schminke, M., Ambrose, M. L., & Neubaum, D. O. (2005). The effect of leader moral development on ethical climate and employee attitudes. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 97*, 135–151.
- Shirom, A., Gilboa, S., Fried, Y., & Cooper, C. (2008). Gender, age and tenure as moderators of work-related stressors' relationships with job performance: A meta-analysis. *Human Relations, 61*, 1371–1398.
- Sidle, S. D. (2008). Workplace stress management interventions: What works best? *Academy of Management Perspectives, 22*, 111–112.
- Sirgy, M. J., Reilly, N. P., Wu, J., & Efraty, D. (2008). A work-life identity model of well-being: Towards a research agenda linking quality-of-work-life (QWL) programs with quality of life (QOL). *Applied Research Quality Life, 3*, 181–202.
- Sirgy, M. J., & Wu, J. (2009). The pleasant life, the engaged life, and the meaningful life: What about the balanced life? *Journal of Happiness Studies, 10*, 183–196.
- Sonnentag, S., Kuttler, I., & Fritz, C. (2010). Job stressors, emotional exhaustion, and need for recovery: A multi-source study on the benefits of psychological detachment. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 76*(3), 355–365.
- Stajkovic, A. D., & Luthans, F. (1998). Self-efficacy and work-related performance: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 124*, 240–261.
- Stanford Health Promotion Resource Center. (2007). *Cognitive reframing* [Electronic version]. Retrieved August 2, 2007, from the World Wide Web http://hprc.stanford.edu/pages/classes/006_stress/step02/05Reframing.asp
- Thornton, W. J. L., & Dumke, H. A. (2005). Age differences in everyday problem-solving and decision-making effectiveness: A meta-analytic review. *Psychology and Aging, 20*(1), 85–99.
- Treviño, L. K., Hartman, L. P., & Brown, M. (2000). Moral person and moral manager: How executives develop a reputation for ethical leadership. *California Management Review, 42*(4), 128–142.
- Treviño, L. K., Weaver, G. R., & Reynolds, S. J. (2006). Behavioral ethics in organizations: A review. *Journal of Management, 32*, 951–990.
- Weber, J. (1995). Influences upon organizational ethical sub climates: A multi-departmental analysis of a single firm. *Organization Science, 6*, 509–523.
- Webster, J. R., Beehr, T. A., & Christiansen, N. D. (2010). Toward a better understanding of the effects of hindrance and challenge stressors on work behavior. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 76*(1), 68–77.
- Wright, T. A., & Cropanzano, R. (1998). Emotional exhaustion as a predictor of job performance and voluntary turnover. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 83*, 486–493.
- Zey-Ferrell, M., & Ferrell, O. C. (1982). Role-set configuration and opportunity as predictors of unethical behavior in organizations. *Human Relations, 35*(7), 587–604.

Part III
Ethics at Work I: Individual
Sources of Dilemmas

Chapter 5

Mentoring in Organizations: Mentor or Tormentor?

Carrie S. Hurst and Lillian T. Eby

Mentoring is defined as a developmentally oriented relationship between a senior, more experienced individual (mentor), and a relatively junior, less experienced individual (protégé) (Kram, 1985). Mentoring relationships have been studied across multiple settings (e.g., Phillips-Jones, 1983) and stages of development (see Eby, 2010). The importance of mentoring relationships in organizational settings is well documented, particularly in terms of its benefits for the protégé (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004; Eby, Allen, Evans, Ng, & DuBois, 2008), but also highlighting various potential benefits for mentors (Allen, 2007). Notwithstanding the positive aspects of mentoring, recent research by Eby and colleagues (Eby, Durley, Evans, & Ragins, 2008; Eby & McManus, 2004; Eby, McManus, Simon, & Russell, 2000) finds that mentoring relationships can sometimes involve negative relational experiences for both the protégé and mentor. These negative mentoring experiences run the gamut from benign interpersonal mismatches to serious abuses of power. Perhaps most importantly, negative mentoring experiences can have deleterious effects on both protégés and mentors.

The existence of relational problems in mentoring raises questions regarding the ethical implications of being involved in mentoring relationships. Therefore, one objective of this chapter is to identify the major ethical issues associated with mentoring relationships from the perspective of the protégé and mentor. With these ethical issues in mind, a second objective is to review the literature on both the positive and negative outcomes associated with mentoring. Specifically, this chapter will review a number of qualities of work life outcomes associated with mentoring for both protégés and mentors. Lastly, like all close relationships, mentoring may have important consequences for employee health and well-being (e.g., Nielson, Carlson, & Lankau, 2001; Seibert, 1999). Because these outcomes have received little attention in the mentoring literature, we discuss several specific avenues for future research related to mentoring and well-being, tying in the ethical issues and quality of work life topics discussed throughout the chapter.

C.S. Hurst, Ph.D. (✉)

Department of Business Administration, Tennessee State University, Nashville, TN 22551, USA
e-mail: churst@tnstate.edu

L.T. Eby, Ph.D.

Department of Psychology, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602, USA

Mentoring in Organizations

There are a number of reasons why organizations may benefit from encouraging and supporting mentoring relationships. Mentoring can be used for employee socialization, management development, succession planning, and diversity enhancement (Chao, 2007; Eddy, Tannenbaum, Alliger, D'Abate, & Givens, 2001). Likewise, mentoring may serve as a tool for career advancement or on-the-job training (Cummings & Worley, 1997). Therefore, mentoring may also be useful as an organizational retention strategy, as employees may be more likely to remain in organizations that offer developmental opportunities such as those provided through mentoring programs (Allen & O'Brien, 2006).

Mentoring relationships are typically characterized as being either formal or informal. Formal mentoring programs are designed by the organization as a structured relationship, typically involving some type of contract outlining the expectations of mentor and protégé and the purposeful matching of mentors and protégés (Allen, Day, & Lentz, 2001; Eby, Rhodes, & Allen, 2007; Ragins & Cotton, 1999). Informal mentoring may also be encouraged by the organization, but this is an unstructured, spontaneously developed, and unplanned relationship where protégés seek out mentors for career-related advice or support (Ragins & Cotton, 1999).

Due to the reported success of informal mentoring relationships, many organizations have implemented formal mentoring programs. These developmental programs also gained popularity as a way to reduce career inequities among women and racial minorities (Chandler & Kram, 2007). Mentoring is a common practice in organizations today, with approximately 71% of Fortune 500 companies reporting the use of formal mentoring programs (Bridgeford, 2007). The frequency and use of informal mentoring relationships in organizations is more difficult to document, but the mentoring literature suggests that between 45% and 76% of white-collar employees have had a mentor at work (Chao, 1997; Scandura & Ragins, 1993).

Regardless of whether they are informal or formal in nature, mentoring relationships develop over time. Research on informal mentoring finds that it typically progresses through a period of phases, each marked by a specific developmental focus (Kram, 1985). In the initiation phase, mentors and protégés become acquainted with one another and share expectations for the relationship. The majority of mentor support is believed to occur during the second phase of the relationship, cultivation. Next, during the separation phase, protégés become more autonomous and require less guidance from the mentor. If mentor and protégé remain in contact after separation and are able to reach the redefinition phase, they may view one another as peers. One major difference between informal and formal mentoring is relationship duration. Informal mentoring relationships are typically longer in duration, lasting around 5–7 years (Kram, 1983, 1985). In contrast, formal mentoring relationships are often around 1 year in duration (Ragins & Cotton, 1999). Regardless of the difference in relationship length and limited empirical research verifying the phases of mentoring relationships (particularly with respect to informal mentoring), like all close relationships, both formal and informal mentoring relationships are likely to change and develop over time.

The mentoring literature highlights several important purposes or functions that mentoring relationships serve for protégés. The two primary functions are career-related support and psychosocial support (Kram, 1985). Career-related support is aimed at advancing the protégé's understanding of the organization and assisting with the protégé's career advancement. It may involve the mentor's provision of sponsorship, exposure/visibility, coaching, challenging assignments, and protection. Psychosocial support is aimed at developing the protégé's self-efficacy, self-worth, and professional identity. This type of support involves offering acceptance and confirmation, counseling, friendship, and serving as a role model for the protégé.

While the mentoring functions described above are characterized by positive interactions for both the mentor and protégé, like other types of close relationships such as friendships, marriages,

and parent–child relationships, mentoring is susceptible to relational problems (Eby, 2007). Research has identified a number of relational problems or negative mentoring experiences reported by mentors and protégés alike. For protégés, these experiences include mismatches with the mentor in terms of values, work style or personality, mentor neglect, mentor manipulative behavior (e.g., inappropriate use of power), lack of mentor expertise (e.g., technical skills), and general dysfunctionality on the part of the mentor (e.g., personal problems that interfere with the mentoring relationship) (Eby et al., 2000). Mentors also report various relational problems with protégés (Eby & McManus, 2004). These negative experiences comprise three broad categories (Eby, Allen, et al., 2008; Eby, Durley, et al., 2008). The first category of protégé performance problems describe failures on the protégé’s part to meet mentor expectations, protégé unwillingness to learn or accept feedback as well as self-destructive behaviors that interfere with the protégé’s job performance. The second category of interpersonal problems refers to difficulties relating to the protégé, including those resulting from protégé disloyalty, ingratiation, submissiveness, and overreliance on the mentor. Finally, mentors can report destructive relational patterns with protégés, which include experiences such as protégé jealousy, competitiveness, and self-serving behavior, as well as protégé behaviors that exploit, betray, or sabotage the mentor. Interestingly, negative mentoring experiences are fairly common, with over half of protégés in one study reporting some type of negative experience (Eby et al., 2000). Likewise, 70% of mentors reported having at least one negative experience with a protégé (Eby & McManus).

It is clear that despite the many potential benefits of mentoring, sometimes, these relationships may be marked by relational problems by mentor, or protégé, or both. Some of these negative mentoring experiences have obvious ethical implications, whereas others may have more subtle implications. We next turn to a discussion of the ethical issues related to mentoring, where we describe how one’s involvement in a mentoring relationship can be fraught with ethical quagmires.

Ethical Issues Related to Mentoring

In this section, we discuss a number of potential ethical issues associated with mentoring. This discussion is framed around five general ethical principles, borrowing from the American Psychological Association’s (2002) Ethical Principles and code of conduct (1) beneficence and nonmaleficence, (2) fidelity and responsibility, (3) integrity, (4) justice, and (5) respect for people’s rights and dignity.

We realize that although a mentor-protégé relationship is distinct from a therapist-client relationship, they share some similarities (McAuley, 2003; Moberg & Velasquez, 2004). Both involve a relationship between a more knowledgeable expert and a novice individual who is seeking guidance and support. There are also sizable power differences between relational partners in both types of relationships, providing considerable opportunity for the individual with greater power to wield influence; this may be done to the benefit or detriment of the individual with lesser power. Because of the imbalance of power in mentor-protégé relationships and the fact that mentoring is focused on providing assistance to the protégé, our discussion of ethical issues focuses on mentor behaviors in the relationship.

Beneficence and Nonmaleficence

Individuals in positions of power and authority over others should strive to provide support and guidance which benefits others. In a mentoring relationship, this means the mentor is expected to

provide guidance, challenge, sponsorship, counsel, and protection to the protégé (Kram, 1985). Ethical issues arise when mentors are not willing to invest high-quality time and energy into the relationship. In fact, in many mentoring relationships, protégés report unmet relationship expectations (Eby & Lockwood, 2005; Young & Perrewe, 2000) or even mentor neglect (Eby & Lockwood, 2005; Eby et al., 2000). Not surprisingly, unmet expectations are more likely to occur when the protégé reports receiving less mentoring support (Young & Perrewe). Moreover, if either the protégé or the mentor reports that the mentor's commitment to the relationship is low, then protégé perceptions of relationship quality suffer (Allen & Eby, 2008). The ethical principle of beneficence also means that a mentor should be aware of the limits of his or her competence. Without such self-awareness, protégés may end up feeling as though their mentor lacks the necessary expertise to help them develop personally and professionally (Eby et al., 2000). Further, this principle implies that mentors who *are* aware they lack the requisite skills and competence to meaningfully contribute to their protégés' development are ethically obligated to refrain from serving as a mentor.

There is also the expectation that mentors do no harm to protégés. Mentors must be keenly aware that their judgments and actions have potentially far-reaching effects on protégés. For example, a mentor can have considerable influence on the quality of a protégé's daily experience at work, career progress, and even a protégé's psychological well-being. The growing body of research on protégés' reports of negative mentoring experiences highlights that in some mentoring relationships, harmful acts occur. This includes mentor behaviors that lead to protégé career sabotage, verbal abuse toward protégés, and management by intimidation (Eby et al., 2000).

Fidelity and Responsibility

Another important ethical issue in mentoring involves establishing a trusting relationship with the protégé. Prior to entering into a mentoring relationship, mentors should be aware of the professional responsibilities associated with that role. They should also be cognizant of the importance of establishing a close, trusting relationship with the protégé in order to maximize the benefits of mentoring for the protégé (Kram, 1985). Mentors themselves recognize the importance of mentor attributes such as trustworthiness, patience, and willingness to self-disclose in building effective mentoring relationships (Allen & Poteet, 1999). In the absence of such qualities, it may be difficult to forge a close, trusting relationship with a protégé.

It is also incumbent on the mentor to uphold professional standards of conduct and serve as a role model of professional behavior. This is critical because a protégé learns professionalism in part by observing the mentor's own behavior (Hamilton & Brabbit, 2007). In some cases, mentors may have a formal contract with the protégé (e.g., Allen et al., 2001) that may serve as a guide for the types of behaviors he or she is responsible for demonstrating throughout the relationship. This would imply an ethical obligation to ensure the protégé is exposed to certain areas of professional behavior. The mentor should also avoid modeling unprofessional behavior. For example, ethical issues can arise if the protégé witnesses the mentor acting in derogatory manner toward others in the organization, circumventing organizational policies and procedures, or demonstrating a cynical or negative attitude toward the organization (Eby et al., 2000).

Integrity

The ethical principle of integrity refers to promoting truthfulness and not engaging in subterfuge or intentional misrepresentation. Given the political nature of organizations, this may pose challenges

for mentors who are willing to betray a protégé in order to protect their own political image. That is, the principle of integrity raises concerns related to mentors keeping their promises to protégés in order to establish trust. This may be particularly important early on during the initiation and cultivation stages of the relationship (Kram, 1985). An example of an ethical dilemma that would undermine this goal is a mentor who fails to support his or her protégé in a politically charged meeting after previously promising to do so. More serious grievances can arise when the mentor acts in a manner which breaches the protégé's trust. This may involve acting deceptively toward the protégé or taking inappropriate credit for a protégé's hard work (Eby et al., 2000).

Justice

Assuring fairness in access to mentoring relationships and the benefits that accrue from the relationship also poses ethical challenges. Although women and racial minorities are as likely to be mentored as men and nonracial minorities (for a review, see Eby, 2010), both groups report greater difficulty obtaining access to mentors than do men and Whites, respectively (Catalyst, 2001; Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Ragins, 1989; Ragins & Cotton, 1991). This is partly because women and racial minorities are more likely to be in mentoring relationships with White males since mentors are typically individuals with power in organizations. Women may be fearful of sexual innuendos or be concerned that men cannot understand the unique challenges they face as working women and therefore have to search harder for a mentor (Ragins, 1989; Ragins & Cotton, 1991). Racial minorities may also have greater difficulty seeking mentoring from a White male due to either a concern that asking for assistance will be a sign of weakness or due to barriers associated with relating to and trusting someone of a different race (Blake, 1995; Blake-Beard, Murrell, & Thomas, 2007; Dickens & Dickens, 1982; Thomas, 1989). In terms of benefits, the amount of career-related and psychosocial support provided to women and racial minorities is comparable to men and nonracial minorities, respectively (see Eby, 2010). However, other indicators of relationship quality such as disclosure, trust, shared identity, interpersonal comfort, and relationship satisfaction may be less between individuals in diversified mentoring relationships (Ragins, 1997; Thomas, 1990). As such, fairness issues may be difficult to avoid in workplace mentoring.

Another ethical dilemma related to justice concerns how others view the mentoring relationship. Some research suggests that mentoring can be perceived as a "good ole boy" system, reserved for those individuals who are more willing to conform to the established power structure in the organization (Scandura, 1997). We also know that mentors are more attracted to protégés who are similar to themselves and demonstrate high potential (Allen, Poteet, & Burroughs, 1997). An inevitable consequence of this is that not everyone will be selected as a protégé. There is also the concern that a mentor, particularly if she or he is also the protégé's supervisor, may be engaging in preferential treatment or nepotism (Ragins & Scandura, 1999; Sias & Jablin, 1995). Consistent with this concern, Scandura found that nonprotégés do in fact report less procedural justice in the organization than do protégés.

Respect for People's Rights and Dignity

A final ethical principle of relevance to mentoring involves respecting the dignity and worth of all individuals, regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, disability, etc. This may be difficult because in asymmetrical power relationships such as mentoring, stereotypes based on race, gender, etc.,

actually promote and reinforce power differences in the relationship. In turn, asymmetrical power relationships promote stereotyping because those in power tend to ignore individual differences that are counter to prevailing stereotypes (Fiske, 1993). There is also a concern, particularly in diversified mentoring relationships, that the mentor may not demonstrate respect for the unique cultural traditions and needs of diverse protégés (Moberg & Velasquez, 2004). Mentors may be oblivious to these issues or in some situations actively work against them in an effort to assimilate protégés into mainstream corporate culture (McDonald & Hite, 2005).

There is also the expectation that an individual's right to privacy, confidentiality, and self-determination be honored by mentors. This can be a challenge since through the process of providing mentoring support a mentor may become privy to information that could be potentially damaging to the protégé if discussed with others within the organization. In fact, given the developmental nature of the relationship, protégés may share weaknesses in job performance that they would not want others in the organization to know. Moreover, sometimes a mentor may fail to realize the confidential nature of information provided by a protégé. In other situations, the mentor may engage in intentional gossip at the expense of the protégé. There may also be limitations to confidentiality when information is shared across company computer and telephone systems. Breaches of confidentiality can be awkward for the protégé at best and career damaging at worst. For example, a mentor might inadvertently forward an email to other members of the organization that contains information about a protégé's personal problem or one that contains a protégé's complaints about a supervisor. Another ethical dilemma for mentors involves guarding against behaving in ways that stymie protégé autonomy by being overly protective or paternalistic (McAuley, 2003; McDonald & Hite, 2005). This can be stifling for protégés or instill a foster a feeling of being trapped in the relationship, neither of which is conducive to developing a sense of professional independence.

Strategies to Minimize Ethical Issues in Mentoring

There are a number of strategies that can be used in organizations in an effort to avoid the ethical dilemmas outlined above. For example, one set of recommendations relates to the selection of mentors. Higher-quality relationships are reported when the mentor is committed to the relationship (Allen & Eby, 2008). Therefore, individuals selected to participate in mentoring relationships should be chosen based on their interest in and commitment to devoting time to the development of protégés. Taking steps to help ensure the commitment of mentors may help prevent ethical problems related to neglect or intentional harm toward the protégé. One way to address this is by soliciting feedback from protégés. Another option would be to formally evaluate mentor commitment. In addition, those selected to serve as mentors should have the skills necessary to meaningfully contribute to their protégés' development and have a demonstrated track record of developing others in the organization. Further, if mentors, themselves, recognize they lack the skills or ability to serve as mentors, they should have the option to leave the relationship (Scandura, 1998) without fear of retribution.

A second set of strategies that may help minimize ethical issues in mentoring relates to employee access to mentoring relationships. We offer several recommendations that may help prevent some of the ethical issues related to justice and respect for others' rights and dignity as outlined above. First, formal mentoring programs should outline clear selection criteria for selecting protégés and consider holding some slots for women and minorities. As we will describe later in the chapter, mentoring is linked to a number of career and professional advantages (e.g., Aryee & Chay, 1994; Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001), and while this could result in

backlash against the program, organizational leaders should take steps to ensure that employees have equal access to mentors. In addition, would-be mentors for both formal and informal relationships should be encouraged to not just rely on perceived similarity in selecting protégés but also develop an awareness of perceived access barriers.

We also recommend that organizations ensure that training is provided for both mentor and protégé. This may be particularly important for ethical concerns related to mentor professionalism. For example, training could address what behaviors the mentor is expected to demonstrate in the relationship. Because of the interpersonal skills needed to develop a close mentoring relationship (e.g., Allen & Poteet, 1999), training should also focus on ways to develop or demonstrate interpersonal skills such as patience and understanding of the protégé. Related to this notion, Barnett (2008) describes a number of ethically focused questions mentors should ask themselves when reflecting on the relationship, each of which might also help the mentor develop interpersonal self-awareness. Examples of these include, “Will acting in this way promote my protégé’s independence or be more likely to promote his or her dependence on me over time?” and “Am I treating my protégé similarly with how I treat others or am I treating him or her better or less well (and if so why?)” (pp. 11–12). This may help reduce ethical issues related to a lack of trust between mentor and protégé. Moreover, many of the potential ethical dilemmas described above could be addressed with training that focuses on expectation setting at the onset for the relationship. This allows both parties to understand and be mindful of what the other expects from the mentoring relationship. Along the same lines, formal mentoring programs should also have a clearly stated purpose (e.g., Eby & Lockwood, 2005). Employees should know whether the program is in place to identify or develop high potential employees, as a general strategy for ensuring continuous learning in the organization, to develop employees for a specific assignment, etc. This may also prevent program participants from developing unrealistic expectations for the relationship (e.g., Eby & Lockwood).

Lastly, managers should take steps to ensure accountability in mentoring relationships. Protégés’ perceptions of mentors being held accountable for their roles are linked to fewer reports of negative mentoring experiences in the relationship (Eby, Lockwood & Butts, 2006). This suggests that when organizational policies or sanctions are in place to prevent misconduct, mentors may be less likely to engage in some of the unethical behaviors described above. More informal monitoring of mentoring may also be helpful. For example, commonly reported complaints of mentors in formal mentoring programs are that the organizations fail to follow up on the relationships to ensure their success, solicit feedback, or require status updates (Eby & Lockwood, 2005).

Mentoring and Quality of Work Life

Mentoring is associated with a wide variety of benefits that may enhance the quality of work life for protégés and mentors alike. The mentoring literature highlights positive outcomes of mentoring for protégés (Allen et al., 2004; Eby, Allen, et al., 2008; Eby, Durley, et al., 2008). Mentors may also experience positive outcomes from mentoring others which enhance the mentor’s quality of work life (Allen, 2007). For both protégés and mentors, these positive outcomes include more favorable work attitudes, interpersonal benefits, and career benefits. However, as we will also discuss in the following section, mentoring may sometimes be linked to lower quality of work life, with some indicating quality of work life may also be hampered by negative mentoring experiences and other negative supervisory experiences (e.g., Eby, Butts, Lockwood, & Simon, 2004; Tepper, 2000).

A large body of literature has identified several positive attitudes experienced by protégés in a mentoring relationship. Protégés who have been mentored report higher job satisfaction

(e.g., Chao, 1997; Koberg, Boss, Chappell, & Ringer, 1994), greater job involvement (e.g., Aryee & Chay, 1994), and both higher job and career motivation (e.g., Aryee & Chay, 1994; Chao, 1997). Although far less researched, there is some evidence of a positive relationship between mentoring and mentor job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Eby, Durley, Evans, & Ragins, 2006). Individuals with mentoring experience also report that it is a rewarding career experience which provides a sense of fulfillment and self-satisfaction (Allen et al., 1997; Parise & Forret, 2008; Ragins, 1999).

Mentoring can also provide interpersonal benefits which enhance quality of work life. Close interpersonal relationships are an important source of social support and contribute to satisfaction with the social aspects of one's work environment (e.g., Gerstner & Day, 1997). Affiliation with others can also meet important needs for belonging and acceptance by others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Mentoring is one way that such belongingness needs may be met (Allen & Eby, 2007). Research provides indirect support for this assertion. Specifically, the receipt of more mentoring support is related to greater satisfaction with the mentoring relationship (Ensher, Thomas, & Murphy, 2001; Johnson, Holmes, Huwe, & Norlund, 2001; Lankau, Riordan, & Thomas, 2005), greater trust in one's mentor, and stronger beliefs that the mentoring relationship is effective (Young & Perrewe, 2000). Mentors may also report interpersonal benefits from mentoring others. In fact, Eby and Lockwood (2005) found that developing a personal relationship with protégés was the most commonly reported benefit by mentors participating in a formal mentoring program. This is consistent with Ragins and Scandura's (1999) finding that one of the expected benefits of mentoring was generativity, or the sense of satisfaction gained by passing on wisdom to someone under your guidance. Mentors may also report a sense of exhilaration and rejuvenation in the process of providing guidance or upon watching a protégé develop professionally (Allen et al., 1997; Kram, 1985). There is also evidence that some mentors view the experience as a benefit because it provides an opportunity to develop a loyal base of support within the organization (Eby et al., 2006; Ragins & Scandura, 1999). Finally, mentors may experience a sense of closeness and trust in the mentoring relationship (Young & Perrewe), which is likely to meet a mentor's need for belongingness (Allen & Eby).

Lastly, mentoring has been linked to several career-related benefits for protégés that are important indicators of quality of work life. Employees who have been mentored report more positive perceptions regarding their career mobility (e.g. Fagenson, 1989) compared to those who have not been mentored. They also report greater career commitment (e.g., Aryee & Chay, 1994) and stronger perceptions of career success (e.g., Aryee & Chay, 1994; Ensher et al., 2001; Seibert et al., 2001). While protégés perceptions about their careers are consistently higher than that of nonprotégés, research examining objective indicators of career success is less conclusive. However, some studies find higher rates of promotion (e.g., Aryee, Wyatt, & Stone, 1996; Fagenson, 1989) and higher salaries (e.g., Dreher & Chargois, 1998; Seibert et al., 2001) for protégés compared to nonprotégés. Mentors may also experience stronger perceptions of career success than nonmentors, report less career plateauing, and experience higher promotion rates (Allen, Lentz, & Day, 2006; Bozionelos, 2004). Mentoring is also associated with less career plateauing among mentors (Lentz & Allen, 2005).

While mentoring may have the potential to positively influence employees' quality of work life in a number of ways, it may also be linked to lower quality of work life for both mentors and protégés. That is, negative mentoring has been linked to higher job withdrawal and turnover intentions and lower job satisfaction (Eby et al., 2004; Eby, Durley, et al., 2008). Other negative supervisory behaviors also suggest the potential for reducing quality of work life. For example, abusive supervision has been linked to quality of work life indicators such as higher turnover and poorer work attitudes such as job satisfaction and commitment (Tepper, 2000). Likewise, the

research on social undermining at work also finds that supervisor undermining is negatively related to self-efficacy and commitment and positively related to counterproductive work behaviors (Duffy, Ganster, & Pagan, 2002).

Mentoring and Well-Being

The mentoring literature has begun to address some potential psychological benefits of experience in a mentoring relationship. For example, protégés who receive support from their mentors may report higher self-esteem, self-image, confidence, and self-efficacy (Seibert, 1999; Smith, McAllister, & Crawford, 2001; Waters, McCabe, Kiellerup, & Kiellerup, 2002) than those who do not. In addition, experience as a protégé has been linked to less work-family conflict (Nielson et al., 2001), lower role stress (Lankau, Carlson, & Nielson, 2006), and less burnout through its influence on socialization and role stress (Thomas & Lankau, 2009). Other research has addressed the potential of mentoring to serve as both a moderator and mediator of stressor-strain relationships at work.

Notwithstanding the positive psychological benefits of mentoring, negative interactions in mentoring relationships may be associated with reduced psychological well-being for both the protégé and the mentor. Some evidence is starting to accrue to support this possibility. For example, as protégés' reports of negative mentoring experiences increase, so does perceived stress (Eby & Allen, 2002; Eby et al., 2000), depressed mood at work, and psychological withdrawal at work (Eby et al., 2000). There is also some evidence that negative mentoring experiences reported by the mentor are positively related to mentor burnout (Eby, Allen, et al., 2008; Eby, Butts, Durley & Ragins, 2010; Eby, Durley, et al., 2008).

We are aware of no published studies to date examining how mentoring relates to physical health outcomes. However, with the initial evidence described above indicating its potential psychological benefits and costs, it seems likely mentoring may also be related to protégé and mentor physical health. In terms of health benefits, research examining other forms of social support supports the possibility of health benefits of mentoring. Both general social support (e.g., O'Driscoll et al., 2003; Viswesvaran, Sanchez, & Fisher, 1998) and social support provided by one's supervisor or leader (e.g., Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Thomas & Ganster, 1995) are consistently linked to health indicators such as stress, burnout, and depression. In fact, a recent comprehensive review of the linkages between positive social interactions at work and physiological functioning supports the idea that positive mentoring relationships may relate to healthy cardiovascular functioning, improved immune system operation, and healthier neuroendocrine responses (Heaphy & Dutton, 2008).

Notwithstanding the potentially strengthening effects of positive mentoring experiences on physical health, mentoring experiences that arouse anxiety, anger, or disappointment may be associated with declines in physical health. Although this has not been investigated empirically, there is some indirect evidence to support this notion. Negative or upsetting social interactions appear to weigh more heavily on individuals than helpful exchanges (e.g., Manne, Taylor, Dougherty, & Kemeny, 1997). We also know that negative events are processed more systematically than are comparable positive ones (Peeters & Czapinski, 1990), and physiological arousal is stronger in response to negative stimuli than positive stimuli (Taylor, 1991). These findings suggest that the health consequences for protégés who have negative mentoring experiences may warrant more attention relative to the potential health benefits of those protégés who tend to report positive mentoring experiences. Lastly, although it did not address mentoring relationships specifically, findings from a recent study (Beehr, Bowling, & Bennett, 2010) suggest one reason social support at work can sometimes be detrimental to health and well-being is by drawing attention to the stress an individual may be experiencing.

Directions for Future Research

First, the lack of empirical work addressing the ethical dilemmas faced in mentoring suggests a need for future research in this area. The existing research in this area to date has tended to be theoretical in nature (e.g., Gormley, 2008; McAuley, 2003), typically focusing on a few very specific examples of ethical issues that may be encountered (e.g., Moberg & Velasquez, 2004; Needels, 1998). While this is informative for illustrating why certain situations may represent an ethical dilemma, what is missing from the literature is a framework that explores the full range of ethical issues and empirical research to test this framework. The ethical principles discussed in this chapter may serve as a useful starting point for developing such a framework. Moreover, such a framework would be useful for identifying predictors of ethical dilemmas. For example, mentors could be selected or matched based on personality or other background variables that are linked to a lower likelihood of unethical behavior. Likewise, although the negative mentoring literature discussed above has begun to identify negative consequences of some ethical problems experienced in the relationship, such as those related to employee health and well-being (Eby & Allen, 2002; Eby et al., 2000), the full range of outcomes has yet to be explored. For example, no research to date has examined whether or not negative mentoring experiences have harmful effects on protégé career-related outcomes such as perceived career prospects, promotion rates, or salary.

Another area worthy of future research relates to the negative influence of mentoring on quality of work life. As indicated in the review above, mentoring has been linked to a wide range of attitudinal, interpersonal, and career outcomes for both protégés and mentors. However, because of the potential of mentoring to also reduce the quality of work life, as evidenced by the findings suggesting lower job satisfaction and higher turnover intentions (e.g., Eby & Allen, 2002), additional research is needed to address why some mentoring relationships succeed and others fail. Examining mentor and protégé characteristics seems like a particularly fruitful area for future research. For example, protégé personality and disposition has been linked to reports of some negative mentoring experiences such as distancing and manipulative behavior, as well as complaints regarding general dysfunctionality of the mentor (e.g., Butts, Eby, & Hurst, 2009). Future research might explore additional individual difference characteristics that may predict negative mentoring among protégés and mentors, such as narcissism, attachment style, or trait-based anger. Doing so could add insight into how the characteristics of those involved in mentoring relationships ultimately impact relationship success or failure.

Lastly, although the literature has begun to highlight important health outcomes of being involved in a mentoring relationship, this remains an area in need of future research. Kram's (1985) seminal work on mentoring suggests how important mentoring relationships can be in terms of developing a protégé's sense of identity, competence, and professional efficacy. Therefore, it seems likely that mentoring could be related to a wider range of psychological benefits than have been identified to date. Supporting this, Eby et al.'s (Eby, Allen et al. 2008; Eby, Durley, et al., 2008) multidisciplinary meta-analysis found significant effects for mentoring on each of the protégé health-related outcomes studied. These included substance use, psychological stress and strain (e.g., depression, anxiety, life dissatisfaction), and self-perceptions (e.g., self-esteem, self-worth, self-efficacy). While these outcomes also included results from youth and academic mentoring in addition to mentoring in organizational settings, they highlight the potential influence of mentoring on a number of important health-related outcomes. One potential explanation for why psychological and physical benefits have received little attention in the organizational mentoring literature is the tendency to rely on cross-sectional designs. Greater use of longitudinal studies in the future could help identify the stages at which mentoring benefits the mentor or protégé during the stress process.

The present chapter has outlined a number of considerations for researchers and practitioners to consider regarding organizational mentoring relationships. Mentors may face a variety of ethical dilemmas in these relationships. The literature reviewed in this chapter suggests this may have negative implications for employee quality of work life, health, and well-being. We also reviewed a wide range of positive outcomes of mentoring relationships, highlighting the value of these relationships for attitudinal, interpersonal, career, and health outcomes. We believe the issues identified through this review and the recommendations for practice will add to the literature seeking to improve mentoring relationships at work and aid managers and employees in recognizing ethical problems that may arise in those relationships.

References

- Allen, T. D. (2007). Mentoring relationships from the perspective of the mentor. In B. R. Ragins & K. E. Kram (Eds.), *The handbook of mentoring: Theory, research and practice* (pp. 123–147). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Allen, T. D., Day, R., & Lentz, E. (2001, April). *Formal mentoring programs: A review and survey of design features and recommendations*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, San Diego, CA.
- Allen, T. D., & Eby, L. T. (2007). Common bonds: An integrative view of mentoring relationships. In T. D. Allen & L. T. Eby (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of mentoring: A multiple perspectives approach* (pp. 397–419). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Allen, T. D., & Eby, L. T. (2008). Mentor commitment in formal mentoring relationships. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *72*, 309–316.
- Allen, T. D., Eby, L. T., Poteet, M. L., Lentz, E., & Lima, L. (2004). Outcomes associated with mentoring protégés: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*, 127–136.
- Allen, T. D., Lentz, E., & Day, R. (2006). Career success outcomes associated with mentoring others: A comparison of mentors and nonmentors. *Journal of Career Development*, *32*, 272–285.
- Allen, T. D., & O'Brien, K. E. (2006). Formal mentoring programs and organizational attraction. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *17*, 43–58.
- Allen, T. D., & Poteet, M. L. (1999). Developing effective mentoring relationships: Strategies from the mentor's viewpoint. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *48*, 59–73.
- Allen, T. D., Poteet, M. L., & Burroughs, S. M. (1997). The mentor's perspective: A qualitative inquiry and future research agenda. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *51*, 70–89.
- American Psychological Association. (2002). *Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct*. Retrieved October 2, 2010, from web www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx
- Aryee, S., & Chay, Y. W. (1994). An examination of the impact of career-oriented mentoring on work commitment attitudes and career satisfaction among professionals and managerial employees. *British Journal of Management*, *5*, 241–249.
- Aryee, S., Wyatt, T., & Stone, R. (1996). Early career outcomes of graduate employees: The effect of mentoring and ingratiation. *Journal of Management Studies*, *33*, 95–118.
- Barnett, J. E. (2008). Mentoring, boundaries and multiple relationships: Opportunities and challenges. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning*, *16*, 3–16.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachment as a fundamental human emotion. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*, 497–529.
- Beehr, T. A., Bowling, N. A., & Bennett, M. M. (2010). Occupational stress and failures of social support: When helping hurts. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *15*, 45–59.
- Blake, S. D. (August, 1995). *At the crossroads of race and gender: Lessons from the mentoring experiences of professional Black women*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Management, Vancouver, BC, Canada.
- Blake-Beard, S. D., Murrell, A., & Thomas, D. (2007). Unfinished business: The impact of race on understanding mentoring relationships. In B. R. Ragins & K. E. Kram (Eds.), *The handbook of mentoring at work* (pp. 223–247). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Bozionelos, N. (2004). Mentoring provided: Relation to mentor's career success, personality, and mentoring received. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *64*, 24–46.

- Bridgford, L. (2007, August 1). Mentoring programs still have a place in the 21st century. *Employee Benefit News*.
- Butts, M. M., Eby, L. T., & Hurst, C. S. (2009, October). *Protégés' negative mentoring experiences and psychological withdrawal: The role of victim precipitation and coping style*. Paper accepted for presentation at the annual Work, Stress, and Health Conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Catalyst. (2001). *Women of color in corporate management: Opportunities and barriers*. New York: Author.
- Chandler, D. E., & Kram, K. E. (2007). Mentoring and developmental networks in the new career context. In H. P. Gunz & M. A. Peiperl (Eds.), *Handbook of career studies* (pp. 241–267). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chao, G. T. (1997). Mentoring phases and outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *51*, 15–28.
- Chao, G. T. (2007). Mentoring and organizational socialization: Networks for work adjustment. In B. R. Ragins & K. E. Kram (Eds.), *Handbook of mentoring: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 179–196). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cox, T. H., & Nkomo, S. M. (1991). A race and gender-group analysis of the early career experience of MBAs. *Work and Occupations*, *18*, 431–446.
- Cummings, T. G., & Worley, C. G. (1997). *Organizational development and change* (6th ed.). Cincinnati, OH: South-Western College Publishing.
- Dickens, F., & Dickens, J. (1982). *The black manager: Making it in the corporate world*. New York: Amacom.
- Dreher, G. F., & Chargois, J. A. (1998). Gender, mentoring experiences, and salary attainment among graduates of an historically black university. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *53*, 401–416.
- Duffy, M. K., Ganster, D. C., & Pagan, M. (2002). Social undermining in the workplace. *Academy of Management Journal*, *45*, 331–351.
- Eby, L. T. (2007). Understanding problems in mentoring: A review and proposed investment model. In B. R. Ragins & K. E. Kram (Eds.), *Handbook of mentoring* (pp. 323–344). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Eby, L. T. (2010). Mentoring. In S. Zedeck (Ed.), *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Eby, L. T., & Allen, T. D. (2002). Further investigation of protégés' negative mentoring experiences. *Group and Organization Management*, *27*, 459–479.
- Eby, L. T., Allen, T. D., Evans, S. C., Ng, T., & DuBois, D. L. (2008). Does mentoring matter? A multidisciplinary meta-analysis comparing mentored and non-mentored individuals. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *72*, 254–267.
- Eby, L. T., Butts, M. M., Durley, J., & Ragins, B. R. (2010). Are bad experiences stronger than good ones in mentoring relationships? Evidence from the mentor and protégé perspective. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *77*, 81–92.
- Eby, L. T., Butts, M. M., Lockwood, A. L., & Simon, S. A. (2004). Protégés' negative mentoring experiences: Construct development and nomological validation. *Personnel Psychology*, *57*, 411–447.
- Eby, L. T., Durley, J., Evans, S. C., & Ragins, B. R. (2006). The relationship between short-term mentoring benefits and long-term mentor outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *69*, 424–444.
- Eby, L. T., Durley, J., Evans, S. C., & Ragins, B. R. (2008). Mentors' perceptions of negative mentoring experiences: Scale development and nomological validation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*, 358–373.
- Eby, L. T., & Lockwood, A. L. (2005). Protégés and mentors reactions to participating in formal mentoring programs: A qualitative investigation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *67*, 441–458.
- Eby, L. T., Lockwood, A. L., & Butts, M. M. (2006). Perceived support for mentoring: A multiple perspectives approach. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *68*, 267–291.
- Eby, L. T., & McManus, S. E. (2004). The protégé's role in negative mentoring experiences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *65*, 255–275.
- Eby, L. T., McManus, S. E., Simon, S. A., & Russell, J. E. A. (2000). The protégé's perspective regarding negative mentoring experiences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *57*, 1–21.
- Eby, L. T., Rhodes, J. E., & Allen, T. D. (2007). Definition and evolution of mentoring. In T. D. Allen & L. T. Eby (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of mentoring: A multiple perspectives approach* (pp. 7–20). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Eddy, E., Tannenbaum, S., Alliger, G., D'Abate, C., & Givens, S. (2001). *Mentoring in industry: The top 10 issues when building and supporting a mentoring program* (Tech. Rep. Contract No. N61339–99-D-0012). Prepared for the Naval Air Warfare Training Systems Division.
- Ensher, E. A., Thomas, C., & Murphy, S. E. (2001). Comparison of traditional, step-ahead, and peer mentoring on protégés' support, satisfaction, and perceptions of career success. A social exchange perspective. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *15*, 415–433.
- Fagenson, E. A. (1989). The mentor advantage: Perceived career/job experiences of protégés versus non-protégés. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *10*, 309–320.
- Fiske, S. T. (1993). Controlling other people: The impact of power on stereotyping. *American Psychologist*, *48*, 621–628.
- Gerstner, C. R., & Day, D. V. (1997). Meta-analytic review of leader-member exchange theory: Correlates and construct issues. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *82*, 827–844.

- Gormley, B. (2008). An application of attachment theory: Mentoring relationship dynamics and ethical concerns. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning*, 16, 45–62.
- Hamilton, N., & Brabbit, L. M. (2007). Fostering professionalism through mentoring. *Journal of Legal Education*, 57, 1–28.
- Heaphy, E. D., & Dutton, J. E. (2008). Positive social interactions and the human body at work: Linking organizations to physiology. *Academy of Management Review*, 33, 137–162.
- Johnson, W. B., Holmes, E. K., Huwe, J. M., & Norlund, M. D. (2001). Mentoring experiences among Navy Midshipmen. *Military Medicine*, 166, 27–31.
- Koberg, C. S., Boss, R. W., Chappell, D., & Ringer, R. C. (1994). Correlates and consequences of protégé mentoring in a large hospital. *Group & Organization Management*, 19, 219–239.
- Kram, K. E. (1983). Phases of the mentor relationship. *Academy of Management Journal*, 26, 608–625.
- Kram, K. E. (1985). *Mentoring at work*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, and Company.
- Lankau, M. J., Carlson, D. S., & Neilson, T. R. (2006). The mediating influence of role stressors in the relationship between mentoring and job attitudes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 68, 308–322.
- Lankau, M. J., Riordan, C., & Thomas, C. (2005). The effects of similarity and liking in formal relationships between mentors and protégés. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 67, 252–265.
- Lee, R. T., & Ashforth, B. E. (1996). A meta-analytic examination of the correlates of the three dimensions of burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81, 123–133.
- Lentz, E., & Allen, T. D. (2005). *The link between mentoring and the career plateau: Addressing the empirical gap*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Los Angeles, CA.
- Manne, S. L., Taylor, K. L., Dougherty, J., & Kemeny, N. (1997). Supportive and negative responses in the partner relationship: Their association with psychosocial adjustment among individuals with cancer. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 20, 101–125.
- McAuley, M. J. (2003). Transference, countertransference, and mentoring: The ghost in the process. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling*, 31, 11–23.
- McDonald, K. S., & Hite, L. M. (2005). Ethical issues in mentoring: The role of HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 7, 569–582.
- Moberg, D. J., & Velasquez, M. (2004). The ethics of mentoring. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 14, 95–122.
- Needels, T. L. (1998). Ethical issues in the mentoring relationship. In T. L. Needels & H. V. Hall (Eds.), *Avoiding ethical misconduct in psychology specialty areas* (pp. 281–297). Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas Publisher.
- Nielson, T. R., Carlson, D. S., & Lankau, M. J. (2001). The supportive mentor as a means of reducing work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 51, 364–381.
- O'Driscoll, M. P., Poelmans, S., Spector, P. E., Kalliath, T., Allen, T. D., Cooper, C. L., et al. (2003). Family-responsive interventions, perceived organizational and supervisor support, work-family conflict, and psychological strain. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 10, 326–344.
- Parise, M. R., & Forret, M. L. (2008). Formal mentoring programs: The relationship of program design and support to mentors' perceptions of benefits and costs. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 72, 225–240.
- Peeters, G., & Czapinski, J. (1990). Positive–negative asymmetry in evaluations: The distinction between affective and information negativity social ties, and psychological distress among older adults. *Gerontologist*, 30, 193–199.
- Phillips-Jones, L. (1983). Establishing a formalized mentoring program. *Training and Development Journal*, 37, 38–42.
- Ragins, B. R. (1989). Barriers to mentoring: The female manager's dilemma. *Human Relations*, 42, 1–22.
- Ragins, B. R. (1997). Diversified mentoring relationships in organizations: A power perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 22, 482–521.
- Ragins, B. R. (1999). Gender and mentoring relationships: A review and research agenda for the next decade. In G. N. Powell (Ed.), *Handbook of gender and work* (pp. 347–370). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ragins, B. R., & Cotton, J. L. (1991). Easier said than done: Gender differences in perceived barriers to gaining a mentor. *Academy of Management Journal*, 34, 939–951.
- Ragins, B. R., & Cotton, J. L. (1999). Mentor functions and outcomes: A comparison of men and women in formal and informal mentoring relationships. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 84, 529–550.
- Ragins, B. R., & Scandura, T. A. (1999). Burden or blessing: Expected costs and benefits of being a mentor. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 20, 493–509.
- Scandura, T. A. (1997). Mentoring and organizational justice: An empirical investigation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 51, 58–69.
- Scandura, T. A. (1998). Dysfunctional mentoring relationships and outcomes. *Journal of Management*, 24, 449–467.
- Scandura, T. A., & Ragins, B. R. (1993). The effects of sex and gender role orientation on mentorship in male-dominated occupations. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 43, 251–265.

- Seibert, S. (1999). The effectiveness of facilitated mentoring: A longitudinal quasi-experiment. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 54*, 483–502.
- Seibert, S. E., Kraimer, M. L., & Liden, R. Z. C. (2001). A social capital theory of career success. *Academy of Management Journal, 44*(2), 219–237.
- Sias, P. M., & Jablin, F. M. (1995). Differential superior-subordinate relations, perceptions of fairness, and coworker communication. *Human Communication Research, 22*, 5–38.
- Smith, L. S., McAllister, L. E., & Crawford, C. S. (2001). Mentoring benefits and issues for public health nurses. *Public Health Nursing, 18*, 101–107.
- Taylor, S. E. (1991). Asymmetrical effects of positive and negative events: The mobilization-minimization hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin, 110*, 67–85.
- Tepper, B. J. (2000). Consequences of abusive supervision. *Academy of Management Journal, 43*, 178–190.
- Thomas, D. A. (1989). Mentoring and irrationality: The role of racial taboos. *Human Resource Management, 28*, 278–290.
- Thomas, D. A. (1990). The impact of race on managers' experiences of developmental relationships (mentoring and sponsorship): An intra-organizational study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 11*, 479–492.
- Thomas, L., & Ganster, D. C. (1995). Impact of family-supportive work variables on work-family conflict and strain: A control perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 80*, 6–15.
- Thomas, C. H., & Lankau, M. J. (2009). Preventing burnout: The effects of LMX and mentoring on socialization, role stress, and burnout. *Human Resource Management, 48*, 417–432.
- Viswesvaran, C., Sanchez, J. I., & Fisher, J. (1998). The role of social support in the process of work stress: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 54*, 314–334.
- Waters, L., McCabe, M., Kiellerup, D., & Kiellerup, S. (2002). The role of formal mentoring on business success and self-esteem in participants of a new business start-up program. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 17*, 107–121.
- Young, M. A., & Perrewe, P. L. (2000). What did you expect? An examination of career-related support and social support among mentors and protégés. *Journal of Management, 26*, 611–632.

Chapter 6

Selection for Training: The Forgotten Employment Decision?

C. Allen Gorman, Christina N. Thibodeaux, Sarah E. Eisinger,
and Benjamin L. Overstreet

Training selection decisions are employment decisions that have important implications for influencing the career advancement outcomes for employees. Employees who receive training are generally afforded more opportunities to advance within the organization, as well as greater career mobility relative to employees not selected into training programs. This can present ethical and legal issues when training opportunities are not provided to employees in an equitable fashion. Organizations often must face this issue due to practical constraints that require training opportunities occur at different points in time for employees or only for a subset of the total workforce. Organizations also must balance their responsibility to ensure their employment practices are free from discrimination and minimize adverse impact against protected classes (ADA, 1990; ADEA, 1967; Title VII, 1964; UGESP, 1978). Therefore, the presence of adverse impact in training selection decisions can increase the likelihood that organizations may face discrimination lawsuits (Dukes v. Wal-Mart, 2001; EEOC v. Ford Motor Co., 2005; Maurer & Rafuse, 2001).

This chapter reviews recent litigation brought against organizations based on charges of unequal opportunities to participate in training events. These examples demonstrate the ethical responsibility of organizations to insure the criteria used to select employees for training does not disproportionately exclude protected classes. Additionally, the Training Opportunity Decision Making (TODM) model is introduced as a framework to demonstrate the organizational context and process in which training selection decisions occur and to provide a description of the anticipated outcomes associated with these decisions. Future directions for research in the empirical examination of the TODM are discussed.

Legal Implications of Training Selection

In 2005, Ford Motor Company agreed to pay an \$8.55 million settlement to a nationwide class of African-Americans who were rejected for an apprenticeship training program after taking a mechanical aptitude test known as the Apprenticeship Training Selection System (ATSS).

C.A. Gorman, Ph.D. (✉) • C.N. Thibodeaux, B.A. • S.E. Eisinger, M.S.
Department of Psychology, Radford University, P. O. Box 694, Radford, VA 24142, USA
e-mail: cgorman6@radford.edu

B.L. Overstreet, M.S.
Department of Psychology, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602, USA

Although the test had been validated in 1991, it continued to evidence disparate impact by selecting White applicants for entry into the training program at a significantly higher rate than African-American applicants. Despite developing a less discriminatory selection measure in subsequent years, Ford chose not to modify its selection procedures. In addition to paying monetary relief, Ford agreed to replace the ATSS with an alternative selection procedure that would be valid for predicting job success and reducing adverse impact (*EEOC v. Ford Motor Co. and United Automobile Workers of America*, 2005).

Other high-profile cases illustrate a growing concern regarding barriers to training opportunities in organizations. For example, in 1999, an African-American mechanic at American Eagle was awarded \$950,000 in damages for claims of a racially hostile atmosphere in maintenance facilities and of unequal treatment in training and advancement opportunities (*The Dallas Morning News*, 1999). A 47-year-old female was awarded \$355,000 in 1993 by Chrysler Corporation after charging that a younger male with less seniority received preferential treatment in terms of special job training and shift selection (*Automotive News*, 1996). In 2002, American Express Financial Advisors Inc. was ordered to pay \$31 million to three female employees who claimed they were provided fewer training opportunities than their male counterparts (*Minneapolis St. Paul Business Journal*, 2002). Similarly, four female brokers from Smith Barney were awarded \$33 million in 2008 after charging the company of depriving females of equal training and sales support (*Forbes*, 2008). The Paul Hall Center for Maritime Training and Education and Seafarers International agreed to pay \$625,000 in monetary relief to a group of applicants who were refused admission to their apprenticeship program because they were over 40 (*EEOC v. Seafarers International Union*, 2005). In 2001, a class-action lawsuit against Wal-Mart Stores Inc. was filed on behalf of over 1.6 million female workers who alleged they were denied access to training opportunities necessary for promotion because of their sex (*Dukes v. Wal-Mart*, 2001). Finally, in 1991, the Assistant Comptroller General of the General Accounting Office (GAO) testified before Congress that racial and gender disparities were found in up to 20% of the geographic locations served by the \$4.6 billion Job Training Partnership Act program. According to the GAO, females were more likely than men to receive classroom training for lower-wage jobs and White participants were more likely to receive classroom and on-the-job training, while African-American participants were more likely to receive only job search assistance (*The Washington Times*, 1991).

In sum, these cases demonstrate that disparate impact in selection for training opportunities can cost organizations a great deal of time and money. Although numerous charges of disparate treatment and disparate impact in personnel selection decisions are brought forth each year, the cases described above suggest more attention should be paid to ensuring training opportunities in organizations that utilize a fair and ethical process to minimize adverse impact and perceptions of unfairness within the organization.

Opportunities for Training

Estimates indicate that organizations spend upwards of \$134 billion every year on training, learning, and development (Paradise, 2009). There are numerous definitions of training in the literature, but most definitions borrow from McGehee and Thayer's (1961) classic model, which defines training as the formal procedures that an organization uses to facilitate learning so the resultant behavior contributes to the attainment of the company's goals and objectives. Although training is typically approached in the literature from an organizational behavior perspective,

identifying and selecting employees for training opportunities is an employment decision subject to legal regulations. The Uniform Guidelines on Employment Selection Procedures (1978) explicitly state,

Employment decisions include but are not limited to hiring, promotion, demotion, membership, referral, retention, and licensing and certification, to the extent that licensing and certification may be covered by Federal equal employment opportunity law. Other selection decisions, such as *selection for training* or transfer, may also be considered employment decisions if they lead to any of the decisions listed above. (emphasis added, p. 7)

Selection for training is a critical employment decision because employees who complete certain training programs may improve their knowledge and skills which can lead to an increase in available opportunities for promotions, skill-based pay increases, bonuses, and other career advancement outcomes. Organizational decision makers need to carefully consider the process and outcomes associated with identifying employees for participation in training programs. A thorough understanding of the environment and outcomes associated with training selection decisions should facilitate informed decision making to better address these issues.

Despite a proliferation of frameworks and models focused on training issues such as training needs analysis (Goldstein & Ford, 2002), instructional design (Gagne, Briggs, & Wager, 1992), trainee individual differences (Herold, Davis, Fedor, & Parsons, 2002), training transfer (Baldwin & Ford, 1988), training delivery (Wexley & Latham, 2002), and training evaluation (Kirkpatrick, 1976), there is little work or guidance available in the training literature on the legal and ethical implications of decision making in the selection of employees for training opportunities. Therefore, the following sections in this chapter are devoted towards developing a conceptual framework to identify the characteristics of training selection decisions in organizations.

A Model of Decision Making in Selecting Employees for Training Opportunities

The Radford Multilevel Model of Training Opportunity Decision Making (TODM) is presented in Fig. 6.1. The TODM model describes how training selection decisions made at the organizational level can have important implications at the employee level on career advancement outcomes. The three primary antecedents to TODM include training culture, training policy, and

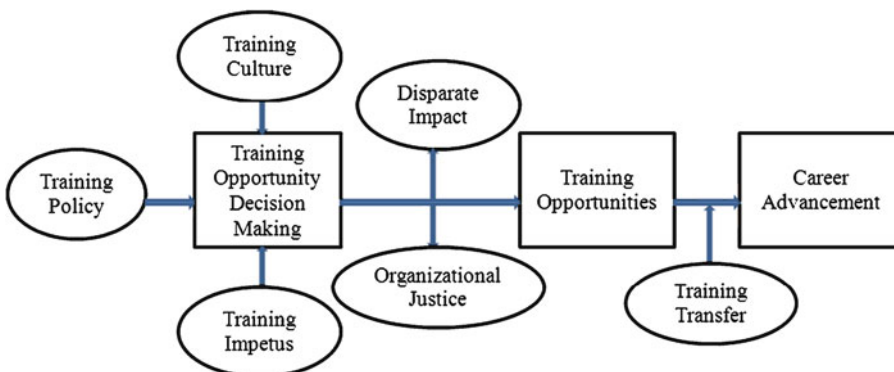


Fig. 6.1 The Radford multilevel model of training opportunity decision making (TODM)

training impetus. We also propose that training selection decisions made by the organization influence employee perceptions of organizational justice and disparate impact (or lack thereof) as it related to training opportunities. Finally, career advancement opportunities that arise from training opportunities are moderated by five characteristics of the training transfer environment consisting of identical elements, opportunities for practice, multiple contexts, supervisor support, and maintenance.

Antecedents of TODM

Training Culture

Training culture refers to the extent that training is emphasized and valued in an organization. Organizations with a strong training culture are likely to place greater importance and value on TODM, while organizations with a weak training culture are likely to place little importance or even neglect a consideration of TODM process. A weak training culture presents major obstacles to TODM, and resources should be devoted to improving the training culture before further interventions can be considered. Training culture should be assessed during the organizational analysis step of a training needs assessment (Goldstein & Ford, 2002).

Training Policy

Training policy refers to the formal guidelines (written or otherwise) established by an organization regarding its training requirements. For some jobs, such as medical or teaching jobs, continuous training is required to maintain licensure or certification. Many organizations require a certain amount of training hours to remain employed with the organization. Some organizations may require a certain number of training hours to be considered for promotion or advancement, while some companies offer a “buffet-style” option in which employees can pick and choose the training programs they would like to attend. The training requirements outlined in the formal policies and procedures have a direct influence on defining the organization’s training culture. Organizations that value training will provide explicit information about expectations for training and procedures in policy manuals. A potential problematic issue organizations may face is deciding which employees receive training first. If a company-wide training initiative is undertaken, the organization must select an initial number of employees to attend the training to maintain an acceptable level of productivity. A typical solution is to give the most senior employees priority, or to choose employees from departments or units most affected by the training. However, these rules of thumb could be particularly problematic for larger organizations, where training inclusion criteria still includes a substantial number of employees in the potential training participants’ pool. Moreover, regardless of the size of the organization, a situation could arise where training is required for a higher level position within the company with an urgent application deadline and employees who first complete the training may have an advantage in the selection process that would not be available to employees who have not yet received the training. Therefore, organizations need to develop policies to clearly define the standard operating procedures in these scenarios (e.g., extend the promotion application).

Training Impetus

Training impetus refers to the formal process used to identify potential participants for training programs. For example, organizations often use performance evaluation data to determine training needs (Goldstein & Ford, 2002). Typically, training needs can be determined by performance evaluation ratings, a self-evaluation process, or a combination of both techniques. The self-evaluation process requires formal documentation of the employee's self-rated areas of weaknesses. Employees that nominate themselves voluntarily for training may experience greater motivation to learn from a training program than those who are forced to attend training involuntarily. Another important consideration is the possibility of a stigma associated with employees who are required to complete remedial training due to poor performance. For example, an employee may experience reduced self-esteem and motivation if he or she learns that his or her coworkers are not required to participate in additional training. An organization should explicitly state in its policy manual the procedures and steps required for identifying and selecting employees for remedial or additional training. The organization should make an effort to assure attendance at these training sessions remains confidential and limit the interactions, to the degree possible, between involuntary trainees and other employees.

Consequences of TODM

Disparate Impact

Disparate impact occurs when an employment decision has a disproportionately negative effect on members of a protected group (UGESP, 1978). The UGESP explicitly states that selection for training opportunities is considered an employment decision. Organizations need to consider how training selection decisions can lead to disparate impact in access to training opportunities.

Several methods of establishing disparate impact have been proposed. These methods fall into two categories: statistical tests (e.g., standard deviation, Fisher's exact test) or practical tests (e.g., impact ratios or the 4/5ths rule, phi test, or the flip-flop test). Statistical tests provide information about the likelihood and significance of disparate impact data. Practical tests indicate rules of thumb for evaluating the presence of disparate impact in organizations. Previous case law decisions have demonstrated that Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) officials and selection experts rely on both types of tests to evaluate the presence and severity of disparate impact within the organization (Gatewood, Field, & Barrick, 2008). Training decision makers must be aware of the employment decision guidelines such as the UGESP and relevant case law with respect to training selection decisions. Further, decision makers need to manage the collection and evaluation of data related to the disparate impact of training decisions within the organization. These last two points are particularly noteworthy because employment guidelines and disparate impact analyses are rarely mentioned in organizational training literature.

Organizational Justice

Organizational justice refers to employees' perceptions of fairness in the workplace (Levy, 2009). The three components of organizational justice are distributive justice, the extent to which the employee perceives the outcome of a decision to be fair; procedural justice, the extent to which

the employee perceives the procedures used to arrive at the outcome of the decision as fair; and interactional justice, the extent to which the employee feels he or she was treated fairly in their interactions with the authority figure that communicated the decision (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001). Organizational justice has been linked to numerous work-related attitudes such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment, perceived organizational support, counterproductive work behaviors, and task and contextual performance (Ambrose & Schminke, 2003; Aryee, Chen, & Budhwar, 2004; Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Moorman, 1991).

Perceptions of fairness in organizations are influenced by the outcomes of organizational decisions. The organizational justice literature has emphasized the need for organizational decision makers to consider not only the outcomes of their decisions but also employees' reactions to those decisions, given the relationships between organizational justice perceptions and work-related attitudes and work outcomes (Folger & Konovsky, 1989). Training selection fairness (TSF) represents the extent to which employees perceive the training selection decision (distributive), the procedures used to arrive at the training selection decision (procedural), and their interactions with the authority figure that communicated the training selection decision (interactional) as fair.

TSF should be considered in addition to disparate impact analyses by training decision makers, and organizations should make attempts to assess employee perceptions of TSF. The quality of the information organizations provide to employees about training selection process can influence employees' organizational justice perceptions about training opportunities within the organization. Therefore, company policy manuals should make explicit the procedures required for employees to be selected for training opportunities, and these procedures should follow those stated in the UGESP. Organizations should also provide an appeals process for those who have been denied training opportunities as well as explicit statements of how these appeals will be handled. Research has indicated the courts prefer organizational decision-making systems that have an appeals component in place (Werner & Bolino, 1997).

From Training Opportunity to Career Advancement: Training Transfer as a Moderator

The last link in the TODM model is between training opportunities and career advancement. This link highlights how equal opportunity for training selection leads to equal opportunities for career advancement. On the other hand, barriers to training opportunities can lead to barriers for career advancement opportunities. However, we propose that this relationship is moderated by the extent to which trained knowledge and skills transfer to the job itself.

Training Transfer

Training transfer refers to the extent that knowledge and skills learned in training are utilized on the job (Goldstein & Ford, 2002). Estimates suggest that approximately 30% of what people learn in training actually gets used on the job (Robinson & Robinson, 1995; Saks & Belcourt, 2006). The "transfer problem" suggests that there are obstacles that prevent employees from using the knowledge and skills gained in training on the job. Obstacles to training transfer also may limit opportunities for career advancement. We identified five aspects of training transfer from the literature that potentially moderate the relationship between training opportunities and career advancement: identical elements, opportunities for practice, multiple contexts, supervisor support, and maintenance.

Identical Elements

Identical elements theory suggests that training transfer is maximized when the training environment resembles the on-the-job environment (Thorndike & Woodworth, 1901). Awoniyi, Griego, and Morgan (2002) provided some support for the role of identical elements in training through their research study results that indicated training transfer was enhanced when there was a higher match between the trainee's actual work situation and the scenarios presented in training. An example of a training intervention with limited identical elements can occur when employees are provided ample time to execute learned procedures during training, but receive a restricted amount of time to perform the task on the job. In light of this, organizations should seek to maximize the match between the elements of the training intervention and the job to increase the probability of the transfer of knowledge and skills to the job.

Opportunities for Practice

Opportunities for practice describe the extent employees are given opportunities to use their newly acquired skills during training and on the job. Practice is especially important for learning new skills, and research suggests that repeated practice sessions are particularly important for skills that must be maintained over long periods of time (Driskell, Willis, & Cooper, 1992). Organizations need to ensure the design of the training initiative allows for adequate amounts of practice to maximize the probability of skill transfer to the job.

An interesting paradox can occur, however, if employees gain knowledge and skills in training that makes him or her appear more marketable to another organization. Employees who receive training may leave organizations at a higher rate than employees who do not receive training. However, further research has demonstrated that promoting employees to a higher level within the organization that makes use of their newly learned skills can reduce intentions to quit (Benson, 2006). Therefore, organizations need to consider the role of practice not only during the training program but also how to incorporate practice into their formal positions within the organization.

Multiple Contexts

Multiple contexts are defined as opportunities to practice skills acquired in training programs under different scenarios. Providing opportunities to practice a learned skill under variable conditions and with different stimuli increases the likelihood skills learned in training will transfer to a variety of contexts on the job (Holladay & Quinones, 2003). Multiple contexts is an especially important consideration given the evolving nature of work that expects employees to adapt to ever-changing environments, situations, and roles. Organizations should seek ways to provide opportunities for trainees to practice their skills in multiple contexts both in and out of the training environment.

Supervisor Support

Work supervisors can play an important role in the transfer of training. If employees receive little support to use their trained skills on the job, this will limit the extent that training will transfer to

the job (Noe, 2010; Rouiller & Goldstein, 1993; Xiao, 1996). As an example, many years ago, the first author of this chapter participated in a month-long off-site training program for new hires in a social services agency. When he returned to the job, his supervisor indicated that the training program teaches workers how to do the job “by the book” and “here, we don’t do things by the book.” Imagine the deflated feeling employees can experience when a supervisor actually discourages the use of trained skills on the job! Organizations should encourage supervisor engagement in the employee training process, and training decision makers should seek ways to communicate the value of training to supervisors and trainees to increase the effectiveness of the training intervention.

Maintenance

Maintenance refers to helping employees continue to preserve their learned skills on the job through repetition, feedback, and continuous improvement. Employees must be able to repeatedly use the knowledge and skills learned in training on the job, they must be given feedback on a consistent basis from their supervisor (or peers, subordinates, customers, etc.), and the employee must be willing to incorporate feedback and make changes in their behavior if necessary (Kanfer & Ackerman, 1989; Komaki, Heinzmann, & Lawson, 1980). Organizations should set up formal maintenance programs such that employees are encouraged or even rewarded to use their learned knowledge and skills on the job on a consistent basis. Periodic post-training reviews should be conducted to measure employee knowledge and skill level compared to post-training scores. If knowledge and skill levels begin to decline, the organization should consider additional or “refresher” training courses for these employees.

Implications of the TODM Model

There are at least three implications suggested by the TODM model. First, training decisions are employment decisions. As such, organizations must be aware of the legal ramifications of inequities associated with these decisions. Unequal access to opportunities to participate in training may influence the career advancement of employees. If inequities are left unchecked, they can create unintended and illegal consequences for members of protected classes. Organizational decision makers must be capable of testing for the presence of disparate impact in their training selection decisions. Organizations must also be concerned about how employees perceive the process, outcome, and interactional components of training selection decisions, as perceptions of fairness influence employees’ decisions to pursue discrimination litigation. Employers should take steps to insure that all training selection decisions are treated with the same level of concern as any other selection decisions.

Second, the model suggests that more attention should be paid to the antecedents of TODM. Specifically, executives can foster a strong training culture by emphasizing the value and importance of organizational training programs. An old proverb states that you can tell what is truly important to a person when you take a look at his or her checkbook. The same can be said for organizations; if an organization truly values training, it should be a budgetary priority and emphasized in formal policy. Training policies should clearly outline the impetus for training. Developing clear specifications about selection procedures, eligibility, priority status, remedial training, and the appeals process are also important considerations that should be outlined prior to training selection decisions.

Finally, training transfer is an important factor organizations should also be concerned about in training selection decisions. Our model suggests that obstacles to training transfer are ultimately obstacles to career advancement. Organizations must develop a plan to minimize these roadblocks to increase the probability of highly motivated, engaged, committed, and satisfied employees who are able to translate the benefits of training into career advancement.

Avenues for Future Research Suggested by the Model

Organizational decision makers need to understand their ethical and legal responsibility to monitor the impact of training selection decisions on career advancement opportunities for employees. However, the extant training literature offers little consideration of this topic and guidance to organizations. A research study to validate the proposed TODM model would provide beneficial information to clarify the conceptual issues surrounding the training decision process and criteria. Additionally, the TODM model conceptualizes training selection decisions only within the context of an internal organizational environment. More information is needed to consider the role of external influences, such as globalization and the economic and political climate on training selection decisions. Therefore, future research is needed to verify the variety of procedures organizations use to select employees into training programs.

Limited information is known about how selection into training programs translates into specific career advancement outcomes. Therefore, research studies should evaluate the extent of the influence training has on different types of career outcomes. Knowledge gained in this area would aid organizational decision makers in developing alternative strategies for providing opportunities to employees who do not receive access to training opportunities. Overall, a greater knowledge base of the facets associated with training selection decisions can improve the legal defensibility and effectiveness of training initiatives used by organizations.

Summary and Recommendations

Organizations have a legal and ethical responsibility to consider how training selection decisions influence actual or perceived inequities in opportunities to participate training. This chapter reviewed several legal cases brought against corporations for claims of unequal access to training to highlight the need to further address this issue. The Radford Multilevel Training Opportunity Decision Making (TODM) model was proposed as a conceptual framework for understanding the organizational precursors to training selection decisions and its influence on employees. Training culture, organizational policies, and training impetus were suggested to influence the training decisions made by organizations. In turn, these decisions are likely to influence occurrences of adverse impact and perceptions of fairness related to training opportunities. Employees who receive training are at an advantage to achieve higher levels of career advancement if the organization provides the necessary environment to promote transfer of skills learned in training to the actual position.

Additional research is needed to examine the proposed linkages in the TODM model to develop specific recommendations for organizations in ensuring quality training selection decisions. However, in concluding our chapter, we offer the following guidelines for addressing inequities in training selection decisions:

1. Organizations should ensure that selection decisions are based on job-relevant criteria (Maurer & Rafuse, 2001; UGESP, 1978).
2. Organizations need to incorporate formal procedures for training selection decisions into their official policies (Maurer & Rafuse, 2001).

3. Organizations need to conduct disparate impact analyses to check for inequities in training selection decisions (UGESP, 1978).
4. If disparate impact is detected, organizations must develop alternative strategies to minimize limited career advancement outcomes associated with disproportionate access to training opportunities.

Acknowledgments The authors thank Marcelle Clavette and Eric Dunleavy with their assistance in locating legal cases involving discrimination in training selection.

References

- Ackerman, R. (2008, April 6). Smith Barney pays, again for sex bias claims. *Forbes*. Retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/>
- Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, 29 U.S.C. §§ 621–634.
- Ambrose, M. L., & Schminke, M. (2003). Organizational structure as a moderator of the relationship between procedural justice, interactional justice, perceived organizational support, and supervisory trust. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 88*, 295–305. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.88.2.295.
- Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, as amended, 42 U.S.C. §12101 *et seq.* (2008).
- AMEX advisors settle discrimination suit for 31 million. (2002, June 17). *Minneapolis St. Paul Business Journal*. Retrieved from <http://www.bizjournals.com/twincities/>
- Aryee, S., Chen, Z. X., & Budhwar, P. S. (2004). Exchange fairness and employee performance: An examination of the relationship between organizational politics and procedural justice. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 94*, 1–14. doi:10.1016/j.obhdp.2004.03.002.
- Awoniyi, E. A., Griego, O. V., & Morgan, G. A. (2002). Person-environment fit and transfer of training. *International Journal of Training and Development, 6*, 25–35. doi:10.1111/1468-2419.00147.
- Baldwin, T. T., & Ford, J. K. (1988). Transfer of training: A review and directions for future research. *Personnel Psychology, 41*, 63–105. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.1988.tb00632.x.
- Benson, G. S. (2006). Employee development, commitment and intention to turnover: A test of “employability” policies in action. *Human Resource Management Journal, 16*, 173–192. doi:10.1111/j.1748-8583.2006.00011.x.
- Civil Rights Act of 1964 § 7, 42 U.S.C. §2000e *et seq.* (1964). Retrieved from Equal Employment Opportunity Commission website: <http://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm>
- Cohen-Charash, Y., & Spector, P. E. (2001). The role of justice in organizations: A meta-analysis. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 86*, 278–324. doi:10.1006/obhd.2001.2958.
- Driskell, J. E., Willis, R. P., & Copper, C. (1992). Effect of overlearning on retention. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 77*, 615–622. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.77.5.615.
- Dukes v. Wal-Mart, No. C 01-2252 MJJ. (2001).
- EEOC v. Ford Motor Co. and United Automobile Workers of America, No. 1:04-CV-00845 S.D. Ohio. (2005).
- EEOC v. Seafarers International Union, No. 03-2057, 03-2058. (2005).
- Folger, F., & Konovsky, M. A. (1989). Effects of procedural and distributive justice on reactions to pay raise decisions. *Academy of Management Journal, 32*, 115–130. doi:10.2307/256422.
- Freedman, E. (1996, March 25). Former Vermont dealer heads to prison. *Automotive News*. Retrieved from <http://www.autonews.com/>
- Gagne, R. M., Briggs, L. J., & Wager, W. W. (1992). *Principles of instructional design*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Gatewood, R. D., Field, H. S., & Barrick, M. (2008). *Human resource selection* (6th ed.). Mason, OH: Thomson South-Western.
- Goldstein, I. L., & Ford, K. J. (2002). *Training in organizations: Needs assessment, development, and evaluation* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Herold, D. M., Davis, W., Fedor, D. B., & Parsons, C. (2002). Dispositional influences on transfer of learning in multi-stage training programs. *Personnel Psychology, 55*, 851–869. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.2002.tb00132.x.
- Holladay, C. L., & Quinones, M. A. (2003). Practice variability and transfer of training: The role of self-efficacy generality. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 88*, 1094–1103. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.88.6.1094.
- Kanfer, R., & Ackerman, P. L. (1989). Motivation and cognitive abilities: An integrative/aptitude-treatment interaction approach to skill acquisition. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 74*, 657–690. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.74.4.657.

- Kirkpatrick, D. L. (1976). Evaluation of training. In R. L. Craig & L. R. Bittel (Eds.), *Training and development handbook* (2nd ed., pp. 18–27). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Komaki, J., Heinzmann, A. T., & Lawson, L. (1980). Effect of training and feedback: Component analysis of a behavioral safety program. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 65*, 261–270. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.65.3.261.
- Kunde, D. (1999, October 14). Ex-employee wins airline racism suit. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from <http://www.dallasnews.com/>
- Levy, P. E. (2009). *Industrial/organizational psychology: Understanding the workplace*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Litvan, L. M. (1991, July 18). GAO: Job program is unfair to blacks. *The Washington Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtontimes.com/>
- Maurer, T., & Rafuse, N. (2001). Learning, not litigating: Managing employee development and avoiding claims of age discrimination. *The Academy of Management Executive, 15*, 110–121. doi:10.5465/AME.2001.5898395.
- McGehee, W., & Thayer, P. (1961). *Training in business and industry*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Moorman, R. H. (1991). Relationship between organizational justice and organizational citizenship behaviors: Do fairness perceptions influence employee citizenship? *Journal of Applied Psychology, 76*, 845–855. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.76.6.845.
- Noe, R. A. (2010). *Employee training and development* (5th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill Irwin.
- Paradise, A. (2009). *The ASTD 2009 state of industry report: Executive summary*. Alexandria, VA: U.S. American Society for Training and Development.
- Robinson, D. G., & Robinson, J. C. (1995). *Performance consulting: Moving beyond training*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Rouiller, J. Z., & Goldstein, I. L. (1993). The relationship between organizational transfer climate and positive transfer of training. *Human Resource Development Quarterly, 4*, 377–390. doi:10.1002/hrdq.3920040408.
- Saks, A., & Belcourt, M. (2006). An investigation of training activities and transfer of training in organizations. *Human Resource Management, 45*, 629–648.
- Thorndike, E. L., & Woodworth, R. S. (1901). The influence of improvement of one mental function upon the efficiency of other functions. *Psychological Review, 8*, 247–261. doi:10.1037/h0074898.
- Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures (UGESP). (1978). *Federal Register, 43*, 38290–38315.
- Werner, J. M., & Bolino, M. C. (1997). Explaining U.S. Court of appeals decisions involving performance appraisal: Accuracy, fairness, and validation. *Personnel Psychology, 50*, 1–24. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.1997.tb00898.x.
- Wexley, K. N., & Latham, G. P. (2002). *Developing and training human resources in organizations*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Xiao, J. (1996). The relationship between organizational factors and the transfer of training in the electronics industry in Shenzhen, China. *Human Resource Development Quarterly, 7*, 55–73.

Chapter 7

Career Stagnation: Underlying Dilemmas and Solutions in Contemporary Work Environments

Andrea E. Abele, Judith Volmer, and Daniel Spurk

Introduction

Imagine a young professional called Steve who has received a master's degree in business administration and who happened to get a promising job. The first 2 years of his professional experience were good. He received positive feedback from his supervisors and he felt good with his career development. However, in his third year, Steve noticed that others around him got promoted, whereas he remained on his position. Steve was very disappointed about the lack of promotion, but did not dare to ask his supervisors for reasons. Steve did not trust in his capabilities anymore, and as he felt badly about his career development, he made more mistakes and consequently received negative feedback from his supervisors. Steve was given less opportunities to solve challenging tasks, and his learning opportunities and mastery experiences were reduced. At the end of his third year, Steve was disappointed, his assertiveness was reduced, and he doubted whether he was competent enough for his job.

Imagine next a young professional called Laura who has graduated in law studies with distinction and started her career in one of the most prestigious countrywide law firms. At first, she was just happy that she had received this good job immediately after graduation. However, after having worked in the law firm for 1 year, she realized that she was seldom invited to customer meetings and that the tasks assigned to her were not very challenging. Laura received no feedback from her supervisors. She felt that her supervisors wanted her to stay at the position she had and did not want her to move up the career ladder.

Finally, imagine Mark – an engineer – who started his career 1 year ago in a large manufacturing company. When he started in his organization, he noticed that his colleagues worked under high time pressure with low job control and that task ambiguity was high. At first, he told himself that every organization has its advantages and disadvantages and that he just had to get accustomed to the situation. However, after a couple of weeks, some of his colleagues often blamed him for mistakes the team made due to time pressure. Moreover, when Mark's colleagues went to lunch, they never asked him if he would like to join them, even when he was standing next to them. Often, his colleagues also made jokes about his appearance, his private situation and his

A.E. Abele, Ph.D. (✉) • J. Volmer, Ph.D. • D. Spurk, Ph.D.
Social Psychology Group, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg,
Bismarckstr. 6, D 91054 Erlangen, Germany
e-mail: abele@phil.uni-erlangen.de

comments on work-related issues. The situation became worse from week to week and after half a year; Mark often felt nervous, insecure, and helpless; and he could not concentrate on his work anymore. When he was very desperate about his situation, Mark decided to talk to one of his supervisors. But instead of offering help, his supervisor told Mark that he could not imagine that his colleagues acted the way he has described the situation and that Mark had to solve the situation by himself. These are just three examples of employees who experienced career stagnation.

Most people experience phases in which they do not move ahead or in which they feel that they are not making career progress. These phases can be factual, for example, when someone does not get promoted; they can also be a subjective interpretation, for example, when a person has unrealistic career goals, or a generally pessimistic worldview. In this chapter, we are concerned with *career stagnation* as the involuntary – at least temporary – end of one’s career development. Career stagnation has a negative impact on a person’s quality of life. This negative impact will be the stronger the longer this career stagnation is experienced and the more a person feels unable to overcome it. Career stagnation will become a dilemma when an individual is not able to cope with it and/or if every means of dealing with career stagnation has both desired and undesired consequences.

Career stagnation can have several reasons that may be located in the person (e.g., self-efficacy issues, goal issues) or in interpersonal factors (e.g., dual-career issues), in the organization (e.g., discrimination at work, lack of socialization, bullying), or in the labor market situation (e.g., economic meltdowns, changing job requirements). The above examples illustrate that reasons for career stagnation can be manifold. Steve experienced career stagnation due to personal factors, i.e., a lack of self-efficacy which was, however, reinforced during his stay at his company. He became increasingly insecure, and this had negative consequences on his performance. Laura had a good start, but then she received no more support from her company, she was given no feedback, and she was not promoted; Mark, finally, was exposed to serious social stress with again negative consequences on his performance. He was the target of mobbing tactics and did not receive organizational support.

Moreover, career stagnation may result from only one reason (e.g., lack of self-efficacy) or from multiple reasons (e.g., lack of self-efficacy and lack of support). In some cases, it may be easier to overcome career stagnation (e.g., competence training, antidiscrimination strategies) than in others (e.g., career stagnation due to economic crises, “dead-end jobs”). Unclear goals, for instance, can be relatively easily clarified. However, it is much more difficult to solve career stagnation for people with low human potential or in times of economic crises.

This chapter deals with dilemmas associated with career stagnation and thereby focuses on objective (e.g., promotion stagnation) and subjective (e.g., dissatisfaction) aspects of career stagnation. In the *first section* of the chapter, specific *person-level* and *interpersonal-level* dilemmas (self-efficacy-related, goal-related, attitude-related, dual-career-related) are identified and possible influences on objective and subjective career stagnation will be addressed. In the *second section* of the chapter, specific *organization-level dilemmas* (lack of support, bullying/mobbing, stereotypes/discrimination) are identified and again influences on objective and subjective career stagnation are addressed. In the *third section* of the chapter, *interventions* to overcome these dilemmas will be presented (e.g., self-efficacy and self-management trainings, career counseling, mentoring, anti-mobbing/anti-bullying strategies, recruitment strategies for dual-career couples, and antidiscrimination strategies). Throughout this chapter, we will refer to *unethical behavior* as the injury of the employees’ rights of *balance, respect, responsibility, autonomy, participation, justice, and voice*. More specifically, we will identify topics in which these rights may be ignored easily by the employer and/or the employee, and we will give recommendations on how to deal with these potentially unethical workplace situations. Further topics that may be relevant in regard to career stagnation such as job insecurity, unemployment, or dead-end jobs will not be discussed as they are beyond the scope of this chapter.

Reasons for Career Stagnation

Career Stagnation Related to Individual Factors

Many individual difference variables have been related to work behavior (Hall, 2002; Landy & Conte, 2007). Prominent and well-researched constructs in this domain have been *person-job fit* (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005), different forms of *commitment* (Vandenberghe, Klein, Becker, & Meyer, 2009), *personality* (Judge, Higgins, Thoresen, & Barrick, 1999), *self-efficacy* (Bandura, 1986), *goals* (Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Locke & Latham, 1990), *adaptability* (Rottinghaus, Day, & Borgen, 2005), *optimism* (Boehm & Lyubomirsky, 2008), and *career attitudes* (Briscoe, Hall, & FrautschyDeMuth, 2006). We will here exemplarily focus on two of the most prominent constructs in the tradition of sociocognitive theorizing (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994), i.e., self-efficacy and goals as well as on *boundaryless* and *protean* career attitudes which are two new constructs that recently gained much attention in career research (Hall, 2002).

Self-efficacy issues. *Self-efficacy* is defined as individuals' beliefs about their capabilities to perform some behavior or to meet a standard (Bandura, 1986). Self-efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1997) can be conceptualized on different levels of specificity. On the broadest level, generalized self-efficacy is sometimes seen as a personality facet (Judge, Erez, Bono, & Thoresen, 2003). On the most specific level, task-specific self-efficacy is most often used as a predictor of job performance (Smith, Kass, Rotunda, & Schneider, 2006; Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998). On a medium level of specificity and especially relevant for career progression are occupational self-efficacy (Abele, Stief, & Andrä, 2000), career decision self-efficacy (Betz, Klein, & Taylor, 1996; Betz & Luzzo, 1996), as well as career self-efficacy in terms of Holland's vocational interest domains (Betz, 2007).

Occupational self-efficacy is an individual's belief in his/her capacities to perform occupational tasks and challenges successfully and to pursue an occupational career irrespective of the particular field of occupation (e.g., Abele et al., 2000). A study by Abele and Spurk (2009b) has shown that occupational self-efficacy right after graduation is a significant predictor for professionals' status and salary 3 years after graduation and for status change, salary change, and career satisfaction up to 7 years after graduation. This prospective longitudinal study clearly showed that self-efficacy beliefs result in positive outcomes, at least in the early career phase. Another study by Spurk and Abele (2011) revealed that more distal personality influences on career success (salary) were partly or fully mediated by occupational self-efficacy beliefs which, in turn, had an influence on work-related behavior, i.e., work hours. Both studies showed that occupational self-efficacy beliefs are resulting in positive objective and subjective career outcomes and therefore have a buffering effect on career stagnation (see also Day & Allen, 2004; Higgins, Dobrow, & Chandler, 2008; Kim, Mone, & Kim, 2008; Saks, 1995; Valcour & Ladge, 2008). Mechanisms possibly mediating the positive effect of self-efficacy beliefs on career progress are setting higher goals to oneself (Abele & Spurk, 2009b; Bandura, 1997), persisting longer on difficult tasks (Bandura, 1997), investing more effort (Fu, Richards, & Jones, 2009; Spurk & Abele, 2011), being more satisfied with their jobs (Judge & Bono, 2001), and showing higher performance and a better behavior choice (Sadri & Robertson, 1993).

Career decision self-efficacy (CDSE) is an "individual's degree of belief that he or she can successfully complete tasks necessary to making career decisions" (cf. Betz et al., 1996, p. 46). The construct is built of five key components. These are accurate self-appraisal, gathering occupational information, goal selection, making plans for the future, and problem solving (pertinent research see Gushue, Scanlan, Pantzer, & Clarke, 2006; Li & Wang, 2006; Luzzo, 1993a, 1993b; Niles & Sowa, 1992; Patel, Salahuddin, & O'Brien, 2008; Scott & Ciani, 2008; Shimomura, 2007; Wang, Jome, Haase, & Bruch, 2006).

Remember our above example of Steve, who was very dissatisfied with his lacking career development over a longer period of time. With higher occupational self-efficacy and with appropriate CDSE skills, he would have been better off. Confidence in capabilities and motivation to successfully solve his occupational tasks might have led him to increase effort, to seek information from others, and to better perform his job. Appropriate CDSE skills might have helped him to make fast and correct choices for his future career development. For instance, an intervention study by Gati, Gadassi, and Shemesh (2006) revealed that clients who completed a computer-assisted career decision-making system for better career decisions were significantly more satisfied with their occupation 6 years later.

To sum up, a combination of high occupational self-efficacy and high CDSE may be particularly helpful for overcoming career stagnation. People with high occupational self-efficacy beliefs are more likely to be on a successful career pathway, and therefore the probability of career stagnation is lower. However, if career stagnation is already evident, people with high CDSE are more likely to overcome problems by making fast and appropriate choices.

Goal issues. Goals are a prominent issue in work and organizational psychology (Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Lens & Rand, 1997), and the majority of research was inspired by goal-setting theory (Locke & Latham, 2002; Locke, Shaw, Saari, & Latham, 1981). According to this theory, goals should be specific, measurable, attainable, realistic, and timely. If goals have these attributes, performance in different work domains is usually higher compared to goals lacking these attributes (Locke, Frederick, Lee, & Bobko, 1984; Luzzo, 1993a; Niles & Sowa, 1992). In the context of career research, these attributes are also relevant, but in addition, goal content is an important issue. Career research is concerned with personal goals (Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Maier & Brunstein, 2001), personal projects (Little, 1983), work values (Super & Zytowski, 1973), or specific goal content like, for instance, career-advancement goals (Frieze, Olson, Murrell, & Selvan, 2006; Locke & Latham, 2002; Spurk & Abele, 2011).

Recent research (Abele & Spurk, 2009b) on this topic identified a specific dilemma individuals with high career-advancement goals are confronted with. As would be predicted, both from sociocognitive theorizing (Lent et al., 1994) and from goal-setting theory (Locke & Latham, 2002), high career-advancement goals had a positive impact on objective career success like salary and status. However, the impact of career-advancement goals on subjective success, i.e., career satisfaction, was negative. This is a challenging finding because it suggests an obvious dilemma. Maybe people with extremely high career-advancement goals also have extremely high expectations about their own career, so that these expectations can rarely be met.

Another explanation could be that career-advancement goals are not the type of goals that make people happy as might be suggested by self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1980). Studies on life satisfaction show that personal life goals regarding money, power, status, and prestige are negatively related to life satisfaction (Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Schmuck, Kasser, & Ryan, 2000; Sheldon, Ryan, Deci, & Kasser, 2004) or well-being like life satisfaction (Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Schmuck et al., 2000; Sheldon et al., 2004). Further research about motive–goal congruence (Hofer & Chasiotis, 2003; Schultheiss, Jones, Davis, & Kley, 2008), goal compatibility (Brendl & Moskowitz, 2001; Chernev, 2009), and goal progress (Job & Brandstätter, 2009; Koestner, Otis, Powers, Pelletier, & Gagnon, 2008; Pomaki, Karoly, & Maes, 2009; Schmidt, Dolis, & Tolli, 2009) is needed to learn more about how this obvious dilemma of career-advancement goals can be solved.

To sum up, career-advancement goals seem to have both positive and negative effects. It is important to set oneself challenging career goals, but these career goals should be realistic because otherwise disappointment is inevitable. They should further not be the only goals because goals related to other domains of work (learning, mastery) and life (social relationships) are important for fostering individuals' well-being and life satisfaction.

Regarding goal issues, we see the rights for balance and voice most at risk to be violated by employers. If they impose work goals that are almost unattainable or that are so absorbing that other goals have no chance to be pursued, then they act unethically. Organizations and career developers are responsible to give the necessary autonomy and freedom to their employees to develop and pursue their own goals in addition to the goals provided by the organization. Externally set goals that swamp the employee either with respect to his/her time or regarding his/her competencies are unethical. For example, an employer who imposes extremely high and unattainable goals, or expects employees to work 60–70 h a week, or regards frequent travels with little spare time and time for recovery and refreshment as the norm, would behave unethically. In the above case of Laura, there was also a conflict between her individual goals and the organization's goal. Laura had strong career-advancement goals; she wanted to move ahead, to learn at work, and to obtain responsibility after some time on the job. However, the law firm wanted her to stay at the position she had and did not give her opportunities to engage in challenging and new situations. It is unethical not to inform Laura about the lack of career-advancement opportunities already during the selection process by providing a realistic job preview. Unethical goals impair the employee's well-being and performance. They may make people feel incompetent albeit they objectively are not; they may make people feel exhausted and deprived. After such an experience, it becomes extremely difficult to recover and to be successful in one's career. Therefore, we recommend that organizational career developers consider employees' competencies and career stage and that they set challenging and realistic goals. Consequently, employees can make mastery experiences which help them to flourish and develop. Moreover, organizations should inform employees about career opportunities and thereby give them voice to decide whether to accept a job offer or not or to change the organization at an early time point, respectively, when individual and organizational goals are incompatible.

Attitudinal issues. Attitudes are an important topic in many fields of psychology (Glasman & Albarracarin, 2006; Riketta, 2008), and recent research on careers also focuses on different forms of career orientations (Gerber, Wittekind, Grote, & Staffebach, 2009) or attitudes (Hall, 2002) like *protean* and *boundaryless* career attitudes (Briscoe & Hall, 2006). These concepts are derived from the so-called new career literature that has developed in response to new challenges on the labor market as, for instance, the "new economy" (Arthur, 1996; Peiperl & Baruch, 1997). People with a protean career attitude consider themselves as being the key drivers of their careers. They are values-driven as they shape their career according to their own internal values and beliefs, and they are self-directed as they pursue their careers based on personally defined career goals. Their personal identity is a guide for career decisions. Boundaryless career attitudes refer to *organizational mobility preferences* (i.e., people's physical mobility) and a *boundaryless mindset* (i.e., people's psychological mobility). People with a high organizational mobility preference prefer to work in different organizations and cross organizational boundaries by taking an employment elsewhere. A person with a boundaryless mindset enjoys working on projects with people across many organizations and is energized and feels enthusiastic about engaging in new experiences and situations outside of the organization (Briscoe & Hall, 2006).

The general assumption of respective approaches states that persons with protean attitudes as well as with boundaryless attitudes should be better able to define their individual career and to "make" this career. Consequently, they should also be less prone to experience career stagnation. Until now, however, there are only few studies analyzing these postulated relationships.

De Vos and Soens (2008) showed that a component of the protean career attitude was related to perceived employability and career satisfaction (see also Volmer & Spurk, 2011). Two further studies (De Vos, Dewettinck, & Buyens, 2009; Hall, 2002) found that people with better career self-management perceived more subjective career success and a higher affective commitment to their career. Career self-management also predicted the preferences for both vertical career

moves and moves relating to job enrichment and temporary moves. These moves can be seen as one possibility to prevent career stagnation. Regarding boundaryless career attitudes, Briscoe et al. (2006) found no correlation with the number of jobs and employer changes. However, organizational mobility preference was negatively related to organizational commitment making interorganizational moves more likely (Briscoe & Finkelstein, 2009). A recent study by Volmer and Spurk (2011), finally, found a positive association between organizational mobility preference and salary. One interpretation of this relationship could be that human capital gets enriched through interorganizational moves (Feldman & Ng, 2007).

These studies suggest that at least on the subjective level, protean and boundaryless career attitudes might prevent individuals from the experience of career stagnation. However, they do not answer the question if these constructs add to our understanding of career development when compared to, for instance, self-regulation or self-management (cf. Abele & Wiese, 2008). Maybe protean and boundaryless career attitudes are best conceptualized as concomitants of different forms of self-regulation and self-management in the context of careers.

To sum up, boundaryless and protean career attitudes may prevent individuals from career stagnation because these individuals tend to show higher adaptability, identity, and self-management levels. More research is needed to embed these constructs into research on self-regulation.

Regarding the nature of the above described career attitudes, careers that are “overcontrolled” by the organization in terms of formal programs or prescribed career paths may ignore the rights for autonomy and voice of employees. However, organizations might also exploit employees with high protean and boundaryless career attitudes. In the above case of Steve who experienced career stagnation because he did not get promoted, organizations could shift responsibility on to him. In a “trial-and-error” way, organizations could then only promote people who “survive” in difficult circumstances and outsource people like Steve who have difficulties. Organizations could also exploit people with a high boundaryless career attitude by imposing a high travel load without considering ethical issues of balance, respect, and justice. Again, organizations could rely on his/her career attitudes and behave unethically by not taking responsibility for their employees. Early interventions from the organizations such as self-efficacy trainings, career counseling, and mentoring would possibly have prevented Steve from the discouraging experience of career stagnation. From an ethical perspective, we consider it to be important that organizations intervene and offer support when employees are overstrained with managing their careers. Otherwise, when organizations only build on people who function under the given circumstances, economic and psychological costs may be high in the long run.

Dual-career issues. Dilemmas associated with career stagnation can also be located at the interpersonal level. People usually are not alone when they develop their careers, but they have a partner, a family, and social bonds that are of utmost importance in their lives. This means that an individual’s career has to be attuned to his/her social environment. We will focus here on one recent development that makes attunement relevant, i.e., dual-career issues.

Due to the steady increase of women’s education and their steady increase in workforce participation, a relatively new partnership constellation has evolved. It has existed for about 40 years in noteworthy numbers and has been termed *dual-career couple* (DCC). DCCs can be defined as couples wherein both partners (with or without children) are (often but not necessarily) highly educated (university degree or comparable), work full time, and have high career aspirations (Abele & Volmer, 2011; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1969). Scholars agree that core values within DCC constellations are high job commitment, respect and interest in the partner’s career, and gender and value equality.

In their pioneer research, Rapoport and Rapoport (1969) conducted interviews with 16 dual-career families and outlined five major forms of dilemmas DCCs are confronted with: overload dilemmas, personal norm dilemmas, identity dilemmas, social network dilemmas, and role-cycling

dilemmas. Overload dilemmas refer to the fact that DCCs are confronted with stressors from work *and* life domain but that resources are limited. Personal norm dilemmas result from discrepancies between personal and social norms. For example, working mothers reported to be confronted with societal expectations to quit employment in order to take care of their children but that they also wanted to pursue their careers. Dilemmas of identity can arise because different roles have to be fulfilled in the work (e.g., assertiveness, dominance) and life domain (e.g., patience, caring behavior). Social network dilemmas can result when family and friends have different role arrangements which could trigger the normative dilemma. Finally, role-cycling dilemmas refer to the dilemma to make decisions whether to curtail career engagement in favor of family commitment and to problems resulting from decisions regarding job offers. Rapaport and Rapaport's (1969) research guided later research on DCCs that has mainly focused on the dilemmas, and most studies found that DCCs experience more stress, work-family conflict, family conflict, role ambiguity, role conflict, and overload than single-career couples (e.g., Elloy & Smith, 2003; Parasuraman, Greenhaus, & Granrose, 1992). Yet, work and spouse support has been associated with increased well-being in the respective domain (Crossfield, Kinman, & Jones, 2005).

Contrary to studies on the negative effects of the DCC constellation on well-being, another line of research has focused on the positive effect of the engagement in two domains (e.g., Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). These researchers postulate that engaging in two domains may have benefits and can be mutually rewarding. Results show, for example, that individuals with high job autonomy and a strong network were more satisfied with childcare and that in turn positive family experiences and partner support was positively related to work success (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000).

In contemporary work environments, career development often requires organizational mobility (Ackers, 2004; Challiol & Mignonac, 2005; Feldman & Ng, 2007; Robert & Budoki, 2002). However, relocation decisions are especially difficult for DCCs as compatibility issues have to be considered. Research has shown that even in DCCs, traditional gender roles still exist (Valcour & Tolbert, 2003) and that living in a DCC partnership often has detrimental effects on women's career success as they more often give priority to their partner's career. However, there is also evidence that spouse occupational and informational resources can have a positive impact on the other partner's career upward moves (Robert & Budoki, 2002). Relocation decisions become especially difficult when DCCs have children. The requirement to combine two careers can have detrimental effects on career progression. Research on career patterns has shown that women more often than men interrupt their careers when a child was born (e.g., Abele & Spurk, 2011; Gattiker & Larwood, 1990; Williams & Han, 2003). Moreover, women more often than men engage in "compatibility management," namely, they invest more time in household activities and spend more time for child care or elderly care (Ackers, 2004).

To sum up, interpersonal factors of partnership constellation, here DCC, can influence career development both into the direction of progress and stagnation. Living in a partnership with equal values and attitudes can have positive benefits and offers resources but can also be a strain as demands from different life domains have to be integrated.

Which ethical principles are relevant to the dual-career issue dilemma? Employees might experience a conflict because they feel torn between the fulfillment of both their work and non-work roles and organizations might be afraid that employees who devote too much time and effort to their nonwork domain could cause financial losses. Yet, employees are responsible to organizations, and organizations are responsible to employees; they should reflect upon the training of strategies that can help to integrate both life domains (e.g., stress management trainings, use of support by others, negotiation of goals in partnerships), and organizations should create an ethical environment by granting balance, autonomy, and justice. Quality of life interventions that would alleviate the dilemma might consist of offering flexible work hours, telecommuting jobs,

dual-career hiring strategies, and promotion opportunities also for employees who cannot easily relocate. We recommend that organizations recognize that employees' well-being depends on creating balance between work and nonwork domains.

Career Stagnation Related to Organizational Factors

Lack of socialization/support/mentoring. Career stagnation, of course, can also be related to suboptimal organizational conditions, as was suggested in our above example of Laura who did not receive organizational support. A key facet of organizational support is *organizational socialization* that aims at helping newcomers' adjustment and newcomers' career advancement (Hall, 2002). Socialization tactics are organizational approaches to information dissemination to facilitate adjustment in new roles (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). One widely accepted approach to classify different types of organizational socialization tactics was presented by Jones (1986). Under this approach, the six dimensions provided by Van Maanen and Schein (1979) were clustered within three dimensions. These are *content* (collective, formal), *context* (sequential, fixed), and *social* (serial, investiture) aspects of socialization. Content tactics refer to the existence of clear stages for training and a clear timetable for role adjustment within a specific organization. Context tactics refer to learning task requirements as part of a group and having formal training before starting the actual job. Social tactics refer to receiving positive feedback and identity affirmation from organizational insiders and having a trusted insider to guide individuals within the organization (cf. Jones, 1986). A recent meta-analysis (Bauer, Bodner, Erdogan, Truxillo, & Tucker, 2007) showed that all these organizational socialization tactics are related to career development. The most consistent and strongest relationships were found for social socialization tactics. These tactics are positively related to role clarity, self-efficacy, social acceptance, performance, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and intentions to remain in the institution, and they are negatively related to with turnovers. As at least some of these variables are positively related to career progress (e.g., Abele & Spurk, 2009a; Feldman & Ng, 2007; Hall, 2002; Hall & Chandler, 2005; Ng, Sorensen, Eby, & Feldman, 2007; Schneer & Reitman, 1997), we identify the lack of social organizational socialization tactics as a key factor for career stagnation of individuals.

An important instrument of organizational socialization is *mentoring* defined as "the relationship between a younger adult and an older, more experienced adult who helps the individual learn to navigate the adult world and the world of work" (Kram, 1985, p. 2). There has been more and more research on mentoring in recent years (Baranik, Roling, & Eby, 2010; Blickle, Witzki, & Schneider, 2009; Singh, Ragins, & Tharenou, 2009). A first set of studies was concerned with who will be more likely to receive mentoring, and hence will be a protégé, and who will not receive it. A study by Fagenson (1992) found that protégés had a significantly higher need for power and achievement but not for affiliation and autonomy than nonprotégés. Allen (2004) has found that the most critical person factor related to protégé selection by mentors was willingness to learn. Additionally, the mentor's motivation was a moderator for protégé selection. Mentors with an intrinsic satisfaction motive relied more on the willingness to learn of protégés, whereas mentors with self-enhancement motives relied more on the protégés ability. Gender composition of the mentor-protégé relationship had no influence. Whereas these studies were cross-sectional, other research (Singh et al., 2009) longitudinally tested the "rising star hypothesis." In accord with this hypothesis, these authors found that persons with a positive promotional history, high advancement expectations, high career initiative, and high skill development had a higher probability of having a mentor 1 year later than persons who did not fulfill these criteria.

Regarding the outcome of mentoring processes, studies often distinguish between career-related mentoring and psychosocial mentoring (Kram, 1985; Noe, 1988). *Career-related mentoring* focuses on protégés' advancement within the organization and includes sponsorship, visibility, coaching, protection, and challenging assignments. *Psychosocial mentoring* focuses on interpersonal aspects and relationships and includes role modeling, acceptance, confirmation, counseling, and friendship. A meta-analysis applying this distinction (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004) found that mentored groups generally were more successful both in terms of objective attainments (i.e., compensation and promotions) and in terms of subjective judgments (i.e., career satisfaction, expectations for advancement, career commitment, job satisfaction, intentions to stay). Effect sizes, however, were small (sample weighted mean correlations: objective career .12–.31, subjective career .10–.27). The comparison of mentoring types revealed that career-related mentoring was more strongly associated with objective outcomes than psychosocial mentoring. There was almost no difference between career-related and psychosocial mentoring with respect to subjective career outcomes despite the fact that psychosocial mentoring clearly leads to higher satisfaction with the mentoring relationship (sample weighted mean correlations .63). Another meta-analysis concerned with gender differences in mentoring (O'Brien, Biga, Kessler, & Allen, 2008; Patel et al., 2008) showed that women and men received the same amount of career mentoring, but that men received less psychosocial support. Still another meta-analysis (Eby, Allen, Evans, Ng, & DuBois, 2008) that focused on specific groups (youth vs. academic vs. workplace) revealed that the relationship of mentoring with performance was strongest in academic settings.

To sum up, organizational socialization is an important means of supporting newcomers' careers and mentoring is an important instrument of organizational socialization. It seems that "rising stars" have a higher probability of receiving mentoring, and this receipt of mentoring, in turn, leads to a positive feedback process of higher objective and subjective success, especially if this mentoring is career-focused. Contrarily, people who do not catch supervisors' eyes have a lower probability to be chosen as a protégé and as a consequence may eventually experience career stagnation. The above findings on occupational self-efficacy nicely fit this picture since people low in self-efficacy – even though they may do a good job – will not catch as much attention as people high in self-efficacy, will not have the same chance to receive mentoring, and will eventually have a higher chance of career stagnation. Remember our above example of Steve. Due to his low self-efficacy, his performance suffered and he experienced career stagnation. Organizations are faced with a dilemma: most often, it might be easier to promote "rising stars" than to give special consideration to employees with low self-efficacy. Promoting rising stars will result in immediate return of investments, whereas supporting employees with self-efficacy problems takes time and – if at all – the interventions might not immediately show the desired effects. The organization could argue that – in line with the new career idea – employees have to take responsibility for their careers. Furthermore, organizations could argue that employees should have the freedom of choice whether they want to increase their self-efficacy or not. Or they could realize that employees bring different experiences and personalities with them making support for some employees an ethical strategy to prevent career stagnation. We recommend providing interventions of socialization, support, and mentoring to employees who show a deficit in self-efficacy. This guarantees employees' rights, especially justice, participation, and voice, and prevents career stagnation. As employees often do not readily realize that they need a training, organizations have to help them and engage in ethical decision-making.

On a societal level, one could also argue that supporting only employees with the highest potential would lead to the outsourcing of low potentials resulting in higher unemployment rates. Due to the fact that a lot of organizations are granted by the state, they also have the responsibility to disburden the state by supporting employees with medium or even low

potential. Therefore, supporting exclusively high potentials represents unethical behavior on a more general, societal level.

Bullying/mobbing. *Bullying and mobbing* are the reverse of organizational support. Instead of helping an employee to develop his/her full potential, persons and groups who bully and mob others cause them social harm and social stress and will hinder them in their career development. Whereas the term bullying is used if the harassment towards one person is caused by one single other party, the term mobbing is used if two or more people show harassment against a single other party (Landy & Conte, 2007). The terms are, however, also used interchangeably with bullying being the more frequent term in the USA and mobbing being the more frequent term in Europe (Zapf & Gross, 2001). Respective research was mainly conducted in European countries, especially in Scandinavia. Our above example of "Mark" illustrates a case of career stagnation that may have to do with bullying/mobbing.

According to Leymann (1990, 1996), the phenomenon is evident if somebody is harassed, offended, socially excluded, or has to carry out humiliating tasks and if the person concerned is in an inferior position. Additionally, this behavior has to occur repeatedly and over a longer time period (see also Einarsen, 2000; Hoel, Rayner, Cooper, & Robertson, 1999). Bullying/mobbing strategies are, for instance, withdrawal from decision-making authority, social isolation, direct attacks on persons, and verbal and physical aggression. Estimates for the prevalence rates of bullying vary between 1% and 3.5% (Einarsen, 2000; Zapf, 1999), and the phenomenon is not negligible at all. Consequences of bullying are severe and go beyond typical stress symptoms like fatigue or agitation (Zapf, 1999). Psychosomatic symptoms like exhaustion, nervousness, headache, and insomnia as well as depressive moods are highly frequent consequences of bullying. Anxiety disorders and posttraumatic stress syndromes also can be seen after severe phases of bullying. Bullying victims often are long-term certified unfit for work or receive invalidity pension (Hoel et al., 1999; Leymann, 1993). In extreme cases, victims retire from the labor market and never return to work (Zapf, 1999).

Bullying/mobbing is an extreme behavior leading to career stagnation on the part of the victims. Research has shown that organizational factors supporting mobbing behaviors are high time pressure, inflexible hierarchies, limited scope of action, low appreciation of tasks, and inadequate leadership behavior (Einarsen, 2000). It has also been suggested that specific persons may be more prone to become victims of mobbing than others, i.e., persons high in neuroticism or low in social skills, or women compared to men. Findings are inconclusive, however (Leymann, 1996).

To sum up, workplace bullying has severe consequences for the victim. Due to severe health problems, bullying victims may interrupt their career or even drop out of the labor market. And those victims who stay in their job may show weakened job performance. Organizations have to be attentive to these processes and have to change their structures such that the probability of these unethical behaviors is reduced. Future research on these extreme social stressors is warranted.

Regarding bullying, the organization is faced with a dilemma. For instance, in the case of Mark, who was treated badly, the organization could take one of two perspectives. On the one hand, the organization could realize that bullying violates Mark's rights for freedom, justice, and voice. This would suggest that Mark needs support from the organization and that the organization puts emphasis on anti-bullying strategies and programs with the goal to respect Mark's rights of freedom, justice, and voice. On the other hand, the organization could blame Mark for being mobbed. The organization could argue that his personality and his behavior do not fit organizational values. In this case, the organization would not give support to Mark. Instead, it would expect that Mark himself will take initiative but not the organization. The company would mainly be concerned about the organization's image in the public. However, there may be severe and long-lasting consequences both for the individual and for the organization if bullying is just

ignored. We recommend that bullying should be regarded as serious and highly unethical workplace behavior and that organizations place high priority to anti-bullying strategies and programs with the goal to respect the individual rights of freedom, justice, and voice.

Stereotypes and discrimination. Another form of negative and unethical behavior directed at others in the workplace is discriminative behavior resulting from negative stereotypes. Stereotypes are fixed and simplified images of the members of a group. Categorizing a person as belonging to a specific group usually is enough to activate the respective stereotype, which then leads to adding characteristics to this person that have to do with the stereotype, but not with the person. Discrimination is the negative behavior following the stereotype. Race, ethnicity, disability, age, sexual orientation, and gender are examples for categorizing persons into groups that may lead to stereotypes. There is a huge amount of research on stereotypes and discrimination at the workplace, and due to space limitations, we will here be only concerned with gender stereotypes and with discrimination of women at the workplace.

Women's human capital in terms of education and skills has dramatically increased during the last 100 years, and their participation in the paid workforce increased steadily over the past decades as well [72.3% of all women in the United States (US) aged between 25 and 54 (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009) and 59.1% of women aged between 15 and 64 in the European Union (EU) were employed (Eurostat, 2010)]. However, few women are represented in upper management and leadership positions (Stroh, Langlands, Simpson, Stockdale, & Crosby, 2004), women are disadvantaged in personnel selection procedures for management positions (Pichler, Simpson, & Stroh, 2008), women have reduced opportunities to be appointed to challenging positions in the future after a failure as a manager of a company in a crisis situation (Ferris, Jagannathan, & Pritchard, 2003), and women earn on average less than men in comparable positions (Blau & Devardo, 2007; see also Watt & Eccles, 2008).

Although gender discrimination is obvious, it may operate through subtle processes. Women often stop career progression at impenetrable barriers also called *glass ceiling* (Kanter, 1977). The term "the glass ceiling" refers to an invisible barrier that limits the level to which women as a group can advance within the hierarchy in an organization. Recent research has identified circumstances under which women nevertheless do achieve leadership positions, despite the glass ceiling (Ryan & Haslam, 2005, 2007). Especially in crisis situations, women are more likely to achieve leadership positions (Haslam & Ryan, 2008; Ryan & Haslam, 2005), a phenomenon called *glass cliff* (Bruckmüller & Branscombe, 2010). Possibly, men are less willing to take over such risky positions, and women who take them are at risk to fail – and then to involuntarily support the stereotype that "women cannot lead." Related to such risky positions women may obtain is their so-called token status (Kanter, 1977). It refers to the fact that women often have a minority status in leadership positions and their behavior is observed with special attention. Any deviation from expected behaviors may lead to questioning their suitability for this position.

There are many reasons for women's underrepresentation in leadership positions like, for instance, their higher willingness to take over family responsibilities (Abele & Spurk, 2011; Reitman & Schneer, 2005) or their gender-role attitudes (Abele, 2003; Kirchmeyer, 1998). However, stereotypes and discrimination must not be underestimated.

Early research on gender stereotypes in the workplace was concerned with the *think-manager-think-male* phenomenon (Schein, 1975, 2001) which describes the close association between "masculine" and "managerial" attributes. Subsequent research (Sczesny, 2003) has shown that it is in fact much easier to imagine a male manager than a female manager and this differential association could be a factor in stereotyping women as less suited for leadership than men. In their role congruity theory, Eagly and Karau (2002) go one step further and demonstrate that there are two types of stereotypes and prejudices against women in leadership

positions. First, women are regarded as less competent for leadership positions. This is the above “think-manager-think-male” phenomenon. Secondly, women who hold a leadership position are evaluated more negatively than respective men as they act against expected gender-role stereotypes (cf. the social-role theory, Eagly, 1987). Stereotypic views of women can serve as an excuse for excluding women from leadership position (glass ceiling) and/or evaluating her performance mainly through a gender perspective (token status).

To sum up, there are still many instances in the labor market in which belongingness to a certain social group reduces an individual’s chances for career progression irrespective of his/her performance and motivation. Discrimination of women has clearly observable effects since women are less successful in their careers than they could be due to their human capital. Discrimination is based on gender stereotypes that define women as less suited for leadership positions than men. Gender stereotypes may, however, also be a plea for underlying reasons of discrimination like fear of competition or fear of losing status. People responsible for personnel selection and personnel development should be especially attentive for possible group stereotypes that may hinder individuals’ careers. Avoiding discrimination at the workplace is very important, and organizations not paying attention to discrimination behave in an unethical way because they hurt the principles of respect, justice, and responsibility. Diversity management strategies that acknowledge differences among employees and value these differences are recommended as work life interventions. Giving, for example, equal opportunities to men and women and thereby granting an equal amount of voice, justice, and respect independent of gender will help to establish an ethical environment that pays attention to employees’ rights. Decisions regarding promotion and salary should be based on qualification issues and not on gender.

Interventions/Resolutions Addressing Lack of Career Opportunities

We have now described a number of ethical dilemmas that can arise with some of an organization’s employees. These dilemmas first of all are individual dilemmas because for many different reasons persons cannot live up to their goals and expectations. However, these dilemmas are also dilemmas of the organization. Organizations usually express high ethical standards, they express values, and they want to live these values. Organizations, of course, also want to make money, and at times it seems that living up to ethical standards and earning a high amount of money are incompatible. Recent literature (Ordonez, Schweitzer, Galinsky, & Bazerman, 2009) suggests that unethical behavior can indeed lead to profit gains in the short term. However, unethical behavior does not pay in the long term because it will harm the organization and will eventually even lead to insolvency. Hence, it is extremely important to not only consider short-term consequences of more or less ethical behavior but also to consider the future. Outsourcing “difficult” employees might help in the short run. However, the image of the company might suffer, people might be less interested to work in this company, the climate in the company might impair, etc. Conversely, research on ethical leadership (Brown & Treviño, 2006) which is characterized by an emphasis of the leader on ethical standards and moral management has been shown to be positively associated with organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) (Mayer, Kuenzi, Greenbaum, Bardes, & Salvador, 2009). OCB in turn has been positively associated with numerous important individual- and organizational-level outcomes (e.g., Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009). Applying ethical rules strictly may be beneficial for both the individual and the organization, at least in the long run. The following part of this chapter will therefore describe some interventions that aim at helping the individual and the organization in dealing with ethical dilemmas.

Interventions/Resolutions at the Individual Level

Self-efficacy trainings. Throughout this chapter, we have advocated the relevance of self-efficacy beliefs in self-managing one's career and in overcoming career stagnation. Therefore, self-efficacy training seems one important intervention at the individual level to overcome career stagnation. Wood and Bandura (1989) suggest four different strategies for increasing self-efficacy (cf. also Landy & Conte, 2007): Employees should be provided with guidance and technical/logistic support so that they most likely experience success on a challenging task. They thus will experience mastery and, as a first strategy, mastery experiences should help to strengthen beliefs in one's capabilities. Second, modeling can be effective in strengthening people's self-efficacy. When an individual observes that another person who has a similar background (in terms of abilities, experience, etc.) successfully completes a difficult task, this can strengthen the focal person's self-efficacy. To implement modeling at work, one could pair an individual with a fellow coworker who has been successful in completing a difficult task in the past. Third, social persuasion can increase self-efficacy. When an individual is encouraged by others who express confidence in his/her ability, an individual's efficacy beliefs will raise. Individuals should experience feedback and reinforcement by significant others (supervisors, mentors). Finally, physiological states can play a role in influencing people's self-efficacy. When people experience feelings of stress or fatigue, they tend to interpret this as signaling lack of competencies. Stress reduction strategies that reduce the experience of stress or fatigue will be useful steps.

A recent research conducted by McNatt and Judge (2008) is an example for a self-efficacy intervention study. They randomly assigned participants (71 newcomers and recent insider financial accounting auditors) to treatment and control conditions. Participants conducted 15–20-min interviews followed by written researcher-drafted communications at weeks 3, 6, and 9. In the self-efficacy treatment condition, participants' self-efficacy was enhanced by verbal persuasion and modeling. The interviewer stressed that the participant was selected in a highly competitive selection procedure and possessed the skills to be successful at his/her job, and the interviewer also reminded participants of their past successes. At week 3, 6, and 9, participants received messages – allegedly – from top management (from credible expert sources) with self-efficacy-enhancing communications (e.g., by communicating support and reassurance). In the control condition, participants did not receive any self-efficacy-increasing communication statements during the interview and only informational mails from management at respective times. McNatt and Judge (2008) found that the self-efficacy intervention indeed raised employees' self-efficacy and improved job attitudes. Although the effects were relatively small (average effect of $d = .17$), results indicate that self-efficacy is malleable even with little intervention.

Self-management trainings. With changing labor market conditions (see above, Arthur, 1996; Hall, 2002; Peiperl & Baruch, 1997), the responsibilities for career management have shifted from organizations to individuals and a call for more proactive, self-directed individuals who care for their employability (Seibert, Crant, & Kraimer, 1999). Individuals are considered to take charge for their careers. There are many theoretical approaches to self-management, including self-control theory (Carver & Scheier, 1990), social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1991), motivational–volitional theories (Heckhausen & Heckhausen, 2008; Kuhl, 2000), self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1991), life-span theories (e.g., Baltes & Baltes, 1990; e.g., Brandtstädter, 2006), and career-related self-management models (e.g., Abele, 2002; King, 2004; Kossek, Roberts, Fisher, & DeMarr, 1998).

Kossek and colleagues (1998), for example, propose two dimensions of career self-management: (a) *developmental feedback seeking* about one's strengths and weaknesses (in order to make self-directed decisions regarding career strategies) and (b) *job mobility preparedness* (gathering information about new career opportunities and preparing to act on them). Abele and colleagues

(Abele & Spurk, 2009b; Abele & Wiese, 2008) stress the self-regulatory importance of expectations (occupational self-efficacy) and goals (work and private goals) as well as of behavioral strategies of goal optimization and of concrete career planning. King (2004) presents a conceptual framework of career self-management and argues that people use three types of career self-managing behavior, namely, *positioning* (ensuring that one has the contacts, skills, and experience to achieve one's desired career outcomes), *influence* (attempting to influence key gatekeepers to desired career outcomes), and *boundary management* (balancing the demands of work and nonwork domains). King (2004), however, also points out that career outcomes are – to some extent – outside an individual's direct control and are based on the particular political and economic context given at a time.

Many studies found self-management to be effective for subjective and objective career success (e.g., Abele & Wiese, 2008; De Vos & Soens, 2008; Frayne & Geringer, 2000; Keith & Frese, 2008; Klein, König, & Kleinmann, 2003; Latham & Frayne, 1989; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005; Raabe, Frese, & Beehr, 2007). For instance, Abele and Wiese (2008) examined the effect of general self-management strategies (i.e., selection of goals; optimization as implementation of goal-pursuing behavior) and specific self-management strategies (i.e., career planning) on subjective and objective career success. Career planning was positively related to all success measures, but most so to objective success. Moreover, there were indirect links from the generalized optimization strategy to the outcome measures. Abele and Wiese (2008) conclude that it is less important which specific goals one selects than rather knowing how to implement them. Ng et al. also found career planning to be positively associated with objective career success (salary, promotions).

We will outline three studies that are examples for self-management trainings. Latham and Frayne (1989) evaluated the effectiveness of self-management trainings on job attendance with 20 unionized state government employees (see also Frayne & Geringer, 2000). The training builds on social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986). Trainees were taught in 8 weekly 1-h group sessions to (a) set proximal and distal goals, (b) write down a psychological contract with themselves, (c) self-monitor their behavior, and (d) think about potential problems and solutions. Additionally, one-to-one meetings between trainer and each trainee were held to discuss sensitive issues. Findings revealed enhanced self-efficacy and increased job attendance, which was also found 6 and 9 months later.

Klein and colleagues (2003) studied a self-management approach frequently used in clinical psychology (Kanfer & Goldstein, 1991) in a work-related context applying a 3-month before vs. after measurement design. This training program focuses on small, individualized steps and prepares for drawbacks. It consists of the following seven phases: (1) establishing optimal starting conditions, (2) increasing trainee motivation, (3) analyzing behavior, (4) setting goals, (5) planning and executing actions, (6) evaluating progress, and (7) stabilizing success and triggering transfer. Klein et al. (2003) found that the training was effective in terms of knowledge of self-management skills, in terms of self-efficacy, and in terms of life satisfaction.

Raabe, Frese, and Beehr (2007) conducted a career management intervention. Self-management was trained in 205 white collar employees from a large technology company. Trainees were encouraged to set goals for the next 5 years and to make a plan on how to achieve them. Moreover, trainees reflected upon their own career motives and driving forces. Self-knowledge, career goal commitment, and career plan quality were positively related to self-management behaviors, which led both directly and indirectly to career satisfaction almost 10 months after the intervention.

Career counseling. Compared to the intervention approaches discussed above, career counseling is more individualized because it refers to the client's specific needs. People require career counseling for a number of different reasons, for example, because they do not know about their career opportunities, because they have low career decision-making self-efficacy, inappropriate

problem-solving skills, or because they experience low goal stability. Meta-analyses on the effectiveness of career counseling (Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000; Oliver & Sponake, 1988; Sponake & Oliver, 1983; Whiston, Sexton, & Lasoff, 1998) reveal moderate effect sizes (e.g., $d = .45$; Whiston et al., 1998).

Brown, McPartland, Walsh, and Savickas (2005) suggest five features could make career counseling interventions even more effective: (a) writing down goals of what should be accomplished after counseling had terminated seems to increase effectiveness, (b) individualized counseling sessions are more effective compared to computer-guided interventions, (c) clients should evaluate and compare in writing different possible options, (d) considering sources of support, and (e) ensuring adequate information searches make counseling outcome more effective. Finally, individual consultation showed to be more effective compared to group sessions.

Amundson (2006) suggests a client-centered, holistic, and dynamic career counseling perspective with an inclusion of (virtual) counseling centers, mentoring, career coaching, and the inclusion of social enterprises as part of the counseling process. Different kinds of coaching (e.g., child and adolescent coaching, manager coaching) should be integrated as a developmental lifelong coaching perspective becomes more central. Career counseling can “no longer be centered around helping people achieve their own potential as independent individuals, but rather by helping people achieve their own humanity, through collectively helping others achieve their own humanity, each in his or her own way” (Guichard, 2003, p. 318, as cited in Amundson, 2006). This implies that individuals and organizations have to integrate their conceptualizations about the centrality of personal and work domain. It would be unethical to give career counseling without considering employees’ social and cultural context.

Employees’ social context includes – among others – their partner and family constellation. As outlined above, more and more employees want to reconcile their career with that of their partner (DCC issue) and career counseling also has to respond to these needs, for instance, regarding time management, role assignments, child care responsibilities, stress reduction, and so forth.

In summary, there are both a number of intervention strategies that could be applied in groups like self-efficacy training and self-management training and more individualized interventions like career counseling that could respond to individual – and couples’ – needs. They have been shown to be effective, although the effect sizes are moderate. These interventions should address issues of changing work requirements and should respond to the need for more holistic and developmentally oriented advice.

Interventions/Resolutions at the Organizational Level

Mentoring. Mentoring can take place on an informal level when a supervisor occasionally gives his/her employee feedback and career-related advice. This informal mentoring is highly desirable but cannot be seen as a large-scale intervention strategy or career development tool systematically planned by the organization (Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000). Studies on mentoring effectiveness usually showed that informal mentoring is superior to formal mentoring and both mentoring forms are superior to no mentoring (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992; Fagenson-Eland, Marks, & Amendola, 1997; Scandura & Williams, 2001). Formal mentoring is a mentoring relationship that usually develops through the assignment of mentor and protégée by a third party and lasts between 6 months and 1 year on average. Formal mentors are not necessarily intrinsically motivated but may rather do the mentoring in order to meet organizational expectations.

Regarding formal mentoring, Ragins and colleagues (2000) found that meeting frequency was related to perceived program effectiveness and having a mentor from a different department

was associated with stronger satisfaction with the mentor, greater commitment to the organization, and fewer intentions to quit than having a mentor from the same department. Viator (1999) also found that protégés were more satisfied with their mentor when they had influence in the matching process, when they had regular meetings, and when they set goals and objectives. Allen, Eby, and Lentz (2006) analyzed the effects of several aspects of the mentoring program (training quality, matching input, hours of training, working in the same department, difference in rank) on four different mentoring outcomes (mentorship quality, role modeling, career mentoring, psychosocial mentoring). Regarding protégés, training quality and matching input had positive effects on all outcome variables except for psychosocial mentoring. Working in the same department was positively related to mentorship quality and career mentoring. Difference in rank negatively predicted role modeling, and hours of training positively predicted psychosocial mentoring. For mentors, matching input positively predicted mentorship quality and career mentoring and working in the same department and training quality positively predicted psychosocial mentoring. Hours of training were negatively related to all outcome measures except for psychosocial mentoring. Taken together, these studies suggest that high training quality (e.g., goal setting, setting of objectives, frequent mentoring sessions) as well as input on the matching process by mentors and protégés have consistently positive effects. Results regarding working in the same or another department are equivocal. Finally, hours of mentoring provided were positively related to outcomes in case of protégés and negatively in case of mentors. As a methodological limitation, however, it should be stressed that these data are all self-report. Future studies should also include other data sources.

Some conclusions can be drawn from these studies as practical guidelines for implementing formal mentoring programs. First, planning and providing of infrastructure is highly relevant. Second, mentoring implementation starts with recruitment and personnel selection, and the matching process of mentor and protégé seems especially important both in terms of “fit” and in terms of at least partial controllability by the protégé. Third, appropriate training of mentors should be provided. Fourth, mentoring processes and structures are implemented with an adequate mix of instruments. Fifth, careful monitoring and program evaluation should be conducted to optimize future mentoring (Allen, Finkelstein, & Poteet, 2009).

For further information on detailed formal mentoring program designs and instruments, we recommend writings by Allen and colleagues (2009) and Finkelstein, Poteet, Allen, and Eby (2007). For an overview of how mentoring programs are implemented in fortune 500 companies, we recommend a paper by Hegstad and Wentling (2004).

Anti-mobbing/anti-bullying interventions. Help for bullying victims is a serious concern in work and organizational psychology. It can be maintained through individual counseling and – if necessary – psychotherapy (De Pedro, Sanchez, Navarro, Izquierdo, & Howard, 2008; Sperry & Duffy, 2009). Most importantly, organizational interventions and prevention strategies are also warranted. As already mentioned, there seem to be certain organizational structures that facilitate the occurrence of mobbing, and organizational strategies should focus on these structures. Several instruments that can be implemented in organizations have been discussed, but mainly because of reputation concerns organizations do not focus on anti-bullying interventions (Duffy, 2009; Fox & Stallworth, 2009; Resch & Schubinski, 1996). The instruments include changes in work design, changes in leadership behavior, improving the social position of each individual, emphasizing moral and ethical values in the organization, and offering mediation techniques and alternative forms of conflict resolution as well as anti-bullying training. Resch and Schubinski (1996) distinguished four forms of interventions depending on the time since bullying has started: (1) prevention (no bullying), (2) early-stage interventions, (3) middle-stage interventions, and (4) support in late stages. For example, workplace changes, changes in leadership behavior, improvement in the social position of each individual, and raising moral standards in the department

can be seen as prevention strategies. Having impartial mediators, conflict de-escalation strategies or individual coaching/therapy may be the best alternative in early, middle, and late bullying stages. Since bullying can be theoretically explained both by stress theories and by conflict escalation theories, intervention programs usually are built around these approaches (Dormann & Zapf, 2001; Zapf & Gross, 2001).

The workplace anti-bullying training by Fox and Stallworth (2009) can be taken as an example. According to these authors, workplace anti-bullying training should include several features. First, awareness and recognition of the problem should be strengthened for all members of the organization including bullying victims, coworkers, and management. Second, a definition and delineation of dysfunctional behaviors should be established within the organization. Third, prevention techniques should be incorporated. Fourth, the development of effective and timely responses to bullying is central. The authors recommend internal and external conflict management strategies. Finally, the problems arising from bullying should be addressed at individual, workgroup, organizational, and societal levels. For readers who are particularly interested in conflict management related to bullying, we recommend Pruitt, De Dreu, and Gelfand (2008) and Zapf and Gross (2001) for further reading.

To sum up, organizations and organizational developers have several tools for prevention and intervention regarding workplace bullying. However, the efficacy of single interventions or whole programs cannot be evaluated because there are no intervention studies yet. The question still remains if organizations are willing to implement such programs because of potentially negative public attention. However, this extreme form of social stress causes immense costs both on the side of individuals but also on the side of organizations, and therefore, organizations should be interested to deal with this problem – out of ethical reasons, but also out of economic reasons.

Recruitment strategies for dual-career couples. The increasing number of dual-career couples does not only necessitate these individuals to cope with their specific problems of reconciling dual-career issues. Organizations interested in attracting highly qualified candidates in a competitive market must also be concerned with the DCC issue and must consider it in their hiring procedures. They can no longer regard applicants as “singles” without social ties but will have to address couple-based recruitment strategies. It becomes more and more important to provide tools to help couples arrange their “linked lives” to prevent career stagnation due to partnership constellations. So-called dual-career services have acknowledged that “recruiting the best” often means “recruiting the best couple” (e.g., Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, & Rice, 2003). Often, one partner’s relocation decision also affects the other partner’s career development. Twin assignments attempt to enable a more egalitarian and diverse workforce. In the USA, for example, the proportion of dual hires at university faculties has increased from 3% in the 1979s to 13% in the 2000s (Schiebinger, Henderson, & Gilmartin, 2008). Further strategies such as flexible work arrangements (e.g., flexible working hours, sabbaticals, virtual workspaces), support for child-care (e.g., company-led child care opportunities), and support for domestic duties can help couples integrate goals from life and work domains. It is important to emphasize that individualized solutions should be considered, acknowledging on the one hand employees’ goals and on the other hand organizational goals.

Antidiscrimination strategies. People responsible for personnel selection and personnel development do not also have to be responsible for dual-career issues, but they also have to be especially attentive for the discrimination of certain groups that may hinder the career of individuals’ belonging to one of these groups. One strategy aiming at avoiding discrimination at the workplace has been called *diversity management*. It means managing the diverse groups (gender, age, race, education, etc.) that make up an organization and creating a climate in which all groups feel that they are treated in a fair and just way. Another means of overcoming discrimination are specific *antidiscriminatory actions* pursued by organizations’ officials.

Diversity is a challenge for organizations as, for example, the *similarity–attraction paradigm* (Byrne, 1971) suggests that people prefer to be in contact with people who are “like” them, and self-categorization theory (Tajfel, 1981) also suggests that diversity triggers “in-group” vs. “out-group” perceptions. Diversity management has to ensure that irrespective of their group belongingness, employees have equal career opportunities. Unsuccessful diversity management will lead to perceptions of injustice and might affect organizational citizenship behavior, performance, and turnover rates (Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001; Johnson & O’Leary-Kelly, 2003). Cleveland, Stockdale, and Murphy (2000) have identified some characteristics of “good” diversity management. They suggest that diversity management should be an enduring process that does not end after an individual has entered an organization. It should be exhibited both formally and informally. Moreover, they recommend that discriminatory practices have to be rooted out immediately, that commitment and attachment strategies should be implemented among all members – not only in-group members – and differences among employees should be acknowledged rather than organizations pretend they do not exist. Herriot and Pemberton (1995) suggest that career development and diversity training should be available for every member of the organization and that support and networks should be provided for diverse group members. Experimental research shows that persuading groups of the value of diversity (Homan, van Knippenberg, Van Kleef, & De Dreu, 2007; van Knippenberg, Haslam, & Platow, 2007) or selecting team members high in openness to experience (Homan et al. 2008) can increase performance of groups high in diversity.

Diversity management can also mean that regulations for working hours are adapted to the specific groups’ needs or that child care facilities are provided in the organization. The above discussed strategies regarding dual-career couples are relevant in the context of diversity management as well.

Regarding antidiscriminatory regulations and actions, there are different approaches across countries and across different organizations. They are based on antidiscrimination laws and on the general principle that irrespective of race, gender, age, etc., people should have equal opportunities. *Affirmative action* means positive steps taken to increase the number of women and minorities in areas of employment in which they have traditionally been underrepresented. Sometimes those steps involve *preferential* selection of members of discriminated groups, like, for instance, quotas for hiring women or quota for having women on higher levels of management. Preferential selection usually generates intense controversy whether it is justified or not, but despite this controversy this principle is one means of reaching gender equality at the workplace, especially at higher positions in the labor market (Cleveland et al., 2000).

To sum up, diversity management is one means to acknowledge the differences between people employed in one organization. It aims at giving justice and fair treatment to these different groups and at optimizing the conditions for collaboration between members of these different groups. Affirmative action is a means of specifically supporting discriminated groups by giving them special treatment, possibly also preferential treatment.

Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations of Future Research

Career stagnation is a multifaceted phenomenon, and multiple factors can lead to career stagnation. We know some of its determinants, but the interplay between several determinants is not well understood yet. Research clearly suggests that high occupational self-efficacy and career decision-making self-efficacy protect from career stagnation. Nevertheless, self-efficacy may not be enough if the partner’s career has to be reconciled or if the person suffers from incompatible or unclear goals. Similarly, research clearly suggests that high career-advancement goals protect against career stagnation. However, high career-advancement goals may be accompanied by

reduced career satisfaction which – in the long run – could lead to health problems, reduced work motivation, and eventually also reduced objective success. As another example, the “new career” literature suggests that people with boundaryless and protean career attitudes are better suited to self-direct their careers. Again, interpersonal issues or labor market conditions might interfere with a strict pursuit of these attitudes. Furthermore, attitudes are not enough if respective behavioral self-management skills are lacking. As another example, an individual’s personality structure could have an influence on his/her supervisor’s behavior that, in turn, influences this person’s task assignments and reward structures. As a final example, organizational structures such as low job control and low moral standards can influence an individual’s frequency to be a victim of mobbing or bullying behavior and individuals low in self-efficacy might be more affected than those high in self-efficacy. Future research therefore should increasingly study the interplay of multiple determinants of career stagnation.

Since career stagnation is a multifaceted phenomenon, research on career stagnation should apply not only one conceptualization of career stagnation but should at least distinguish between more objective and more subjective forms of career stagnation. Research on career success has already demonstrated that the mechanisms of more objective and more subjective success are different (Abele, Spurk, & Volmer, 2011). The developmental aspect of career progress or stagnation has also largely been neglected so far.

A related issue is the plea for more theoretical discussion and possibly integration. There is a multitude of concepts in career research, and it is often not clear enough how these concepts interrelate. As an example, boundaryless and protean career attitudes could be regarded as antecedents of effective career self-management. They could, however, also be regarded as specific selection and optimization strategies in the context of a broader self-regulatory approach.

Still another issue awaiting future research is the implementation and evaluation of intervention programs. Our knowledge of programs aiming at preventing career stagnation or aiming at overcoming career stagnation is still scarce. Most respective studies refer to psychological interventions on the individual level like self-efficacy trainings or goal-setting procedures. There are only a few studies on more large-scale interventions, and these often suffer from the fact that they use self-report data only. Classical evaluation criteria (Kirkpatrick, 1975) could seldom be fulfilled, and findings are sometimes equivocal. Moreover, although evaluation studies show the effectiveness of most of the interventions presented here, there is a lack of evaluation studies comparing different types of interventions with respect to different problems. This research strategy has the potential to match interventions with underlying problems and should be conducted in the future. We also need more studies in which prevention or intervention programs are outlined in detail and in which the strategies applied are derived from a clearly articulated theoretical model. Research in the field of program implementation and program evaluation is generally difficult due to a multitude of reasons. However, more of it is needed.

A further issue is a diagnostic one. Interventions have to be based on a prior and thorough diagnosis of reasons for career stagnation. Only when these reasons are – at least roughly – diagnosed can an adequate treatment be provided. If the underlying reasons are, for instance, associated with a lack of self-efficacy, unclear goals, suboptimal career planning, and a lack of socialization, mentoring could be the optimal intervention strategy. Alternatively, when problems are more related to attitudinal issues or career self-management, career counseling is probably the best intervention strategy.

Finally, and most importantly, organizations and assigned career interventions should respect the needs and rights of employees. Not every intervention fits equally well to every employee, and the employees’ rights for *balance*, *respect*, *responsibility*, *autonomy*, *participation*, *justice*, and *voice*, as mentioned in the above subsections, should be respected at all times in the phases of career progress and stagnation. Finding ways to overcome career stagnation is relevant for both individuals and organizations, because it does not show only ethical behavior but is also important for the survival and effectiveness of the organization.

References

- Abele, A. E. (2002). Ein Modell und empirische Befunde zur beruflichen Laufbahnentwicklung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Geschlechtsvergleichs [A theoretical model and empirical findings on occupational career development with special emphasis on gender]. *Psychologische Rundschau*, *53*, 109–118.
- Abele, A. E. (2003). The dynamics of masculine-agentic and feminine-communal traits: Findings from a prospective study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*, 768–776.
- Abele, A. E., & Spurk, D. (2009a). How do objective and subjective career success interrelate over time? *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *82*, 803–824.
- Abele, A. E., & Spurk, D. (2009b). The longitudinal impact of self-efficacy and career goals on objective and subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *74*, 53–62.
- Abele, A. E., & Spurk, D. (2011). The dual impact of gender on objective career success. Longitudinal effects of the gender-self-concept and the timing of parenthood. *Zeitschrift für Arbeits- und Organisationspsychologie, International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *35*, 225–232.
- Abele, A. E., Spurk, D., & Volmer, J. (2011). The construct of career success: Measurement issues and an empirical example. *Journal for Labour Market Research*, *43*, 195–306.
- Abele, A. E., Stief, M., & Andrä, M. (2000). Zur ökonomischen Erfassung beruflicher Selbstwirksamkeitserwartungen: Neukonstruktion einer BSW-Skala [On the economic measurement of occupational self-efficacy expectations: A new BSW scale]. *Zeitschrift für Arbeits- und Organisationspsychologie*, *44*, 145–151.
- Abele, A. E., & Volmer, J. (2011). Dual-career couples: Specific challenges for work-life integration. In S. Kaiser, M. Ringlstetter, M. Pina e Cunha & D. R. Eikhof (Eds.), *Creating balance? International perspectives on the work-life integration of professionals* (pp. 173–189). Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.
- Abele, A. E., & Wiese, B. S. (2008). The nomological network of self-management strategies and career success. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *81*, 733–749.
- Ackers, L. (2004). Managing relationships in peripatetic careers: Scientific mobility in the European union. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*, 189–201.
- Allen, T. D. (2004). Protégé selection by mentors: Contributing individual and organizational factors. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *65*, 469–483.
- Allen, T. D., Eby, L. T., & Lentz, E. (2006). Mentorship behaviors and mentorship quality associated with formal mentoring programs: Closing the gap between research and practice. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *91*, 567–578.
- Allen, T. D., Eby, L. T., Poteet, M. L., Lentz, E., & Lima, L. (2004). Career benefits associated with mentoring for Protégés: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*, 127–136.
- Allen, T. D., Finkelstein, L. M., & Poteet, M. L. (2009). *Designing workplace mentoring programs: An evidence-based approach*. Chichester, UK/Malden, MA: Wiley.
- Amundson, N. (2006). Challenges for career interventions in changing contexts. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance*, *6*, 3–14.
- Arthur, M. B. (1996). *The boundary-less career: A new employment principle for a new organizational era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, J. T., & Vancouver, J. B. (1996). Goal constructs in psychology: Structure, process, and content. *Psychological Bulletin*, *120*, 338–375.
- Baltes, P. B., & Baltes, M. M. (1990). Psychological perspectives on successful aging: The model of selective optimization with compensation. In P. B. Baltes & M. M. Baltes (Eds.), *Successful aging: Perspectives from the behavioral sciences* (pp. 1–34). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Bandura, A. (1991). Social-cognitive theory of self-regulation. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *50*, 248–287.
- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: WH Freeman/Times Books/ Henry Holt & Co.
- Baranik, L. E., Roling, E. A., & Eby, L. T. (2010). Why does mentoring work? The role of perceived organizational support. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *76*, 366–373.
- Bauer, T. N., Bodner, T., Erdogan, B., Truxillo, D. M., & Tucker, J. S. (2007). Newcomer adjustment during organizational socialization: A meta-analytic review of antecedents, outcomes, and methods. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*, 707–721.
- Betz, N. E. (2007). Career self-efficacy: Exemplary recent research and emerging directions. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *15*, 403–422.
- Betz, N. E., Klein, K. L., & Taylor, K. M. (1996). Evaluation of a short form of the career decision-making self-efficacy scale. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *4*, 47–57.
- Betz, N. E., & Luzzo, D. A. (1996). Career assessment and the career decision-making self-efficacy scale. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *4*, 413–428.

- Blau, F. D., & Devardo, J. (2007). New evidence on gender differences in promotion rates: An empirical analysis of a sample of new hires. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy & Society*, *46*, 511–550.
- Blickle, G., Witzki, A. H., & Schneider, P. B. (2009). Mentoring support and power: A three year predictive field study on protégé networking and career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *74*, 181–189.
- Boehm, J. K., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2008). Does happiness promote career success? *Journal of Career Assessment*, *16*, 101–116.
- Brandstädter, J. (2006). Action perspectives on human development. In R. M. Lerner & W. Damon (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development* (6th ed., pp. 516–568). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Brendl, C. M., & Moskowitz, G. B. (2001). Goals and the compatibility principle in attitudes, judgment, and choice. In G. B. Moskowitz (Ed.), *Cognitive social psychology: The Princeton symposium on the legacy and future of social cognition* (pp. 317–332). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Briscoe, J. P., & Finkelstein, L. M. (2009). The ‘new career’ and organizational commitment: Do boundary-less and protean attitudes make a difference? *Career Development International*, *14*, 242–260.
- Briscoe, J. P., & Hall, D. T. (2006). The interplay of boundary-less and protean careers: Combinations and implications. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *69*, 4–18.
- Briscoe, J. P., Hall, D. T., & FrautschyDeMuth, R. L. (2006). Protean and boundary-less careers: An empirical exploration. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *69*, 30–47.
- Brown, S. D., McPartland, E. B., Walsh, W. B., & Savickas, M. L. (2005). Career interventions: Current status and future directions. In W. B. Walsh & M. Savickas (Eds.), *Handbook of vocational psychology: Theory, research, and practice* (3rd ed., pp. 195–226). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Brown, S. D., & Ryan Krane, N. E. (2000). Four (or five) sessions and a cloud of dust: Old assumptions and new observations about career counseling. In S. D. Brown & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling psychology* (pp. 740–766). New York: Wiley.
- Brown, M. E., & Treviño, L. K. (2006). Ethical leadership: A review and future directions. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *17*, 595–616.
- Bruckmüller, S., & Branscombe, N. R. (2010). The glass cliff: When and why women are selected as leaders in crisis contexts. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *49*, 433–451.
- Byrne, D. (1971). *The attraction paradigm*. New York: Academic.
- Carver, C. S., & Scheier, M. F. (1990). Origins and functions of positive and negative affect: A control-process view. *Psychological Review*, *97*, 19–35.
- Challiol, H., & Mignonac, K. (2005). Relocation decision-making and couple relationships: A quantitative and qualitative study of dual-earner couples. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *26*, 247–274.
- Chao, G. T., Walz, P. M., & Gardner, P. D. (1992). Formal and informal mentorships: A comparison on mentoring functions and contrast with nonmentored counterparts. *Personnel Psychology*, *45*, 619–636.
- Chernev, A. (2009). Choosing versus rejecting: The impact of goal-task compatibility on decision confidence. *Social Cognition*, *27*, 249–260.
- Cleveland, J. N., Stockdale, M., & Murphy, K. R. (2000). *Women and men in organizations: Sex and gender issues at work*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Colquitt, J. A., Conlon, D. E., Wesson, M. J., Porter, C. O. L. H., & Ng, K. Y. (2001). Justice at the millennium: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of organizational justice research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*, 425–445.
- Crossfield, S., Kinman, G., & Jones, F. (2005). Crossover of occupational stress in dual-career couples: The role of work demands and supports, job commitment and marital communication. *Community, Work & Family*, *8*, 211–232.
- Day, R., & Allen, T. D. (2004). The relationship between career motivation and self-efficacy with protégé career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *64*, 72–91.
- De Vos, A., & Soens, N. (2008). Protean attitude and career success: The mediating role of self-management. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *73*, 449–456.
- De Pedro, M. M., Sanchez, M. I. S., Navarro, M. C. S., Izquierdo, M. G., & Howard, V. Ns. (2008). Workplace mobbing and effects on workers’ health. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology*, *11*, 219–227.
- De Vos, A., Dewettinck, K., & Buyens, D. (2009). The professional career on the right track: A study on the interaction between career self-management and organizational career management in explaining employee outcomes. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *18*, 55–80.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1980). Self-determination theory: When mind mediates behavior. *Journal of Mind and Behavior*, *1*, 33–43.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1991). A motivational approach to self-determination in personality. In R. Dienstbier (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (Vol. 38, pp. 237–288). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
- Dormann, C., & Zapf, D. (2001). Job satisfaction: A meta-analysis of stabilities. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *22*, 483–504.

- Duffy, M. (2009). Preventing workplace mobbing and bullying with effective organizational consultation, policies, and legislation. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research*, *61*, 242–262.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*, 573–598.
- Eby, L. T., Allen, T. D., Evans, S. C., Ng, T., & DuBois, D. L. (2008). Does mentoring matter? A multidisciplinary meta-analysis comparing mentored and non-mentored individuals. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *72*, 254–267.
- Einarsen, S. I. (2000). Harassment and bullying at work: A review of the Scandinavian approach. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *5*, 379–401.
- Elloy, D., & Smith, C. (2003). Patterns of stress, work-family conflict, role conflict, role ambiguity and overload among dual-career and single-career couples: An Australian study. *Cross Cultural Management*, *10*, 55–66.
- Eurostat. (2010). *European statistical data support*. Retrieved March 19, 2010, from <http://epp.Eurostat.Ec.Europa.eu/tgm/table.do?Tabl=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsiem010>
- Fagenson, E. A. (1992). Mentoring: Who needs it? A comparison of protégés' and nonprotégés' needs for power, achievement, affiliation, and autonomy. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *41*, 48–60.
- Fagenson-Eland, E. A., Marks, M. A., & Amendola, K. L. (1997). Perceptions of mentoring relationships. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *51*, 29–42.
- Feldman, D. C., & Ng, T. W. H. (2007). Careers: Mobility, embeddedness, and success. *Journal of Management*, *33*, 350–377.
- Ferris, S. P., Jagannathan, M., & Pritchard, A. C. (2003). Too busy to mind the business? Monitoring by directors with multiple board appointments. *Journal of Finance*, *58*, 1087–1111.
- Finkelstein, L. M., Poteet, M. L., Allen, T. D., & Eby, L. T. (2007). Best practices for workplace formal mentoring programs. In *The Blackwell handbook of mentoring: A multiple perspectives approach* (pp. 345–367). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Fox, S., & Stallworth, L. E. (2009). Building a framework for two internal organizational approaches to resolving and preventing workplace bullying: Alternative dispute resolution and training. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research*, *61*, 220–241.
- Frayne, C. A., & Geringer, J. M. (2000). Self-management training for improving job performance: A field experiment involving salespeople. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *85*, 361–372.
- Friedman, & Greenhaus. (2000). *Work and family – allies or enemies? What happens when business professionals confront life choices*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Frieze, I. H., Olson, J. E., Murrell, A. J., & Selvan, M. S. (2006). Work values and their effect on work behavior and work outcomes in female and male managers. *Sex Roles*, *54*, 83–93.
- Fu, F. Q., Richards, K. A., & Jones, E. (2009). The motivation hub: Effects of goal setting and self-efficacy on effort and new product sales. *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management*, *29*, 277–292.
- Gati, I., Gadassi, R., & Shemesh, N. (2006). The predictive validity of a computer-assisted career decision-making system: A six-year follow-up. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *68*, 205–219.
- Gattiker, U. E., & Larwood, L. (1990). Predictors for career achievement in the corporate hierarchy. *Human Relations*, *43*, 703–726.
- Gerber, M., Wittekind, A., Grote, G., & Staffebach, B. (2009). Exploring types of career orientation: A latent class analysis approach. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *75*, 303–318.
- Glasman, L. R., & Albarracarin, D. (2006). Forming attitudes that predict future behavior: A meta-analysis of the attitude-behavior relation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *132*, 778–822.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Powell, G. N. (2006). When work and family are allies: A theory of work-family enrichment. *Academy of Management Review*, *31*, 72–92.
- Guichard, J. (2003). Career counseling for human development: An international perspective. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *51*, 306–321.
- Gushue, G. V., Scanlan, K. R. L., Pantzer, K. M., & Clarke, C. P. (2006). The relationship of career decision-making self-efficacy, vocational identity, and career exploration behavior in African American high school students. *Journal of Career Development*, *33*, 19–28.
- Hall, D. T. (Ed.). (2002). *Careers in and out of organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hall, D. T., & Chandler, D. E. (2005). Psychological success: When the career is a calling. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *26*, 155–176.
- Haslam, S. A., & Ryan, M. K. (2008). The road to the glass cliff: Differences in the perceived suitability of men and women for leadership positions in succeeding and failing organizations. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *19*, 530–546.
- Heckhausen, J., & Heckhausen, H. (2008). *Motivation and action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Hegstad, C. D., & Wentling, R. M. (2004). The development and maintenance of exemplary formal mentoring programs in fortune 500 companies. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *15*, 421–448.
- Herriot, P., & Pemberton, C. (1995). *Competitive advantage through diversity: Organizational learning from difference*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Higgins, M. C., Dobrow, S. R., & Chandler, D. (2008). Never quite good enough: The paradox of sticky developmental relationships for elite university graduates. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *72*, 207–224.
- Hoel, H., Rayner, C., Cooper, C. L., & Robertson, I. T. (1999). Workplace bullying. In *International review of industrial and organizational psychology 1999* (Vol. 14, pp. 195–230). New York: Wiley.
- Hofer, J., & Chasiotis, A. (2003). Congruence of life goals and implicit motives as predictors of life satisfaction: Cross-cultural implications of a study of Zambian male adolescents. *Motivation and Emotion*, *27*, 251–272.
- Homan, A. C., Hollenbeck, J. R., Humphrey, S. E., Van Knippenberg, D., Ilgen, D. R., & Van Kleef, G. A. (2008). Facing differences with an open mind: Openness to experience, salience of intragroup differences, and performance of diverse work groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, *51*, 1204–1222.
- Homan, A. C., van Knippenberg, D., Van Kleef, G. A., & De Dreu, C. K. W. (2007). Bridging fault lines by valuing diversity: Diversity beliefs, information elaboration, and performance in diverse work groups. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*, 1189–1199.
- Job, V., & Brandstätter, V. (2009). Get a taste of your goals: Promoting motive goal congruence through affect-focus goal fantasy. *Journal of Personality*, *77*, 1527–1559.
- Johnson, J. L., & O’Leary-Kelly, A. M. (2003). The effects of psychological contract breach and organizational cynicism: Not all social exchange violations are created equal. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *24*, 627–647.
- Jones, G. R. (1986). Socialization tactics, self-efficacy, and newcomers’ adjustments to organizations. *Academy of Management Journal*, *29*, 262–279.
- Judge, T. A., & Bono, J. E. (2001). Relationship of core self-evaluations traits – self-esteem, generalized self-efficacy, locus of control, and emotional stability – with job satisfaction and job performance: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*, 80–92.
- Judge, T. A., Erez, A., Bono, J. E., & Thoresen, C. J. (2003). The core self-evaluations scale: Development of a measure. *Personnel Psychology*, *56*, 303–331.
- Judge, T. A., Higgins, C. A., Thoresen, C. J., & Barrick, M. R. (1999). The big five personality traits, general mental ability, and career success across the life span. *Personnel Psychology*, *52*, 621–652.
- Kanfer, F., & Goldstein, A. (Eds.). (1991). *Helping people change: A textbook of methods* (Pergamon general psychology series 4th ed., Vol. 52). Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Kasser, T., & Ryan, R. M. (1996). Further examining the American dream: Differential correlates of intrinsic and extrinsic goals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *22*, 280–287.
- Keith, N., & Frese, M. (2008). Effectiveness of error management training: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*, 59–69.
- Kim, S., Mone, M. A., & Kim, S. (2008). Relationships among self-efficacy, pay-for-performance perceptions, and pay satisfaction: A Korean examination. *Human Performance*, *21*, 158–179.
- King, Z. (2004). Career self-management: Its nature, causes and consequences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *65*, 112–133.
- Kirchmeyer, C. (1998). Determinants of managerial career success: Evidence and explanation of male/female differences. *Journal of Management*, *24*, 673–692.
- Kirkpatrick, D. L. (1975). *Evaluating training programs*. Madison, WI: American Society for Training and Development.
- Klein, S., König, C. J., & Kleinmann, M. (2003). Sind Selbstmanagement-trainings effektiv? Zwei Trainingsansätze im Vergleich [Is self-management training effective? A comparison of two kinds of self-management training]. *Zeitschrift für Personalpsychologie*, *2*, 157–168.
- Koestner, R., Otis, N., Powers, T. A., Pelletier, L., & Gagnon, H. (2008). Autonomous motivation, controlled motivation, and goal progress. *Journal of Personality*, *76*, 1201–1229.
- Kossek, E. E., Roberts, K., Fisher, S., & Demarr, B. (1998). Career self-management: A quasi-experimental assessment of the effects of a training intervention. *Personnel Psychology*, *51*, 935–962.
- Kram, K. E. (1985). *Mentoring at work: Developmental relationships in organizational life*. Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman.
- Kristof-Brown, A. L., Zimmerman, R. D., & Johnson, E. C. (2005). Consequences of individual’s fit at work: A meta-analysis of person-job, person-organization, person-group, and person-supervisor fit. *Personnel Psychology*, *58*, 281–342.
- Kuhl, J. (2000). A functional design approach to motivation and self-regulation: The dynamics of personality systems and interaction. In M. Boekaerts, P. Pintrich, & M. Zeidner (Eds.), *Handbook of self-regulation* (pp. 111–169). San Diego, CA: Academic.

- Landy, F. J., & Conte, J. M. (2007). *Work in the 21st century: An introduction to industrial and organizational psychology* (2nd ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Latham, G. P., & Frayne, C. A. (1989). Self-management training for increasing job attendance: A follow-up and a replication. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 74*, 411–416.
- Lens, W., & Rand, P. (1997). Combining intrinsic goal orientations with professional instrumentality/utility in student motivation. *Polish Psychological Bulletin, 28*, 103–123.
- Lent, R. W., Brown, S. D., & Hackett, G. (1994). Toward a unifying social cognitive theory of career and academic interest, choice, and performance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 45*, 79–122.
- Leymann, H. (1990). Mobbing and psychological terror at workplaces. *Violence and Victims, 5*, 119–126.
- Leymann, H. (1993). Ätiologie und Häufigkeit von Mobbing am Arbeitsplatz-eine Übersicht Über die bisherige Forschung [Etiology and frequency of mobbing at work: A research review]. *Zeitschrift für Personalforschung, 7*, 271–283.
- Leymann, H. (1996). The content and development of mobbing at work. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 5*, 165–184.
- Li, B., & Wang, X. (2006). Effect of group guidance on career decision-making self-efficacy of female college students. *Chinese Mental Health Journal, 20*, 765–767.
- Little, B. R. (1983). Personal projects: A rationale and method for investigation. *Environment and Behavior, 15*, 273–309.
- Locke, E. A., Frederick, E., Lee, C., & Bobko, P. (1984). Effect of self-efficacy, goals, and task strategies on task performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 69*, 241–251.
- Locke, E. A., & Latham, G. P. (1990). *A theory of goal setting & task performance*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Locke, E. A., & Latham, G. P. (2002). Building a practically useful theory of goal setting and task motivation: A 35-year odyssey. *American Psychologist, 57*, 705–717.
- Locke, E. A., Shaw, K. N., Saari, L. M., & Latham, G. P. (1981). Goal setting and task performance: 1969–1980. *Psychological Bulletin, 90*, 125–152.
- Luzzo, D. A. (1993a). Reliability and validity testing of the career decision-making self-efficacy scale. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 26*, 137–142.
- Luzzo, D. A. (1993b). Value of career-decision-making self-efficacy in predicting career-decision-making attitudes and skills. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 40*, 194–199.
- Maier, Gn. W., & Brunstein, J. C. (2001). The role of personal work goals in newcomers' job satisfaction and organizational commitment: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 1034–1042.
- Mayer, D. M., Kuenzi, M., Greenbaum, R., Bardes, M., & Salvador, R. (2009). How low does ethical leadership flow? Test of a trickle-down model. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 108*, 1–13.
- McNatt, D. B., & Judge, T. A. (2008). Self-efficacy intervention, job attitudes, and turnover: A field experiment with employees in role transition. *Human Relations, 61*, 783–810.
- Ng, T. W. H., Eby, L. T., Sorensen, K. L., & Feldman, D. C. (2005). Predictors of objective and subjective career success. *A meta-analysis. Personnel Psychology, 58*, 367–408.
- Ng, T. W. H., Sorensen, K. L., Eby, L. T., & Feldman, D. C. (2007). Determinants of job mobility: A theoretical integration and extension. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 80*, 363–386.
- Niles, S. G., & Sowa, C. J. (1992). Mapping the nomological network of career self-efficacy. *The Career Development Quarterly, 41*, 13–21.
- Noe, R. A. (1988). Women and mentoring: A review and research agenda. *Academy of Management Review, 13*, 65–78.
- O'Brien, K. E., Biga, A., Kessler, S. R., & Allen, T. D. (2008). A meta-analytic investigation of gender differences in mentoring. *Journal of Management, 36*, 537–554.
- Oliver, L. W., & Sponake, A. R. (1988). Career intervention outcome: What contributes to client gain? *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 35*, 447–462.
- Ordonez, L., Schweitzer, M. E., Galinsky, A., & Bazerman, M. (2009). Goals gone wild: How goals systematically harm individuals and organizations. *Academy of Management Perspectives, 23*, 6–16.
- Parasuraman, S., Greenhaus, J. H., & Granrose, C. S. (1992). Role stressors, social support, and well-being among two-career couples. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 13*, 339–356.
- Patel, S. G., Salahuddin, N. M., & O'Brien, K. M. (2008). Career decision-making self-efficacy of Vietnamese adolescents: The role of acculturation, social support, socioeconomic status, and racism. *Journal of Career Development, 34*, 218–240.
- Peiperl, M., & Baruch, Y. (1997). Back to square zero: The post-corporate career. *Organizational Dynamics, 25*, 7–22.
- Pichler, S., Simpson, P. A., & Stroh, L. K. (2008). The glass ceiling in human resources: Exploring the link between women's representation in management and the practices of strategic human resource management and employee involvement. *Human Resource Management, 47*, 463–479.

- Podsakoff, N. P., Whiting, S. W., Podsakoff, P. M., & Blume, B. D. (2009). Individual- and organizational-level consequences of organizational citizenship behaviors: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*, 122–141.
- Pomaki, G., Karoly, P., & Maes, S. (2009). Linking goal progress to subjective well-being at work: The moderating role of goal-related self-efficacy and attainability. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 14*, 206–218.
- Pruitt, D. G., De Dreu, C. K. W., & Gelfand, M. J. (2008). Conflict escalation in organizations. In C. K. W. de Dreu & M. J. Gelfand (Eds.), *The psychology of conflict and conflict management in organizations* (pp. 245–266). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis/Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Raabe, B., Frese, M., & Beehr, T. A. (2007). Action regulation theory and career self-management. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 70*, 297–311.
- Ragins, B. R., Cotton, J. L., & Miller, J. S. (2000). Marginal mentoring: The effects of type of mentor, quality of relationship, and program design on work and career attitudes. *Academy of Management Journal, 43*, 117–1194.
- Rapoport, R., & Rapoport, R. N. (1969). The dual-career family: A variant pattern and social change. *Human Relations, 22*, 3–30.
- Reitman, F., & Schneer, J. A. (2005). The long-term negative impacts of managerial career interruptions: A longitudinal study of men and women MBAs. *Group & Organization Management, 30*, 243–262.
- Resch, M., & Schubinski, M. (1996). Mobbing-prevention and management in organizations. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 5*, 295–307.
- Ricketta, M. (2008). The causal relation between job attitudes and performance: A meta-analysis of panel studies. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*, 472–481.
- Robert, P., & Budoki, E. (2002). Dual career pathways. *The occupational attainment of married couples in Hungary. European Sociological Review, 18*, 217–232.
- Rottinghaus, P. J., Day, S. X., & Borgen, F. H. (2005). The career futures inventory: A measure of career-related adaptability and optimism. *Journal of Career Assessment, 13*, 3–24.
- Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2005). The glass cliff: Evidence that women are over-represented in precarious leadership positions. *British Journal of Management, 16*, 81–90.
- Ryan, M. K., & Haslam, S. A. (2007). The glass cliff: Exploring the dynamics surrounding women's appointment to precarious leadership positions. *Academy of Management Review, 32*, 549–572.
- Sadri, G., & Robertson, I. T. (1993). Self-efficacy and work-related behaviour: A review and meta-analysis. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 42*, 139–152.
- Saks, A. M. (1995). Longitudinal field investigation of the moderating and mediating effects of self-efficacy on the relationship between training and newcomer adjustment. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 80*, 211–225.
- Scandura, T. A., & Williams, E. A. (2001). An investigation of the moderating effects of gender on the relationships between mentorship initiation and protégé perceptions of mentoring functions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 59*, 342–363.
- Schein, V. E. (1975). Relationships between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among female managers. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 60*, 340–344.
- Schein, V. E. (2001). A global look at psychological barriers to women's progress in management. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*, 675–688.
- Schiebinger, L., Henderson, A. D., & Gilmartin, S. (2008). *Dual-career academic couples: What universities need to know*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University.
- Schmidt, A. M., Dolis, C. M., & Tolli, A. P. (2009). A matter of time: Individual differences, contextual dynamics, and goal progress effects on multiple-goal self-regulation. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*, 692–709.
- Schmuck, P., Kasser, T., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). Intrinsic and extrinsic goals: Their structure and relationship to well-being in German and U.S. College students. *Social Indicators Research, 50*, 225–241.
- Schneer, J. A., & Reitman, F. (1997). The interrupted managerial career path: A longitudinal study of MBAs. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 51*, 411–434.
- Schultheiss, O. C., Jones, N. M., Davis, A. Q., & Kley, C. (2008). The role of implicit motivation in hot and cold goal pursuit: Effects on goal progress, goal rumination, and emotional well-being. *Journal of Research in Personality, 42*, 971–987.
- Scott, A. B., & Ciani, K. D. (2008). Effects of an undergraduate career class on men's and women's career decision-making self-efficacy and vocational identity. *Journal of Career Development, 34*, 263–285.
- Sczesny, S. (2003). A closer look beneath the surface: Various facets of the think-manager-think-male stereotype. *Sex Roles, 49*, 353–363.
- Seibert, S. E., Crant, J. M., & Kraimer, M. L. (1999). Proactive personality and career success. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 84*, 416–427.
- Sheldon, K. M., Ryan, R. M., Deci, E. L., & Kasser, T. (2004). The independent effects of goal contents and motives on well-being: It's both what you pursue and why you pursue it. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30*, 475–486.

- Shimomura, H. (2007). Computer-assisted career guidance and career decision-making self-efficacy. *Japanese Journal of Educational Psychology*, *55*, 276–286.
- Singh, R., Ragins, B. R., & Tharenou, P. (2009). What matters most? The relative role of mentoring and career capital in career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *75*, 56–67.
- Smith, S. A., Kass, S. J., Rotunda, R. J., & Schneider, S. K. (2006). If at first you don't succeed: Effects of failure on general and task-specific self-efficacy and performance. *North American Journal of Psychology*, *8*, 171–182.
- Sperry, L., & Duffy, M. (2009). Workplace mobbing: Family dynamics and therapeutic considerations. *American Journal of Family Therapy*, *37*, 433–442.
- Sponake, A. R., & Oliver, L. W. (1983). The outcomes of vocational interventions. In B. W. Walsh & S. H. Osipow (Eds.), *Handbook of vocational psychology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Spurk, D., & Abele, A. E. (2011). Who earns more and why? A multiple mediation model from personality to salary. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *26*, 87–103.
- Stajkovic, A. D., & Luthans, F. (1998). Self-efficacy and work-related performance: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *124*, 240–261.
- Stroh, L. K., Langlands, C. L., Simpson, P. A., Stockdale, M. S., & Crosby, F. J. (2004). Shattering the glass ceiling in the new millennium. In Sleeping Giant Productions (Ed.), *The psychology and management of workplace diversity* (pp. 147–167). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Super, D. E., & Zytowski, D. G. (1973). The work values inventory. In D. G. Zytowski (Ed.), *Contemporary approaches to interest measurement*. Oxford, UK: U. Minnesota Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2009) Household data. Employment status of the civilian, noninstitutional population by age, sex, and race. Accessed August 27, 2009, from <http://www.bls.gov/web/cpseea13.pdf>.
- Valcour, M., & Ladge, J. J. (2008). Family and career path characteristics as predictors of women's objective and subjective career success: Integrating traditional and protean career explanations. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *73*, 300–309.
- Valcour, P. M., & Tolbert, P. S. (2003). Gender, family and career in the era of boundarylessness: Determinants and effects of intra- and inter-organizational mobility. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *14*, 768–787.
- van Knippenberg, D., Haslam, S. A., & Platow, M. J. (2007). Unity through diversity: Value-in-diversity beliefs, work group diversity, and group identification. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, *11*, 207–222.
- Van Maanen, J., & Schein, E. H. (1979). Toward a theory of organizational socialization. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *1*, 209–264.
- Vandenbergh, C., Klein, H. J., Becker, T. E., & Meyer, J. P. (2009). Organizational commitments. In H. J. Klein, T. E. Becker, & J. P. Meyer (Eds.), *Commitment in organizations: Accumulated wisdom and new directions* (pp. 99–135). New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.
- Viator, R. E. (1999). An analysis of formal mentoring programs and perceived barriers to obtaining a mentor at large public accounting firms. *Accounting Horizons*, *13*, 37–53.
- Volmer, J., & Spurk, D. (2011). Protean and boundaryless career attitudes: Relationships with subjective and objective career success. *Journal for Labour Market Research*, *43*, 207–218.
- Wang, N., Jome, L. M., Haase, R. F., & Bruch, M. A. (2006). The role of personality and career decision-making self-efficacy in the career choice commitment of college students. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *14*, 312–332.
- Watt, H. M. G., & Eccles, J. S. (2008). *Gender and occupational outcomes: Longitudinal assessments of individual, social, and cultural influences*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Whiston, S. C., Sexton, T. L., & Lasoff, D. L. (1998). Career-intervention outcome: A replication and extension of Oliver and Spokane (1988). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *45*, 150–165.
- Williams, S., & Han, S.-K. (2003). Career clocks: Forked roads. In P. Moen (Ed.), *It's about time: Couples and careers* (pp. 80–97). Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
- Wolf-Wendel, L., Twombly, S. B., & Rice, S. (2003). *The two-body problem: Dual-career-couple hiring policies in higher education*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Wood, R. E., & Bandura, A. (1989). Social-cognitive theory of organizational management. *Academy of Management Review*, *14*, 407–415.
- Zapf, D. (1999). Mobbing in Organisationen. Ein Überblick zum Stand der Forschung [Mobbing at work: A review]. *Zeitschrift für Arbeits- und Organisationspsychologie*, *43*, 1–15.
- Zapf, D., & Gross, C. (2001). Conflict escalation and coping with workplace bullying: A replication and extension. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *10*, 497–522.

Chapter 8

Employee Well-Being: Can Performance Management Systems Help? Yes, But They Sure Can Hurt Too!

Paul E. Levy, Kelsey Herb, Noelle Frantz, and Alison Carr

Work and work-related activities consume a substantial portion of our daily lives. Studies show that in a given week, employed adults in Bulgaria dedicate about 19% of their time to work (National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria, 2011) while employees in Canada dedicate about 21% of their week to working (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2009). Meanwhile, workers in some Asian countries report upward of 25% of their time each week spent on job-related activities (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010). Because employed individuals, worldwide, devote upward of 20% of their adult lives to work endeavors, it should come as no surprise that work environment and experiences at work greatly influence individual well-being.

A critical component of the work experience includes individual experiences in the performance management (PM) context. PM is a process of strategically assessing, managing, and developing employees in order to improve performance at the individual and/or organizational levels (Fletcher, 2001). Since the 1980s, PM systems have increasingly been replacing traditional performance appraisal systems (Dransfield, 2000); this is likely due to the ability of PM to accomplish the same goals while simultaneously affording greater opportunity for strategic planning and implementation. Most successful PM systems include elements of traditional performance appraisal (e.g., regular performance reviews, training and development), objectives-driven performance standards, and often times a compensation system that is linked to performance (Dransfield). PM is a process in which managers and employees work closely to establish meaningful objectives, to assess and facilitate progress toward these objectives, and to reward achievement with the ultimate purpose of improving the organization (Den Hartog, Boselie, & Paauwe, 2004). As such, PM systems are highly integrated and pervasive across human resource functions, thus providing ample opportunities to either enhance or inhibit employee well-being.

In the present chapter, PM is considered in reference to its influence on employee well-being. First, a framework for conceptualizing employee well-being will be discussed. Subsequently, this well-being framework will be applied to the development and implementation of PM systems.

P.E. Levy, Ph.D. (✉)

Department of Psychology, The University of Akron, Akron, OH 44325, USA

e-mail: pelevy@uakron.edu

K. Herb, M.A. • N. Frantz • A. Carr, M.A.

The University of Akron, Akron, OH 44325, USA

Finally, the focus will turn to several scenarios that illustrate specific ways that PM can influence employee well-being. Following each scenario is an interpretation of how the system has faltered, discussion of implications for employee well-being, and practical recommendations for the development of more ethical and effective practices.

A Theoretical Framework for Well-Being

Indicators of Well-Being

The notion that work experiences play a large role in influencing employees' mental and physical health is not new. However, until the recent positive psychology movement, well-being was a little-researched topic by industrial and organizational psychologists. Well-being is rarely assessed directly but rather is ordinarily assessed through proxies (e.g., job satisfaction, satisfaction with pay, etc.; Danna & Griffin, 1999). As Danna and Griffin note, well-being is considered from a multitude of perspectives in the extant literature, including physical, emotional, and mental. The breadth of this research domain has resulted in a great deal of variation in terms of how this construct is defined and ultimately assessed.

For the purposes of this chapter, well-being is conceptualized using Warr's (2007) three-axis model of subjective well-being (see Fig. 8.1). This model posits that positive well-being is a function of experiencing enthusiasm rather than anxiety, pleasure rather than displeasure, and comfort rather than depression (Warr). Subjective experience can be mapped onto these axes. Various job characteristics, as well as individual experiences, can influence both affective and cognitive appraisals, impacting where an employee falls on each well-being axis (Warr).

The wide range of well-being-related outcomes that have been assessed in the literature can be categorized using Warr's structure as an organizing framework. For example, four commonly assessed proxies for work-related well-being are job satisfaction, job depression, job anxiety, and turnover intentions (cf., Nelson, Cooper, & Jackson, 1995; Sparr & Sonnentag, 2008). Closer examination of these constructs reveals that they are *indicators* of well-being that map onto the axes identified above. More specifically, those who experience job satisfaction can be thought of as representing the positive end of the well-being axis associated with pleasure. Job satisfaction is an affect-saturated construct that research shows is based largely on mood at work (Judge & Ilies, 2004); thus, those who experience positive affect (or pleasure) are more likely to be satisfied with their job.

Additionally, job depression and job anxiety are indicators of negative well-being that are easily mapped onto the three-axis model, as they clearly constitute examples of the negative poles of the comfort-depression and enthusiasm-anxiety axes, respectively. Finally, intention to turnover is a complex reaction that can be driven by affective as well as cognitive responses to a myriad of experiences (Tett & Meyer, 1993). However, as the responses associated with turnover intentions tend to place the individual in the region characterized by the subjective experience of both displeasure (e.g., negative affect) and low levels of arousal (e.g., low commitment), intention to turnover can be considered an indicator of negative well-being. Thus, it is clear that many of the constructs that are commonly assessed in the place of well-being can be organized according to Warr's three-axis model of subjective well-being.

While indicators of subjective well-being are the most commonly used in research, there are also objective measures of well-being that include physical and mental health (Danna & Griffin, 1999). Assessments of objective well-being are typically based upon the presence or absence of illness. For example, Steffy and Jones (1988) used a measure of cholesterol to assess coronary heart disease risk in association with workplace stress. Additionally, stress levels can be assessed

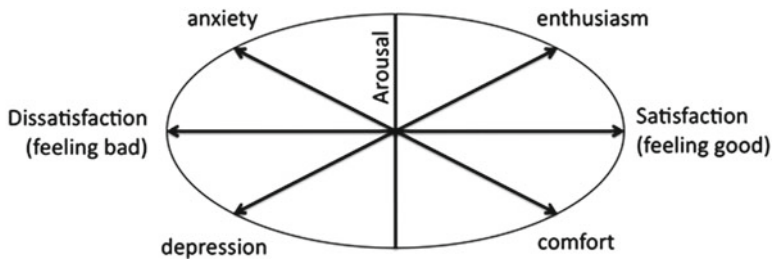


Fig. 8.1 Warr's (2007) three axes of subjective well-being

through objective measures such as blood pressure, heart rate, and galvanic response (Danna & Griffin). It is often difficult to collect these types of data, and as such these measures are less common in organizational research. Nonetheless, employee mental and physical health is a critical consideration for organizations on two fronts. First, employee illness can be a monetary burden to organizations in terms of such losses as health-care costs, disability, absenteeism, and reduced productivity while on the job (i.e., presenteeism; Danna & Griffin, 1999; Schultz & Edington, 2007). Second, employee health is a fundamental component in understanding well-being from a holistic perspective.

The well-being of employees is something that should be appreciated in its own right, beyond any financial implications. As such, in order to recognize the “whole person” (as Warr advocates, 1987, 1990), both subjective and objective elements must be considered (Danna & Griffin, 1999). In order to evaluate the employee as a whole, physical and mental health are essential indicators that should be considered in conjunction with pleasure, arousal, and comfort when assessing employee positive well-being.

Environmental Determinants of Well-Being

Warr (2007) has developed a model that explicates 12 factors that he calls the environmental determinants of well-being. According to Warr, the degree to which these determinants are present in the work environment is related to the level of positive well-being experienced by employees. The more these determinants are experienced, the less likely employees will be to experience negative well-being. We will briefly describe these environmental determinants before applying them to the PM process and outcomes.

This 12-factor conceptualization of well-being is a framework that balances theoretical richness with practical relevance (Warr, 2007). The first five determinants that will be discussed here are associated with employee fit within the job and can be linked to the job characteristics theory of motivation (Levy, 2010). According to this theory, there are five main job characteristics (i.e., skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback) that vary to influence individual motivation (Hackman & Oldham, 1976) and affective states (Saavedra & Kwun, 2000). Similarly, the following determinants are closely tied to these five characteristics and can also be expected to influence motivation and affect.

Those employees who experience the first determinant, *variety*, at work have access to a broad range of tasks, responsibilities, and opportunities. This variety provides them with challenge and engagement. The next determinant of well-being is *environmental clarity*, which refers to an understanding of the expectations for current and future behaviors, largely influenced by feedback systems. *Opportunity for skill use and acquisition* is based upon the availability of

opportunities for applying and developing work-related skills. There is some evidence that reduced opportunities to utilize one's skills are associated with negative well-being outcomes, such as low job satisfaction (Warr, 2007). *Opportunity for personal control* is a determinant that refers to one's ability to have authority over situations at work. Research indicates that individuals who believe their behavior is influential in the organization perceive greater personal control (Greenberger & Strasser, 1986) and greater subsequent well-being (Sparr & Sonnentag, 2008). Finally, having a *valued social position* provides employees with the opportunity to engage in tasks and roles that contribute something valuable to the work community.

In addition to the fit components, several of the determinants in this 12-factor framework are related to organizational structures and procedures. *Externally generated goals* that help to stabilize the level of job demands, to elucidate task identity, and to reduce role conflict are associated with positive subjective well-being outcomes. The *availability of money* is associated with the compensation system. Changes in employee compensation are consistently associated with changes in job satisfaction and overall happiness (Warr, 2007). Similarly, *physical security* refers to the working conditions within the organization and whether they promote employee safety. Decreases in safety are associated with negative employee well-being (both at work and at home; Warr). The final element of organizational structure is *career prospects*, which refers to employees' job security and/or opportunity for promotion or lateral shifts within the organization. A lack of career prospects, especially perceptions of job insecurity, is associated with feelings of psychological distress and poor health (László et al., 2009; Meltzer et al., 2010).

The remaining three determinants can be considered in terms of the organization's social atmosphere. The first of these, *supportive supervision*, is in reference to the supervisor-subordinate dyadic relationship. Employees who experience supportive supervision have a sense that their concerns are considered and understood by their organizational superiors. Another social contributor to the experience of positive well-being is the opportunity for *contact with others*, in terms of both quantity and quality of the interpersonal contact. Finally, one's perception of *equity*, both with regard to the organization itself and relationships within the organization, is also related to the experience of positive well-being.

Well-Being in Performance Management

Now that we have identified a structure for conceptualizing well-being, we can turn our attention to the role of well-being in PM. The framework elaborated above will be used in the remainder of this chapter to illustrate the ways in which PM systems impact employee well-being. Prior to our discussion of specific PM systems, a brief overview of PM will be provided.

As mentioned previously, PM is an integrated process that combines goal setting, performance evaluation, training and development, compensation, and other HR functions in order to strategically improve employee and organization functioning. In order for a PM system to be effective, each of the system components needs to be carefully planned and executed. As we know from the performance appraisal literature, however, performance appraisal does not occur in a vacuum. The effectiveness of performance appraisal is inextricably linked to the social context in which the appraisal occurs (Ferris, Munyon, Basik, & Buckley, 2008; Levy & Williams, 2004). Levy and Williams elaborated a model of the social context for performance appraisal that describes three linked categories of contextual factors: distal contextual factors (e.g., organizational culture, values, goals), which in turn shape more proximal structural (e.g., appraisal purpose, feedback sources) and process (e.g., feedback environment, rater motivation) factors. All of these variables combine to influence employee performance evaluations and to determine cognitive, behavioral, and affective responses to the system. Considering that PM is a process

that has its foundations in performance appraisal (Dransfield, 2000), we extrapolate from the theoretical contributions of Ferris et al. (2008) and Levy and Williams (2004) to assert that PM systems are also inextricably linked to the social context in which they function. In the sections that follow, we will elaborate on the types of variables that comprise the social context.

Distal Factors

In a broad sense, distal variables are contextual factors that impact many organizational processes, including PM systems (Landy & Farr, 1980; Levy & Williams, 2004). For example, the degree to which an organization fosters a climate of openness may influence performance appraisals insofar as that climate facilitates quality communication between supervisors and subordinates (Silverman, Pogson, & Cober, 2005). Furthermore, an organization's reliance on/acceptance of technological mediums as a method of communication between employees may influence the manner in which performance feedback is provided (Hebert & Vorauer, 2003). In addition to being internally generated, distal influences on performance appraisal systems can originate outside of organizational boundaries. Economic conditions like unemployment rates and financial market fluctuations can impact PM processes by increasing or decreasing employee commitment to remain with the organization (Crossley, Bennett, Jex, & Burnfield, 2007). Commitment, in turn, may influence employees' interpretation of organizational policies and procedures, including performance appraisals (Abelson, 1987).

Unfortunately, the relative impact distal factors have on feedback systems is not well understood (Levy & Williams, 2004). Beyond this, many of the distal factors are difficult or impossible to influence (e.g., the health of the economy). For this reason, practitioners seeking to improve or implement PM systems will likely find that change efforts focused on more proximal factors are more fruitful than those focused on distal factors. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that distal factors can still have a powerful impact on the environmental determinants of employee well-being. For example, in an economic crisis, organizations will have fewer financial resources, thus potentially reducing the amount of money provided to employees as compensation. As Tausig and Fenwick (1999) demonstrated, changes in employee income strongly predict parallel changes in life dissatisfaction. Thus, distal factors are important considerations, even when they cannot be controlled, because they affect the PM system and associated outcomes.

Proximal Structural Factors

In performance appraisal systems, structural factors that are proximal to outcomes deal with the architecture of appraisal systems (Levy & Williams, 2004). This includes performance criteria, developmental activities offered by the organization, format of performance ratings, rater training, and other formal administrative rules and practices. As such, these factors should be equally relevant in a PM context. For example, criteria for employee performance evaluation are an especially critical structural consideration for PM systems because in PM, more outcomes (e.g., compensation) are tied to the evaluation results than in traditional performance appraisal. Job analysis is the cornerstone of all human resource systems (Arthur, Edwards, Bell, Villado, & Bennett, 2005), and performance appraisal is no exception. For both legal and functional reasons, performance dimensions should be established only in the wake of thorough job analyses (Werner & Bolino, 1997). Appraisals based on clearly identified, job-relevant dimensions are more accurate with regard to both employee self-ratings (Farh & Dobbins, 1989) and ratings assigned by others (Werner & Bolino). Thus, it is important that the architects of a PM system plan carefully in order to guarantee that the many building blocks of the system are well designed and structurally sound.

Moreover, structural process factors in the PM system play an important role in employee well-being. For example, the amount of emphasis the organization places on managing by objectives is a component of the system structure. Thus, the degree to which the organization promotes and consistently utilizes externally generated goals is an example of a structural factor that is also an environmental determinant of well-being. Another such factor is the availability of opportunities for career advancement within an organization. The opportunity for promotions or even lateral changes within the organization shape employee perceptions of career prospects, thereby impacting well-being (Warr, 2007). Further, a well-designed structure is crucial for optimizing a PM system and also impinges upon rater reactions, such as perceptions of feedback fairness and relevance (Elicker, Levy, & Hall, 2006; Ivancevich, 1982), consequently contributing to the perception of equity in the work environment. In the end, however, a well-structured appraisal system alone is insufficient for success and for promoting positive employee outcomes. Proximal process factors are equally, if not more, important in ensuring successful PM (Findley, Giles, & Mossholder, 2000).

Proximal Process Factors

Process factors that are proximal to a PM system are those that directly influence how the appraisal unfolds (Levy & Williams, 2004). These include elements such as the feedback environment, rater issues (e.g., accountability, beliefs about rating purpose, biases in group perceptions), and the dyadic relationship between a supervisor and subordinate. Proximal process factors can actually be targeted and changed through structural changes to the PM system (organizational interventions and policy changes), such as offering more formal training and developmental opportunities, distinguishing between developmental and administrative appraisals, and requiring formal, comprehensive rater training (Levy & Williams). Such alterations to proximal structural variables are useful ways to leverage change in process variables.

The proximal process factors of the PM system also relate to subjective well-being for employees. Opportunity for personal control is an environmental determinant of well-being that is often reflected in employee opportunities to provide voice in the PM process. Voice in the PM process is known to be associated with positive employee reactions and outcomes (Buchner, 2007; Cawley, Keeping, & Levy, 1998). Furthermore, the degree to which employees experience environmental clarity and perceive that they hold a valued social position are both determinants of well-being that are likely to be influenced in the PM process. Environmental clarity can be linked to role clarity as both are based on the degree to which one's job expectations are unambiguous. Role clarity is one of the major purposes of providing diagnostic feedback in the PM process because it enhances performance (Whitaker, Dahling, & Levy, 2007). Given that role ambiguity also influences employee well-being through the determinant of environmental clarity, it follows that a well-implemented PM system can serve the purpose of enhancing environmental clarity through this reduction of ambiguity. The effectiveness of feedback delivery as well as feedback frequency are often based on the supervisor's style, preferences, and relationship with a given employee (Sparr & Sonnentag, 2008; Steelman, Levy, & Snell, 2004), thus making the provision of such environmental clarity dependent upon proximal process factors.

Organizational scientists have found that effective PM systems not only improve task and contextual performance for employees (Whitaker et al., 2007) but also contribute to positive well-being through such outcomes as increased role clarity (Chen, Lam, & Zhong, 2007; Whitaker et al., 2007), boosted morale (Rosen, Levy, & Hall, 2006), enhanced quality of leader-follower relationships (e.g., Steelman et al., 2004), and increases in overall job satisfaction (e.g., Sparr & Sonnentag, 2008). However, a poorly structured and implemented PM system can foster negative employee well-being by hindering these same outcomes. Designing a PM system requires consideration of how to ensure the best subjective experience for the individuals it

impacts. After all, a system that employees do not accept or support is, at best, of very limited utility (Cardy & Dobbins, 1994; Carrol & Schneier, 1982; Cawley et al., 1998; Levy, 2010; Murphy & Cleveland, 1995) and, at worst, detrimental to employee health and well-being.

The following three scenarios represent situations in which a PM system that is inappropriately designed or ineffectively implemented can trigger negative well-being outcomes.

Scenario 1

Lena is employed with Paper, Incorporated, a large paper manufacturing company with several thousand employees. On a biannual basis, supervisors conduct performance appraisals for all subordinates. In addition to performance criteria specific to their position, all employees are assessed on general standards set by the organization. All promotion decisions are based on the results of these performance appraisals.

Since joining Paper, Inc., it has been Lena's dream to become a manager. She works long hours, turns out top quality work, and makes an effort to maintain good working relationships with all her coworkers. Last year, Human Resources indicated that a manager in a different department would be retiring soon. Lena was informed that she was on the short list of candidates to take over Mrs. Jones' position. Since this department is higher in the administrative chain than Lena's current department, she was understandably quite excited.

The problem is that Lena's relationship with her supervisor, Joe, has deteriorated ever since HR suggested that she might be promoted. Joe has been with Paper, Inc. for close to two decades and clearly is unhappy that a subordinate of his (with a much shorter tenure than his own) might be promoted to such a high position, so quickly. This displeasure is manifesting itself in his rating of her performance. While Lena's job-specific performance ratings have remained quite high, her general ratings have plummeted (despite no change in her behavior or work quality). These low ratings are jeopardizing Lena's chances at a promotion.

This is a challenging situation. Lena does not want to call her supervisor's capabilities or judgment into question, but she has put in a substantial amount of hard work in order to be promoted and appears likely to be skipped over.

Interpretation and Implications

In this scenario, the organization's PM structure and purpose are clearly established. As an organization, Paper, Incorporated clearly recognizes the importance of implementing an effective PM system. The development of a biannual employee review process, in which specific performance criteria have been established through job analytic methods, indicates that the organization recognizes the importance of a carefully developed PM system. There is also evidence that Paper, Inc. has established a PM system that encourages employee performance by offering promotion opportunities when they are deserved. However, the effectiveness of a PM system is determined through the complex interaction of contextual and individual factors (Levy & Williams, 2004). As such, implementing a performance system that is only structurally well developed is likely to be insufficient for achieving positive appraisal outcomes.

The dilemma in this scenario is representative of one mechanism through which the performance evaluator can influence employee well-being at the process level, specifically rater bias. Rater bias is a proximal process factor that can result in rating error when biased perceptions contaminate performance judgments. The consequences of a negatively biased performance review are broad in scope and can be severe in terms of employee well-being.

In this situation, it is unclear whether the supervisor intentionally distorted the employee's performance ratings. On the one hand, it is possible that Joe was aware that the appraisal was inaccurate. Recognizing that the specific criteria could easily be verified, the supervisor may have determined to provide weak ratings only on general criteria. On the other hand, the supervisor's

negative appraisal may have been the result of more general negative feelings toward the situation. There are many ways that a rater's negative affect can seep into general performance ratings. For example, it may be that the general rating scale contained less concrete anchors than the performance rating scale, allowing for more affective saturation (Forgas & George, 2001). If this was the case, the displeasure Joe felt at being passed over for the promotion may have colored his perceptions of Lena outside his conscious awareness, resulting in biased performance ratings. However, regardless of motive, the result is a distorted appraisal that could threaten the employee's chances for promotion.

As a result of the supervisor's inaccuracy in the performance evaluation process, Lena is now at risk to be passed over for a deserved promotion. One can expect such an outcome to be harmful insofar as it may cost Lena the opportunity for advancement within the organization, as well as the additional income associated with this advancement. Such losses correspond to reductions in the employees' experience of two environmental determinants of well-being: career prospects and availability of money. Opportunities for organizational advancement are an important component of fostering positive experiences of subjective well-being in terms of commitment to performance and interest in remaining with the organization (Kraimer, Seibert, Wayne, Liden, & Bravo, 2011) as well as boosting job satisfaction and decreasing feelings of emotional distress (Hellgren, Sverke, & Isaksson, 1999). Intriguingly, there is also a link between opportunities for career advancement and employee health. Employees who perceive a lack of career opportunities tend to feel greater organizational pressures and to engage in more unhealthy behaviors, such as work attendance in spite of illness (Caverley, Cunningham, & MacGregor, 2007). When the performance evaluation process is conducted in such a way that it reduces employees' opportunities for advancement, as is the case with Lena's appraisal, the system is not adequately fulfilling its purpose.

Furthermore, Lena's economic situation is negatively affected. In this scenario, Lena is not necessarily experiencing a reduction in income, which would typically be associated with decreased well-being as denoted by low job satisfaction as well as an increase in life dissatisfaction (Tausig & Fenwick, 1999; Warr, 2007). However, she is losing access to a potential increase in income, meaning that she is being denied a likely boost in positive well-being. Moreover, Lena's relationship with her supervisor is deteriorating, and she may expect that the biases resulting in the currently poor performance evaluation may escalate. As such, Lena may be experiencing feelings of job insecurity and a fear that even her current level of income may soon be at risk. Warr's environmental determinants would suggest that this situation is highly stressful for the employee and detrimental to the satisfaction and comfort axes of well-being.

In addition to the loss of a valuable job opportunity, Lena's unwarranted negative appraisal is likely to have an extensive impact on her quality of work life. In developing and instituting a specific appraisal procedure, Paper, Inc. has established a psychological contract with employees. The terms of this particular contract are simple: The employee is obligated to work to meet the expectations elaborated in his/her job description, and in turn the organization is obligated to assess employee work based upon the established performance criteria. When Joe allowed his frustration to bias Lena's performance ratings (whether consciously or unconsciously), this contract was violated. Lena's experience of psychological contract breach is likely to result in anxiety as her supervisor's failure to behave in a manner consistent with expectations produces a reduction in perceptions of environmental clarity and personal control. Such violations can impact a plethora of work-related outcomes that impinge upon well-being. For example, one common consequence of contract breach is negative emotions and, consequently, negative attitudes such as low job satisfaction (Tekleab, Takeuchi, & Taylor, 2005; Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski, & Bravo, 2007).

When biased ratings are used to make important personnel decisions, these decisions are, at least in part, based upon erroneous information that does not pertain to actual performance. The inclusion of such information in the rating process represents a deviation from expectations

established in the formal appraisal system, and individuals who are impacted by this process may thus perceive a lack of procedural justice (Simons & Roberson, 2003). As such, Lena is likely to experience low levels of another determinant of well-being, equity, because she believes that the actions of the supervisor are unfair and denote procedural injustice within the organization. Employee perceptions of procedural injustice have been linked to a sundry of individual well-being outcomes, including reduced supervisor- and job-targeted satisfaction, job commitment, and self-esteem (Folger & Konovsky, 1989; Simons & Roberson, 2003; Smith, Tyler, Huo, Ortiz, & Lind, 1998; Taylor, Tracy, Renard, Harrison, & Carroll, 1995; Tekleab et al., 2005). In addition to these outcomes, it is likely that Lena's perceptions of procedural injustice within the evaluation system will influence her workplace social relationships. Specifically, these perceptions can be expected to induce tense relationships with coworkers (Forret & Love, 2008), mistrust of the supervisor (Folger & Konovsky, 1989), and ultimately low perceptions of organizational support (Wayne, Shore, Bommer, & Tetrick, 2002). These should seem familiar as they are akin to the environmental determinants of well-being that represent social elements of the environment: quality contact with others and supervisor support. Thus, negative procedural justice perceptions can be expected to adversely impact employee well-being through socially oriented determinants in addition to simple equity perceptions.

As suggested by Warr's (2007) work, when subordinate employees believe that their supervisor is not concerned with providing adequate support, this can lead to numerous negative well-being outcomes, such as degradation of interpersonal relations (e.g., LMX relationships, Masterson, Lewis, Goldman, & Taylor, 2000), low satisfaction with the supervisor (Simons & Roberson, 2003), decreased confidence in the organization's ability and desire to support employees (Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000), and decreased commitment to the organization (Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000; Simons & Roberson, 2003). The employee in this scenario is likely to feel betrayed by the supervisor and, by proxy, the organization (Lambert, Edwards, & Cable, 2003). The supervisor's disregard for expected social exchange rules and established appraisal procedures is likely to result in Lena's experience of low perceptions of supervisor and organizational support (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986; Wayne et al., 2002). A substantial body of research indicates that perceived lack of organizational support can also result from injustice perceptions (e.g., Masterson et al., 2000; Moorman, Blakely, & Niehoff, 1998; Wayne et al., 2002). Perceptions of organizational support refer to the degree to which employees believe that the organization values their work and well-being (Eisenberger et al.) and can be conceptualized as an indicator of the quality of the employee-organization relationship (Masterson et al., 2000) and has been linked to important outcomes such as feelings of anger, turnover intentions, absenteeism, work-related accidents, and organizational commitment (Maertz, Griffeth, Campbell, & Allen, 2007; O'Neill, Vandenberg, DeJoy, & Wilson, 2009).

The hostility of the supervisor in this scenario may even be construed as a less severe form of "abusive supervision," wherein the supervisor uses his/her power and authority to mistreat subordinate employees (Ashforth, 1997). Arguably, Joe is abusing the performance appraisal process in order to damage Lena's chances of receiving the desired promotion. This would be especially relevant in the event that the supervisor's ratings were intentionally distorted. However, as abusive supervision is typically considered from the perspective of the subordinate (Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007), it is likely that the employee in this scenario will perceive the falsely negative appraisals to be hostile regardless of the supervisor's intention. Perceptions of supervisor hostility have profound implications for employee well-being, such as low satisfaction, commitment, and perceptions of justice, and high psychological distress (Ashforth, 1997; Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002; Tepper, 2000).

Overall, the employee's feelings of betrayal, lack of supervisor support, and feelings of dissatisfaction can be expected to act as stressors for the employee. This is an important concern because occupational stress has been linked to a number of physiological and emotional

outcomes (Ganster & Schaubroeck, 1991) that can negatively influence well-being. These outcomes include coronary heart disease, mental breakdowns, poor health behaviors (e.g., smoking or drinking excessively), absenteeism, and even family dysfunction as work stress spills over into home life (Danna & Griffin, 1999).

Suggested Intervention(s)

It is worth noting that the ideal way to avoid the negative outcomes discussed in this scenario would be for the supervisor to evaluate employees in a manner that does not result in degradation of the environmental facets required to promote well-being. In other words, the supervisor should provide performance reviews that reflect the employee's true performance. In order to facilitate accurate ratings, organizations can build accountability into their appraisal systems. Research on accountability suggests that ratings tend to be more accurate when raters are held accountable by their supervisors and other organizational stakeholders (Mero, Guidice, & Anna, 2006). When raters know that they will be held accountable for their ratings, they tend to feel a greater need to have justifications for their decisions and subsequently provide more thoughtful, accurate ratings (Mero et al.). Extrapolating from this research, it can be expected that rater accountability and increased need to provide justifiable ratings would help to reduce the likelihood of hostility-induced harsh ratings. In this manner, the elements of this PM system that have negative implications for employee well-being would be eliminated.

However, as mentioned previously, it may be the case that the supervisor is not intentionally distorting these ratings. The fact that Joe only distorted ratings in the general performance criteria suggests that this may not have been a conscious process. If the process were conscious, we would expect to see distortions in all of the performance ratings, but we do not. Similar effects are observed regarding race and gender stereotypes (Pulakos, White, Oppler, & Borman, 1989; Stauffer & Buckley, 2005), and research in this area has offered practical recommendations for dealing with these unconscious rater biases.

One effective method of reducing unconscious bias in appraisals is to train supervisors to employ the structured free recall technique (Baltes, Bauer, & Frensch, 2007). This method requires the supervisor to recall and list the employee's specific positive behaviors as well as specific negative behaviors. The generated list is then referred to during the appraisal process. In effect, this technique allows the supervisor to focus on discreet behaviors as opposed to a generalized perception of the employee's behavior (Baltes et al.). Hence, there are bias-reducing techniques that can prove valuable in dealing with situations in which the supervisor is unknowingly biased by unconscious attitudes toward the employee. Methods such as this build equity into the process by standardizing the cognitive process supervisors use in the performance evaluation process.

Beyond careful identification of target performance dimensions and selection of rating sources, the training that an organization provides raters represents an important structural element of performance appraisal. By providing training to the individuals who rate performance, an organization can increase accuracy of performance ratings (Woehr & Huffcutt, 1994). In recent years, organizational scholars have focused their attention on the role of cognitive processes in rating (Gorman & Rentsch, 2009), and research has yielded useful insight into rater training strategies.

Supervisors are obligated to provide performance appraisals that are fair and accurate, to the best of their abilities. In a situation similar to the present scenario, this would mean that the supervisor should not allow his personal feelings about the promotion to interfere with his ratings of the employee. When this obligation is not met, it falls upon the organization to remedy the situation through the institution of structural programs and elements that systematize the

evaluation process. It is possible that negative well-being outcomes that result from inconsistencies such as that described in this scenario could be avoided through organizational implementation of rater accountability and training techniques.

Scenario 2

Ben works for a company that has very strict performance appraisal policies. Each employee has a sit-down performance appraisal meeting with his or her direct supervisor twice per year, and all employees within a division are judged on predominantly the same criteria.

The division that Ben is employed in, graphic design, has a reputation for producing excellent results. While Ben has no formal education in graphic design, he has been given extensive on-the-job training, and he has always felt that he has held his own and performed quite well.

Approximately three years ago, Ben's company adopted some new procedures relating to performance appraisals. Specifically, within each division employees are rated on a forced distribution, in which managers are required to rate employees such that a specified percentage of employees fall into the high, adequate, and low performance ranges. Each year, supervisors are required to terminate employees who rank in the bottom 10% of performers. For the past two years, Ben has been in the lower half of performers but never the bottom ten percent.

Now that this policy has been in place for several years, and the bottom 10% of performers have been terminated each year, Ben's department no longer has any truly "bad" performers. This year, Ben was shocked when, in his annual performance appraisal meeting, his supervisor informed him that he had performed in the bottom 15%. The supervisor yelled at Ben and threatened his job, refusing to allow Ben to contribute any input or make rebuttals.

Ben believes that the system is unfair, and that the perspective he contributes to the department is invaluable. He also believes that with a bit of formal education, his performance might be brought up considerably (but that without it, he will be unable to perform better than his current level). Given the organization's history of not providing training after the initial on-boarding process, as well as his supervisor's unwillingness to listen to concerns in the official performance appraisal meeting, Ben seriously doubts that he will be able to get company support for the pursuit of continuing education.

Interpretation and Implications

This scenario provides an indicator of the complexity of PM systems and the factors that contribute to individual perceptions of the process. In this instance, the dilemma stems from a combination of structural and process features within the organization's PM context that work together to hinder the various determinants of employee well-being.

The formal PM system at this organization has recently been restructured, changing the way in which employees are impacted by the process. The newly implemented program is known as a forced distribution system. This type of system, made famous by GE in the 1990s, requires supervisors to provide subordinate ratings that closely resemble a specified distribution (Murphy, 2008). Subsequently, each year those employees who rank in the bottom 10% of the distribution are let go. The goal of this method is to establish a workplace in which all employees are high performers by linking performance evaluation with relevant HR outcomes, specifically layoffs. Often referred to as the "rank and yank" method, the essential idea is that firing the weakest performers will lead to overall improvement in employee performance (Welch & Byrne, 2001). Additionally, this appraisal method fosters an environment of competition that makes employees' success dependent upon their ability to perform better than their peers (Lawler, 2003). Given the exodus of poor performers and the increase in competition, this system leads to elevations in overall performance. It is important to note that the greatest improvements tend to be seen over the first few years of implementation as the truly low performers are weeded out of the personnel pool (Scullen, Bergey, & Aiman-Smith, 2005). Eventually, however, organizations may experience

significant losses as they begin to dismiss employees who have valuable skills that will be difficult to replace.

Forced distribution appraisal tends to be successful insofar as it avoids inflation in performance evaluation ratings and helps to differentiate high from low performers (Welch & Byrne, 2001). In other words, this type of system forces managers to provide ratings that do not lump all employees in the same category of performance, thereby, arguably, improving the utility of the ratings (Blume, Baldwin, & Rubin, 2009). Unfortunately, the “rank and yank” system tends to be seen as unfair by employees, as it does not take into account employee performance on an absolute level (Murphy, 2008). Employees whose overall performance is high may end up in the bottom group of performers simply because their performance is low relative to coworkers. As Lawler (2003) notes, employees are likely to perceive unfairness in a situation in which some employees *must* be rated as poor performers. It is possible to be a strong employee without being superior to one’s peers. The fact that employees can successfully complete the work tasks provided in their job descriptions and still be at risk of layoff (that is not related to some external factor such as poor economic conditions) represents a situation in which the organization is creating an environment that hinders employee well-being. Specifically, the implementation of this form of PM can fail to promote several determinants of well-being that are associated with organizational structures (e.g., opportunity to acquire skills and opportunity for personal control) as well as the social context within the organization (e.g., equity and valued social position). As will be discussed, this appears to be the case in the present situation.

Ben is aware that the organization’s formal decision-making process has reached a point where employees are falling in the bottom 10% even when they are not performing poorly. The recognition of such practices can provoke perceptions of various forms of injustice and consequently create an environment in which equity perceptions are too low to foster positive employee well-being (Warr, 2007). The present situation is likely to result in the belief that the system itself is unjustified, leading to perceptions of procedural injustice (Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001). Furthermore, Ben is not a poor performer, yet the structure of the PM system has resulted in a performance level that is low *relative to* his coworkers. He is likely to view this as an injustice because there is not an equitable distribution of rewards relative to quality of work. The specific type of justice that is often associated with equitable distribution of rewards and outcomes is referred to as distributive justice (Colquitt et al.). Thus, in addition to procedural injustice, Ben is likely to perceive distributive injustice in this system. Generally, forced distribution systems have been associated with rater perceptions of unfairness (Schleicher, Bull, & Green, 2009) and can be expected to damage the climate for employee well-being through the mechanism of organizational inequity (Warr).

Such perceptions of injustice are related to a number of negative consequences for employees like Ben. Employees’ experiences of fairness in the performance appraisal process can influence a multitude of indicators associated with social and psychological well-being. These consequences can take the form of negative attitudes and beliefs directed at the organization and individuals within it, such as reduced levels of trust in one’s supervisor (Folger & Konovsky, 1989), low satisfaction with appraisal outcomes (Folger & Konovsky), and low commitment to the organization (Folger & Konovsky, 1989; Miller, 2001). Additionally, when individuals do not receive equitable compensation for their efforts, they are likely to experience negative well-being in the form of self-directed attitudes and beliefs, such as decreased motivation to continue performing one’s job well (McBriarty, 1988; Scullen et al., 2005), lowered self-esteem (Gardner, Van Dyne, & Pierce, 2004; Smith et al., 1998), and increased risk of depression (Hafer & Olson, 2003; Tennen & Affleck, 1991). In other words, Ben’s experiences of inequity within the PM system are likely to have profound implications for his psychological well-being, along all three of the axes of subjective well-being.

An additional mechanism through which the forced distribution PM system can be detrimental to Ben’s well-being is through reduced perceptions of a valued social position (Warr, 2007).

Research suggests that individuals tend to feel more positive about their job and their career prospects when relevant others recognize that their work is important and attribute prestige to their position (Greenberger, Goldberg, Hamill, O'Neil, & Payne, 1989; Wrzesniewski, Dutton, & Debebe, 2003). In the present scenario, the organization has established a PM system that cultivates a climate of competition among employees. Employees are essentially competing with each other to avoid falling in the bottom range of performance ratings. The knowledge that those who fall in this bottom range will be forced out of the organization causes fear and engenders selfishness and reduces the likelihood of coworker supportive behaviors (Jassawalla & Sashittal, 1999; Lawler, 2003). Thus, it is going to be extremely difficult for the organization to establish an environment in which employees support and appreciate others' contributions, as success is tied to being a superior performer (Lawler). As such, this system can be expected to inhibit Ben's perceptions that he maintains a valued social position. Ben is likely to experience outcomes associated with the negative pole of the satisfaction axis of well-being.

Yet another structural facet of the present PM system that may pose a threat to employee well-being pertains to the purpose of the system. As noted previously, an important role of PM is to provide employees with developmental support such as feedback regarding one's strengths and weaknesses (Fletcher, 2001; Levy & Williams, 2004; Meyer, 1991). A PM system that neglects either the administrative or developmental component is likely to prove insufficient in improving the overall quality of the workforce. Research does suggest that there are differences between appraisals conducted for administrative purposes and appraisals conducted for developmental purposes (Reb & Greguras, 2010; Wang, Wong, & Kwong, 2010). In designing a PM system, it is therefore important to consider how and when each of these purposes will be accomplished within that system.

It should not be overlooked that the development and creation of a system that supports developmental feedback is integral to an effective PM system (Levy & Williams, 2004; London & Smither, 2002). The organization in this scenario has designed an appraisal system intended to improve performance of the general workforce, but decision-makers failed to consider individual employee development when designing the system. Instead, running counter to the recommendations of researchers (e.g., Schleicher et al., 2009), they focus solely on improving the workforce through the implementation of severe administrative repercussions (i.e., termination). As a result of this organization's oversight, the employee was not provided with adequate performance feedback and development opportunities that may have spurred him to increased productivity. As such, Ben believes that his inability to meet the performance levels of his peers is the result of inadequate developmental opportunities, resulting in negative well-being through diminished opportunities to acquire relevant, useful skills and perceptions of career prospects. The organization's PM system is failing to encourage this employee to improve because his further improvement is dependent upon opportunities that are currently not offered. Instead, with each round of firings, the employee is systematically being pushed to the bottom of the performance curve. This system does not inspire or motivate employee development and thereby is detrimental to employee well-being.

Such a lack of developmental opportunities is potentially disruptive to the general well-being of employees. As noted previously, Ben's organization does not place a substantive emphasis on employee development in terms of performance feedback or training opportunities, which is a critical component of a successful PM system (Dransfield, 2000). This is problematic because Ben's success has been impeded by a lack of access to training/education. Consequently, he is struggling to remain competitive relative to his more educated coworkers, and his employment is in jeopardy. This is further likely to result in perceptions of injustice, as developmental opportunities within an organization have been linked to perceptions of fairness in the performance evaluation process (Nurse, 2005).

In addition to structural elements of the appraisal system, there are numerous process factors that are highly influential in determining appraisal effectiveness and subordinate reactions. Rater

characteristics and behaviors are important such factors. The supervisor's behavior in this performance appraisal session was hostile and unsupportive. The relationship between a rater and ratee is a critical piece of the proximal factor puzzle. With regard to performance appraisal, such dyadic relationships have been most often studied and discussed in the context of leader-member exchange (LMX) relationships, in which feedback is directed from a higher level to a lower level in the organizational hierarchy (e.g., Elicker et al., 2006; Kacmar, Witt, Zivnuska, & Gully, 2003; Silverman et al., 2005). The link between LMX and feedback is reciprocal, such that high-quality feedback improves the dyadic relationship (Steelman et al., 2004), and a strong dyadic relationship increases satisfaction with subsequent feedback (Elicker et al.). The lack of respect in this performance evaluation can be damaging to the relationship between the supervisor and the subordinate as well as reduce the value of the evaluation itself.

The extent to which employees believe that they are treated with dignity and respect in interactions with other individuals in the workplace is known as interactional justice (Colquitt et al., 2001). Perceptions of interactional justice is closely tied to the experience of positive outcomes in the performance evaluation process, such as positive perceptions of and trust in the supervisor (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Cropanzano, Prehar, & Chen, 2002) which can be associated with perceptions of supervisor support and ultimately positive well-being (Warr, 2007).

Furthermore, Ben's supervisor did not allow him to voice concerns regarding his poor performance appraisal. Employee participation, especially voice, is particularly important in facilitating positive reactions in the PM process (Buchner, 2007; Cawley et al., 1998; Korsgaard & Roberson, 1995). Employees' ability to express their concerns and, generally, to have their voices heard is an integral factor in eliciting perceptions of procedural justice (Elicker et al., 2006) and satisfaction with the appraisal process (Cawley et al.). In other words, by denying Ben the opportunity for voice, Ben's supervisor denied him the opportunity for personal control, which we have established can be highly influential in determining employee well-being (Warr, 2007). In the present situation, Ben is clearly concerned that his performance evaluation does not truly reflect his quality of work. Unfortunately, his supervisor is unwilling to listen to Ben's concerns, thus contributing to negative well-being outcomes by denying him the opportunity for voice in the process.

Suggested Intervention(s)

The forced distribution rating system is a PM tool. As with any tool, the effectiveness of a forced distribution rating system is dependent upon how it is used. If the organization is intent upon using this form of PM, it is recommended that the associated administrative consequences should not be as severe as termination (Schleicher et al., 2009). One option would be to establish an earnings-at-risk (or pay for performance) compensation plan (cf., Conrad et al., 1998; Rynes, Gerhart, & Parks, 2005) that incorporates the forced distribution system. In this way, the performance evaluation process would be tied to relevant incentives without threatening the livelihoods of employees who are completing their work at an acceptable level. It is important to note that this type of system may be associated with negative reactions such as low satisfaction with pay (Brown & Huber, 1992) resulting from changes in the availability of money determinant of well-being, which is potentially detrimental to employees (Warr, 2007). However, it may be a superior option to potential job loss; and it is further possible that once the at-risk pay system has been integrated into the PM system, it would create a degree of transparency that would elevate the determinants of environmental clarity, externally generated goals, and career prospects enough to compensate for potential decreases in base-rate pay.

A second method that could help improve outcomes of the PM system is to integrate developmental feedback into the process. The availability of diagnostic feedback can provide greater awareness of developmental needs and increased role clarity (Whitaker et al., 2007). In other

words, building developmental feedback into a PM system is essential to encouraging continuous employee development and subsequent performance improvement. In the present scenario, implementing development-oriented performance reviews would help to alleviate the negative reactions associated with systematically driving employees out of the organization. Employees would be afforded environmental clarity through increased role clarity (Warr, 2007).

Furthermore, organizations seeking to improve their workforce without demoralizing workers should consider the implementation of organizational development opportunities. Kraimer and colleagues (Kraimer et al., 2011) recommend encouraging employees to participate in formal training classes as well as providing support for mentoring relationships. Such efforts should increase employees' perceptions of organizational support for development and may even help to avoid employee intentions to leave the organization.

Scenario 3

Celia works on the floor of the plant at EB Company Manufacturing. At the start of every quarter, Celia's supervisor, Carl, is responsible for holding performance reviews for one-fourth of his total number of direct reports. While it is encouraging that Carl discusses performance with all of his subordinates at least once a year, he has some decision leeway in terms of which quarter he meets with specific individuals. He has recently begun using this leeway to meet with some individuals more often than others.

David, a coworker of Celia's, has not been performing well (to the point that his poor performance has attracted some attention from other supervisors). David is a friend of Carl's family, and approximately six months ago cofounded a landscaping business with Carl's son. Seemingly as a result, Carl has turned a blind eye to David's increasing lateness, failure to show up for meetings, and overall ever-declining performance. Other employees are expected to perform at a level that David is not being held to. Further, because David is not held accountable for his work, others are being blamed for his poor performance.

Carl has been able to avoid giving David a performance review since his performance problems began. Celia and her coworkers have been experiencing increasing frustration as a result of having to pick up David's slack. The whole department is being held accountable for not only their own performance but David's as well. Therefore, his coworkers are receiving some of the blame for David's poor performance. Further, there appears to be no repercussions in sight for David, seemingly because Carl does not want to endanger his son's employment. As a result, morale in the department is suffering, and no one knows quite how to address the situation.

Interpretation and Implications

Similar to scenario 2, Celia's situation exemplifies a PM system in which facets of both the structure and the process function to produce negative outcomes. However, this scenario demonstrates an additional degree of complexity, as coworkers as well as supervisors are contributing to the negative outcomes at the process level. The interpretation of this scenario will first address what has gone awry at the structural level (i.e., the PM system itself) and subsequently the process level (i.e., the behaviors and roles of individuals within the appraisal system, such as supervisors and coworkers).

In the present situation, the PM *system* is inadequate for accurate appraisal of employee performance. This system is set up so that supervisors are not expected to appraise all direct reports in the same time period; they are staggered over the course of each year. By the end of the year, however, all direct reports should have experienced a formal performance appraisal. Presumably, the system was set up in this manner in order to facilitate ease of appraisal. Supervisors have tasks and responsibilities above and beyond PM, and completing these tasks can be highly challenging when coupled with extensive performance reviews (Dowell & Wexley, 1978). For this reason, conducting quarterly reviews of a subset of employees appears to be an efficient method for ensuring each employee receives a yearly performance appraisal, without

overextending the supervisor. Nonetheless, this system is structured in such a way that it inhibits the value of PM, by allowing the supervisor to use personal discretion in terms of scheduling employee evaluations. It is true that it may be potentially damaging to the supervisor's well-being to remove his opportunity for personal control and autonomy (Warr, 2007); however, the structure of the evaluation system should be solid enough to guarantee that every employee receives a performance review at least once per year (Burke & Wilcox, 1969). In the current scenario, the system is set up such that an employee could be reviewed early in the first yearly cycle (i.e., January) and late in the subsequent year (i.e., December), resulting in a 22-month gap between performance evaluations. This system does not hold the supervisor accountable for their appraisals of each employee, potentially resulting in poor PM. Such occurrences not only hinder employee performance from the organizational perspective but can also hurt employee well-being by removing the opportunity for growth and development (Warr).

The structure of the PM system has allowed this situation to arise; however, the truly problematic elements in this situation are based on process factors determined by the behavior of individuals within the system. In this situation, the PM system is not functioning properly because the supervisor made the decision not to evaluate this employee. As such, David is not receiving diagnostic feedback that might help him to improve his performance (London & Smither, 1999). David may be aware that his performance is poor, however he may not. It is the responsibility of the supervisor to evaluate David's performance and to inform him of the results. Essentially, this organization is not providing necessary developmental support. As discussed previously, developmental feedback and associated training and development programs are of primary importance in an effective PM system (Dransfield, 2000; Fletcher, 2001). Avoiding performance evaluations results in a devaluation of any employee incentive plans or training programs that might be expected to boost performance. In David's case, the infrequency of performance evaluation coupled with the supervisor's reluctance to provide him with a poor performance rating inhibit his opportunity for employee development.

A critical component of improvement is first recognizing that there is something to improve, and feedback can provide this self-awareness (Anseel & Lievens, 2007). To this point, the supervisor has provided David with no reason to believe a change in performance is necessary. In the event that David's attention were drawn to his performance issues, he would have the opportunity to rectify the problems. However, this is not the case. As a result of this, David's well-being may actually suffer. Other supervisors are starting to notice David's performance issues, and over time his poor performance may put his work well-being at risk. In addition to ostensibly denying David the opportunity for new skill acquisition, this situation may result in reduced career prospects (Warr, 2007) as other supervisors will not want him promoted or transferred to their departments. Moreover, without feedback to provide environmental clarity (Warr), one might expect David's current decline in performance to continue in this trajectory to the point that job loss is imminent. In essence, within this PM system, his supervisor is not adequately assessing and managing David's performance. In turn, the supervisor's misuse of the PM system may contribute to David's eventual demotion or termination rather than supporting his development as an employee.

Moreover, the behavior of David and his supervisor has profound implications for the well-being of other individuals in the department. Social exchange theory (Emerson, 1976) suggests that individuals interact in ways that generate obligations. Rules, or norms, for social exchanges are created as individuals interact with each other (Emerson). For example, if a supervisor is supportive of employees, these employees are more likely to engage in prosocial behaviors toward that supervisor and the organization because a norm of reciprocity has been activated (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). This is because there is an expectation that if one person engages in a behavior that benefits another, the second person will reciprocate in-kind with a beneficial act. In the present scenario, the behavior of the supervisor is in violation of social exchange rules.

It would be expected that those employees who work hard and complete their jobs efficiently would be recognized and rewarded, and vice versa. Yet, it appears that this is not the case with David and his supervisor. David has been slacking on the job and his coworkers have been expected to pick up the slack. Social exchange rules would suggest that David's coworkers should receive praise and reward from the supervisor, while David should not. As it stands, the exchange violation is likely to be apparent to coworkers in the form of David receiving preferential treatment (i.e., delayed performance evaluation) even though his performance is poor. An environment in which such social exchange violations occur may be damaging to employee well-being. First, it is likely that Celia and other coworkers perceive that their supervisor and the organization do not value their social position. When there are high perceptions of valued social position, there is recognition that others appreciate the significance of one's job (Warr, 2007); unfortunately, the supervisor's failure to intervene on behalf of the hardworking employees suggests a lack of respect for their roles. Additionally, violations of social exchange expectations contribute to negative well-being outcomes (commitment, turnover intentions, satisfaction; Cropanzano & Rupp, 2008).

The behavior of David and his supervisor further represents a hindrance to the well-being of other employees in that David's neglect of his work places additional strain on coworkers. David is a social loafer. Social loafing occurs when individuals do not make effortful contributions because deindividuation within a group setting allows such behavior (Liden, Wayne, Jaworski, & Bennett, 2004). In this scenario, David is allowing his coworkers to do his work because he is not held accountable for his level of contribution to department productivity. In spite of David's poor performance, it is expected that production levels on the manufacturing floor will be maintained, thus forcing David's coworkers to pick up his slack. Research demonstrates that individuals will often increase their workload to account for coworkers' social loafing if they believe evaluations of the group's performance may be at risk (Williams & Karau, 1991). This added workload is likely to result in frustration and dissatisfaction with the workgroup as well as employee strain. This strain is likely to interfere with well-being as it can disrupt work-life balance and cause work-family conflict (Levy, 2010). As much as we would like to separate work and home lives, this is not the reality. Work-related feelings and beliefs spill over into other life domains (e.g., Leiter & Durup, 1996). As such, the negative affect experienced by David's coworkers at work is likely to spill over into domains outside of work, potentially harming overall well-being.

This could further result in stress for David as his coworkers may begin to provide him with negative feedback when the strain of maintaining a high workload trickles into the home-life domain. This negative feedback would represent a potential detriment to well-being as it is an indication that David's position among his coworkers is not valued. Receiving such negative feedback from his coworkers may come as a shock to David, as his supervisor never gave any indication that his performance was lacking. This may cause an internal discrepancy regarding David's understanding of his own performance. Internal discrepancies can have a negative effect on one's well-being unless the issues are resolved (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). Thus, it is clear that the way this situation has been handled has negative implications for the well-being of David as well as his coworkers.

Suggested Intervention(s)

The primary suggestion for dealing with PM problems such as those seen in this scenario is to establish a set schedule for employee evaluations, hold supervisors accountable, provide rater training around these kinds of political and perceptual issues and their impact on employee morale, and to generally implement procedures that systematize the process.

This organization may choose to adopt procedures and policies that serve as formal, administrative supplements to training supervisors on conducting performance evaluations, in order to emphasize the importance of high-quality evaluations in the PM system. For example, supervisors may be required to keep critical incident diaries in order to improve their recall of employee performance information (DeNisi & Peters, 1996). This technique would be helpful in a situation such as this because it would provide a further source of accountability regarding the employee's past performance. Accountability is known to improve rating accuracy (Mero et al., 2006; Roch, 2007). The availability of negative information in the critical incident diary may reduce the likelihood of the supervisor providing an inappropriately positive performance evaluation. Also, as the supervisor has a relationship with David beyond that of the work context, when he provides ratings, they may reflect bias. One way of dealing with this potentiality is to institute PM policies that require structured recall, asking raters to recall specific behaviors in order to reduce the chance that the appraisal will be based on bias-confirming performance data (as bias-confirming information is more easily remembered than bias-disconfirming information; Baltes et al., 2007).

Conclusion

While PM systems can increase employee motivation, increase engagement in development, and improve well-being, poorly developed or implemented systems can have negative and extensive effects on both the organization and its employees. The high cost associated with ineffective PM systems can manifest itself in the form of poor administrative personnel decisions (e.g., promoting or firing the wrong people), legal recourse, or reduced employee motivation resulting from feelings of injustice or helplessness (Fink & Longenecker, 1998; Levy & Williams, 2004). For these reasons, performance is a topic that has sustained researcher attention for decades (Farr & Levy, 2007). With rare exception (e.g., Sparr & Sonnentag, 2008), this research has neglected to consider the impact of appraisal systems on employee well-being and has instead focused on such topics as measurement issues, the relative importance of contextual and cognitive factors, and the utility of appraisals as tools for personnel decision making. When PM is viewed from the employee well-being perspective, it is typically in the context of how individual experiences will ultimately influence organizational goals and overall performance (e.g., Fletcher & Williams, 1996; Townley, 2007).

We contend that while consideration of organizational outcomes is paramount in planning and evaluating PM systems, employee-level outcomes are also important considerations. There is clear evidence that performance appraisal systems are dynamic, sensitive to context, and have the potential to greatly influence employee physiological, social, and psychological well-being. As such, it is imperative that organizations consider well-being implications and, when designing these systems, recognize that employees are more than simply a component of a mechanistic process of organization input and outputs. It is well accepted that employees have contractual (and sometimes contextual) obligations to the organization (Rousseau, 1995), but we must not forget that the organization also has obligations to preserve the rights of employees. The collection of scenarios in this chapter serve to elucidate the ways in which a number of these rights (e.g., justice, voice, respect, and work-life balance) can be violated when the PM is not carefully developed and implemented.

References

- Abelson, M. A. (1987). Examination of avoidable and unavoidable turnover. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 72(3), 382–386.

- Anseel, F., & Lievens, F. (2007). The long-term impact of the feedback environment on job satisfaction: A field study in a Belgian context. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *56*, 254–266.
- Arthur, W., Edwards, B., Bell, S. T., Villado, A., & Bennett, W. (2005). Team task analysis: Identifying tasks and jobs that are team-based. *Human Factors*, *47*, 654–669.
- Ashforth, B. (1997). Petty tyranny in organizations: A preliminary examination of antecedents and consequences. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Resources*, *14*, 126–140.
- Baltes, B. B., Bauer, C. B., & Frensch, P. A. (2007). Does a structured free recall intervention reduce the effect of stereotypes on performance ratings and by what cognitive mechanism? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(1), 151–164.
- Blume, B. D., Baldwin, T. T., & Rubin, R. S. (2009). Reactions to different types of forced distribution performance evaluation systems. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *24*, 77–91.
- Brown, K. A., & Huber, V. L. (1992). Lowering floors and raising ceilings: A longitudinal assessment of the effects of an earnings-at-risk plan on pay satisfaction. *Personnel Psychology*, *45*(2), 279–311.
- Buchner, T. W. (2007). PM theory: A look from the performer's perspective with implications for HRD. *Human Resource Development International*, *10*, 59–73.
- Burke, R. J., & Wilcox, D. S. (1969). Characteristics of effective employee performance review and development interviews. *Personnel Psychology*, *22*(2), 291–305.
- Cardy, R. L., & Dobbins, G. H. (1994). *Performance appraisal: Alternative perspectives*. Cincinnati, OH: South-Western Publishing.
- Carrol, S. J., & Schneier, C. E. (1982). *Performance appraisal and review systems: The identification, measurement, and development of performance in organizations*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Caverley, N., Cunningham, J. B., & MacGregor, J. N. (2007). Sickness presenteeism, sickness absenteeism, and health following restructuring in a Public Service Organization. *Journal of Management Studies*, *44*(2), 304–319.
- Cawley, B. D., Keeping, L. M., & Levy, P. E. (1998). Participation in the performance appraisal process and employee reactions: A meta-analytic review of field investigations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *83*(4), 615–633.
- Chen, Z., Lam, W., & Zhong, J. A. (2007). Leader-member exchange and member performance: A new look at individual-level negative feedback-seeking behavior and team-level empowerment climate. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(1), 202–212.
- Cohen-Charash, Y., & Spector, P. E. (2001). The role of justice in organizations: A meta-analysis. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *86*(2), 278–321.
- Colquitt, J., Conlon, E., Wesson, M., Porter, C., & Ng, K. (2001). Justice at the millennium: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of organizational justice research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*, 425–445.
- Conrad, D. A., Maynard, C., Cheadle, A., Ramsey, S., Marcus-Smith, M., Kirz, H., et al. (1998). Primary care physician compensation method in medical groups. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, *11*, 853–858.
- Coyle-Shapiro, J. A., & Kessler, I. (2000). Consequences of the psychological contract for the employment relationship: A large scale survey. *Journal of Management Studies*, *37*(7), 903–930.
- Cropanzano, R., & Mitchell, M. S. (2005). Social exchange theory: An interdisciplinary review. *Journal of Management*, *31*(6), 874–900.
- Cropanzano, R., Prehar, C. A., & Chen, P. Y. (2002). Using social exchange theory to distinguish procedural from interactional justice. *Group Organization Management*, *27*(3), 324–351.
- Cropanzano, R., & Rupp, D. E. (2008). Social exchange theory and organizational justice: Job performance, citizenship behaviors, multiple foci, and a historical integration of two literatures. In S. W. Gilliland, D. D. Steiner, & D. P. Skarlicki (Eds.), *Justice, morality, and social responsibility* (pp. 63–99). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Crossley, C. D., Bennett, R. J., Jex, S. M., & Burnfield, J. L. (2007). Development of a global measure of job embeddedness and integration into a traditional model of voluntary turnover. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*, 1031–1042.
- Danna, K., & Griffin, R. W. (1999). Health and well-being in the workplace: A review and synthesis of the literature. *Journal of Management*, *25*(3), 357–384.
- Den Hartog, D. N., Boselie, P., & Paauwe, J. (2004). Performance management: A model and research agenda. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *53*(4), 556–569.
- DeNisi, A. S., & Peters, L. H. (1996). Organization of information in memory and the performance appraisal process. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *81*(6), 717–737.
- Dowell, B. E., & Wexley, K. N. (1978). Development of a work behavior taxonomy for first-line supervisors. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *63*, 563–572.
- Dransfield, R. (2000). *Human resource management*. Oxford, UK: Heinemann Educational Publishers.
- Duffy, M. K., Ganster, D. C., & Pagon, M. (2002). Social undermining and social support in the workplace. *Academy of Management Journal*, *45*, 331–351.

- Eisenberger, R., Huntington, R., Hutchison, S., & Sowa, D. (1986). Perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *71*(3), 500–507.
- Elicker, J., Levy, P., & Hall, R. (2006). The role of leader-member exchange in the performance appraisal process. *Journal of Management*, *32*(4), 531–551.
- Emerson, R. M. (1976). Social exchange theory. In A. Inkeles (Ed.), *Annual review of sociology* (pp. 335–362). Palo Alto, CA: Annual Review.
- Farh, J. L., & Dobbins, G. H. (1989). Effects of self-esteem on leniency bias in self reports of performance: A structural equation model. *Personnel Psychology*, *42*, 835–850.
- Farr, J., & Levy, P. E. (2007). Performance appraisal. In L. Koppes (Ed.), *Historical perspectives in industrial and organizational psychology* (pp. 311–327). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ferris, G. R., Munyon, T. P., Basik, K., & Buckley, R. (2008). The performance evaluation context: Social, emotional, cognitive, political, and relationship components. *Human Resource Management Review*, *18*(3), 146–163.
- Findley, H. M., Giles, W. F., & Mossholder, K. W. (2000). Performance appraisal process and system facets: Relationships with contextual performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *85*, 634–640.
- Fink, L. S., & Longenecker, C. O. (1998). Training as a performance appraisal improvement strategy. *Career Development International*, *3*(6), 243–251.
- Fletcher, C. (2001). Performance appraisal and management: The developing research agenda. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *74*, 473–487.
- Fletcher, C., & Williams, R. (1996). Performance management, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment. *British Journal of Management*, *7*(2), 169–179.
- Folger, R., & Konovsky, M. A. (1989). Effects of procedural and distributive justice on reactions to pay raise decisions. *Academy of Management Journal*, *32*(1), 115–130.
- Forgas, J. P., & George, J. M. (2001). Affective influences on judgments and behavior in organizations: An information processing perspective. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *86*, 3–34.
- Forret, M., & Love, M. S. (2008). Employee justice perceptions and coworker relationships. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, *29*(3), 248–260.
- Ganster, D. C., & Schaubroeck, J. (1991). Work stress and employee health. *Journal of Management*, *17*, 235–271.
- Gardner, D. G., Van Dyne, L., & Pierce, J. L. (2004). The effects of pay level on organization-based self-esteem and performance: A field study. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *77*, 307–322.
- Gorman, C. A., & Rentsch, J. R. (2009). Evaluating frame-of-reference rater training effectiveness using performance schema accuracy. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *94*, 1336–1344.
- Greenberger, D. B., & Strasser, S. (1986). Development and application of a model of personal control in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *11*, 164–177.
- Greenberger, E., Goldberg, W. A., Hamill, S., O'Neil, R., & Payne, C. K. (1989). Contributions of a supportive work environment to parents' well-being and orientation to work. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *17*(6), 755–783.
- Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. (1976). Motivation through the design of work: Test of a theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *16*(2), 250–279.
- Hafer, C. L., & Olson, J. M. (2003). An analysis of empirical research on the scope of justice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *7*(4), 311–323.
- Hebert, B. G., & Vorauer, J. D. (2003). Seeing through the screen: Is evaluative feedback communicated more effectively in face-to-face or computer-mediated exchanges? *Computers in Human Behavior*, *19*(1), 25–38.
- Hellgren, J., Sverke, M., & Isaksson, K. (1999). A two-dimensional approach to job insecurity: Consequences for employee attitudes and well-being. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *8*(2), 179–195.
- Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. (2009). *Indicators of well-being in Canada*. Retrieved May 15, 2011, from <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/3ndic.1t.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=19>
- Ivancevich, J. M. (1982). Subordinates' reactions to performance appraisal interviews: A test of feedback and goal-setting techniques. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *67*(5), 581–587.
- Jassawalla, A. R., & Sashittal, H. C. (1999). Building collaborative cross-functional new product teams. *The Academy of Management Executive*, *13*, 50–63.
- Judge, T. A., & Ilies, R. (2004). Affect and job satisfaction: A study of their relationship at work and at home. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*(4), 661–673.
- Kacmar, K. M., Witt, L. A., Zivnuska, S., & Gully, S. M. (2003). The interactive effect of leader-member exchange and communication frequency on performance ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *88*(4), 764–772.
- Korsgaard, M. A., & Roberson, L. (1995). Procedural justice in performance evaluation: The role of instrumental and non-instrumental voice in performance appraisal discussions. *Journal of Management*, *21*(4), 657–669.

- Kraimer, M. L., Seibert, S. E., Wayne, S. J., Liden, R. C., & Bravo, J. (2011). Antecedents and outcomes of organizational support for development: The critical role of career opportunities. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 96*(3), 485–500.
- Lambert, L. S., Edwards, J. R., & Cable, D. M. (2003). Breach and fulfillment of the psychological contract: A comparison of traditional and expanded views. *Personnel Psychology, 56*, 895–934.
- Landy, F., & Farr, J. (1980). Performance rating. *Psychological Bulletin, 87*, 72–107.
- László, K., Pikhart, H., Kopp, M., Bobak, M., Pajak, A., Maljutina, S., et al. (2009). Job insecurity and health: A study of 16 European countries. *Social Science & Medicine, 70*(6), 867–874.
- Lawler, E. E. (2003). Reward practices and PM system effectiveness. *Organizational Dynamics, 32*(4), 396–404.
- Leiter, M. P., & Durup, M. J. (1996). Work, home, and in-between: A longitudinal study of spillover. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 32*, 29–47.
- Levy, P. E. (2010). *Industrial organizational psychology: Understanding the workplace*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Levy, P. E., & Williams, J. (2004). The social context of performance appraisal: A review and framework for the future. *Journal of Management, 30*, 881–905.
- Liden, R. C., Wayne, S. J., Jaworski, R. A., & Bennett, N. (2004). Social loafing: A field investigation. *Journal of Management, 30*(2), 285–304.
- London, M., & Smither, J. W. (1999). Empowered self-development and continuous learning. *Human Resource Management, 38*(1), 3–15.
- London, M., & Smither, J. W. (2002). Feedback orientation, feedback culture, and the longitudinal performance management process. *Human Resource Management Review, 12*(1), 81–100.
- Maertz, C. P., Jr., Griffeth, R. W., Campbell, N. S., & Allen, D. G. (2007). The effects of perceived organizational support and perceived supervisor support on employee turnover. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 28*(8), 1059–1075.
- Masterson, S. S., Lewis, K., Goldman, B. M., & Taylor, M. S. (2000). Integrating justice and social exchange: The differing effects of fair procedures and treatment on work relationships. *Academy of Management Journal, 43*(4), 738–748.
- McBriarty, M. A. (1988). REFORM 88: A sense of déjà vu. *The American Review of Public Administration, 18*(1), 47–61.
- Meltzer, H., Bebbington, P., Brugha, T., Jenkins, R., McManus, S., & Stansfeld, S. (2010). Job insecurity, socioeconomic circumstances and depression. *Psychological Medicine, 40*, 1401–1407.
- Mero, N. P., Guidice, R. M., & Anna, A. L. (2006). The interacting effects of accountability and individual differences on rater response to a performance-rating task. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36*(4), 795–819.
- Meyer, H. H. (1991). A solution to the performance appraisal feedback enigma. *The Academy of Management Executive, 5*(1), 68–76.
- Miller, D. T. (2001). Disrespect and the experience of injustice. *Annual Review of Psychology, 52*, 527–553.
- Mitchell, M. S., & Ambrose, M. L. (2007). Abusive supervision in workplace deviance and the moderating effects of negative reciprocity beliefs. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*(4), 1159–1168.
- Moorman, R. H., Blakely, G. L., & Niehoff, B. P. (1998). Does perceived organizational support mediate the relationship between procedural justice and organizational citizenship behavior? *Academy of Management Journal, 42*(3), 351–357.
- Murphy, K. R. (2008). Explaining the weak relationship between job performance and ratings of job performance. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice, 1*(2), 148–160.
- Murphy, K. R., & Cleveland, J. N. (1995). *Understanding performance appraisal: Social, organization, and goal-based perspectives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria. (2011). *2011 population and housing census: 2009–2010 time use survey*. Retrieved May 15, 2011, from http://www.nsi.bg/EPDOCS/TUS2009_2010_en.pdf
- Nelson, A., Cooper, C. L., & Jackson, P. (1995). Uncertainty amidst change: The impact of privatization on employee job satisfaction and well-being. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 68*, 57–71.
- Nurse, L. (2005). Performance appraisal, employee development and organizational justice: Exploring the linkages. *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 16*(7), 1176–1194.
- O'Neill, O. A., Vandenberg, R. J., DeJoy, D. M., & Wilson, M. G. (2009). Exploring relationships among anger, perceived organizational support, and workplace outcomes. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 14*(3), 318–333.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2010). *Average annual hours actually worked per worker*. Retrieved May 15, 2011, from <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=ANHRS>
- Pulakos, E. D., White, L. A., Oppler, S. H., & Borman, W. C. (1989). Examination of race and sex effects on performance ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 74*(5), 770–780.
- Reb, J., & Greguras, G. J. (2010). Understanding performance ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 95*(1), 213–220.

- Roch, S. G. (2007). Why convene rater teams: An investigation of the benefits of anticipated discussion, consensus, and rater motivation. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 104(1), 14–29.
- Rosen, C. C., Levy, P. E., & Hall, R. J. (2006). Placing perceptions of politics in the context of the feedback environment, employee attitudes, and job performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(1), 211–220.
- Ross, L., & Nisbett, R. E. (1991). *The person and the situation*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Rousseau, D. M. (1995). *Psychological contracts in organizations: Understanding written and unwritten agreements*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Rynes, S. L., Gerhart, B., & Parks, L. (2005). Personnel psychology: Performance evaluation and pay for performance. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 58, 571–600.
- Saavedra, R., & Kwun, S. K. (2000). Affective states in job characteristics theory. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 21, 131–146.
- Schleicher, D. J., Bull, R. A., & Green, S. G. (2009). Rater reactions to forced distribution rating systems. *Journal of Management*, 35, 899–927.
- Schultz, A. B., & Edington, D. W. (2007). Employee health and presenteeism: A systematic review. *Journal of Occupational Rehabilitation*, 17, 547–579.
- Scullen, S. E., Bergey, P. K., & Aiman-Smith, L. (2005). Forced distribution rating systems and the improvement of workforce potential: A baseline simulation. *Personnel Psychology*, 58, 1–32.
- Silverman, S. B., Pogson, C. E., & Cober, A. B. (2005). When employees at work don't get it: A model for enhancing individual employee change in response to performance feedback. *The Academy of Management Executive*, 19, 135–147.
- Simons, T., & Roberson, Q. (2003). Why managers should care about fairness: The effects of aggregate justice perceptions on organizational outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(3), 432–443.
- Smith, H. J., Tyler, T. R., Huo, Y. J., Ortiz, D. J., & Lind, E. A. (1998). The self-relevant implications of the group-value model: Group membership, self-worth, and treatment quality. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 34(5), 470–493.
- Spar, J., & Sonnentag, S. (2008). Feedback environment and well-being at work: The mediating role of personal control and feelings of helplessness. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 17, 388–412.
- Stauffer, J. M., & Buckley, M. R. (2005). The existence and nature of racial bias in supervisory ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(3), 586–591.
- Steelman, L., Levy, P., & Snell, A. (2004). The feedback environment scale: Construct definition, measurement, and validation. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 64, 165–184.
- Steffy, B. D., & Jones, J. W. (1988). Workplace stress and indicators of coronary-disease risk. *Academy of Management Journal*, 31(3), 686–698.
- Tausig, M., & Fenwick, R. (1999). Recession and well-being. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 40(1), 1–16.
- Taylor, M. S., Tracy, K. B., Renard, M. K., Harrison, J. K., & Carroll, S. J. (1995). Due process in performance appraisal: A quasi-experiment in procedural justice. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40(3), 495–523.
- Tekleab, A. G., Takeuchi, R., & Taylor, M. S. (2005). Extending the chain of relationships among organizational justice, social exchange, and employee reactions: The role of contract violations. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48(1), 146–157.
- Tennen, H., & Affleck, G. (1991). The meaning and measurement of explanatory style: Unresolved issues. *Psychological Inquiry*, 2, 39–43.
- Tepper, B. J. (2000). Consequences of abusive supervision. *Academy of Management Journal*, 43, 178–190.
- Tett, R. P., & Meyer, J. P. (1993). Job satisfaction, organizational commitment, turnover intention, and turnover: Path analyses based on meta-analytic findings. *Personnel Psychology*, 46(2), 259–293.
- Townley, B. (2007). Performance appraisal and the emergence of management. *Journal of Management Studies*, 30(2), 221–238.
- Wang, X. M., Wong, K. F. E., & Kwong, J. Y. Y. (2010). The roles of rater goals and ratee performance levels in the distortion of performance ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95(3), 546–561.
- Warr, P. (1987). *Work, unemployment, and mental health*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Warr, P. (1990). The measurement of well-being and other aspects of mental health. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 63, 193–210.
- Warr, P. (2007). *Work, happiness, and unhappiness*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Wayne, S. J., Shore, L. M., Bommer, W. H., & Tetrick, L. E. (2002). The role of fair treatment and rewards in perceptions of organizational support and leader-member exchange. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(3), 590–598.
- Welch, J. F., & Byrne, J. A. (2001). *Jack: Straight from the gut*. New York: Warner Books.
- Werner, J. M., & Bolino, M. C. (1997). Explaining U.S. courts of appeals decisions involving performance appraisal: Accuracy, fairness, and validation. *Personnel Psychology*, 50, 1–24.

- Whitaker, B. G., Dahling, J. J., & Levy, P. (2007). The development of a feedback environment and role clarity model of job performance. *Journal of Management*, *33*(4), 570–591.
- Williams, K. D., & Karau, S. J. (1991). Social loafing and social compensation: The effects of expectations of co-worker performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *61*(4), 570–581.
- Woehr, D. J., & Huffcutt, A. I. (1994). Rater training for performance appraisal: A quantitative review. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *67*, 189–205.
- Wrzesniewski, A., Dutton, J. E., & Debebe, G. (2003). Interpersonal sense making and the meaning of work. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *25*, 93–135.
- Zhao, H., Wayne, S. J., Glibkowski, B. C., & Bravo, J. (2007). The impact of psychological contract breach on work-related outcomes: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology*, *60*, 647–680.

Chapter 9

Counterproductive Work Behaviors and Their Ethical Dilemmas: Creating Just, Respectful, and Productive Organizations

Joseph J. Mazzola and Stacey R. Kessler

Carl W. Biggins routinely engages in counterproductive work behavior. He is frequently late for work, takes excessive breaks, and leaves the office early. When sitting at his desk, he often works slowly, surfs the Internet, or makes personal phone calls. A few months ago, he was in a physical altercation with another coworker. The other employee suffered psychological trauma as a result of this event, while Carl was officially reprimanded. Despite his behavior, the organization has retained Carl in his current position because he has skills and job knowledge that would be difficult to replace. Thus, if he ever decided to leave, he could still cause additional problems for the organization because of the high cost of his turnover (e.g., Waldman, Kelly, Arora, & Smith, 2004).

In this vignette, Carl is engaging in behaviors that fall under the umbrella of counterproductive work behaviors (CWBs). Many of these behaviors violate the ethical principles that a good employee should strive to achieve. Furthermore, these behaviors have various negative effects (financial, psychological, and reduced quality of life) on Carl's fellow employees and on the organization. Additionally, organizations have a variety of ethical considerations when trying to prevent CWBs and attempting to create a healthy work environment. The goal of the current chapter is to examine the relationship between CWBs and ethical dilemmas as well as to suggest interventions and resolutions to these critical issues. We begin with a brief definition of CWB, the prevalence of these behaviors, and the various costs associated with it. Then, we will discuss how several of the five general ethical principles published by the American Psychological Association (APA, 2002) apply to the current vignette and a wide spectrum of CWBs that can occur in the workplace. Finally, we discuss measurement issues associated with CWB as well as how recent advances in technology affect the type and prevalence of CWBs committed in the workplace.

What Are CWBs, Are They Common, and What Are Their Costs?

Researchers have referred to CWBs by a variety of terms including incivility (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001; Pearson, Andersson, & Wegner, 2001), mobbing/bullying (Rayner & Keashly, 2005), organizational retaliatory behavior (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997; Skarlicki,

J.J. Mazzola, Ph.D. (✉)

Roosevelt University, 1400 North Roosevelt Boulevard, Schaumburg, IL 60173, USA
e-mail: jmazzola@mail.usf.edu

S.R. Kessler, Ph.D.

Montclair State University, 1 Normal Avenue, Montclair, NJ 07043, USA

Folger, & Tesluk, 1999), aggression (Baron & Neuman, 1996), bullying (Duffy, 2009), and deviance (Robinson & Bennett, 1995). Despite the numerous terms that have been used to label this set of negative behaviors in the workplace, they are all synonymous with and/or are encompassed in the broader term of counterproductive work behavior. Therefore, CWBs can broadly be defined as “behaviors by employees [that] harm their organization or organization members, such as theft, sabotage, interpersonal aggression, work slowdowns, wasting time and/or materials, and spreading rumors” (Penney & Spector, 2002, p. 126). Given this open-ended definition, a large number of behaviors fall under the umbrella of counterproductive work behaviors (Hollinger & Clark, 1982; Penney & Spector, 2002). Some of these behaviors have been extensively researched (e.g., workplace violence), while other areas are just emerging (e.g., productivity lost to smartphones and Internet usage). While this wide range of behaviors make CWBs an important research area, it also presents considerable measurement challenges, including making it difficult to estimate the total number of instances of CWBs that occur each year.

Prevalence

Most often, the media reports CWBs when it involves fatalities. For example, when an employee at a plastics company outside of Los Angeles shot and killed two coworkers and wounded four others after arguing with another coworker in (Two shot 1997) or when in 2009, workers at a French car parts factory threatened to blow up the plant if their terms of employment were not met (Hollinger, 2009). While major events like these have helped to spark an increased interest in researching CWBs, they may have also created the illusion, particularly among laypeople and the media, that such major events are common in today’s workforce. However, this is not the case, and these types of major events occur relatively infrequently. Instead, researchers have shown that the majority of CWBs occurring on a daily basis are more minor in nature (e.g., gossiping with fellow employees or intentionally working slower; Bennett & Robinson, 2000). While these findings may lead one to believe that CWBs are unimportant both in research and in the workplace, even these seemingly “minor” events can have serious repercussions for organizations and their employees (Martocchio, 1992). For this reason, organizations must take every type of CWB seriously and consider the negative impact they have on even one individual employee.

While estimating prevalence rates of all CWBs is difficult, it is possible to look at specific types of CWB for their prevalence and the nature of the events that occur. Baron and Neuman (1996) found that the majority of instances of workplace aggression (a type of CWB) are verbal, indirect, and passive. Additional empirical findings support Baron and Neuman’s assertion. Geddes and Baron (1997) reported that almost 70% of managers have experienced verbal aggression from subordinates. Similarly, Bennett and Robinson (2000) found that over 70% of employees reported engaging in a variety of deviant behaviors. Most instances were minor and included behaviors such as coming into work late without permission, daydreaming, and working slower than they could have. Additionally, more than a third of workers admitted to playing a mean prank at work, and over 75% said that they had made fun of someone or lost their temper. Therefore, while physical and direct actions aimed at other employees do occur, they do not seem to be as prevalent as more verbal and indirect behaviors (Herschcovis & Barling, 2010). In other words, it seems that employees are more likely to spread rumors about colleagues and supervisors than to physically assault them.

Although the majority of CWBs are minor in nature, these behaviors can escalate into more serious types of CWB. For example, the Centers for Disease Control reported that nearly 15% of workplace homicides between the years of 1992 and 1994 could be attributed to a dispute between coworkers (NIOSH, 1996). This escalation of hostilities was also supported in a more recent study of supervisory aggression (Dupre & Barling, 2006). In terms of other deviant behaviors,

another study found that 35% of supermarket employees admitted to stealing significant amounts of money or property over a 6-month period (Boye & Slora, 1993). Along these lines, Hollinger et al. (1996) concluded that employees' theft accounts for a greater loss to the organization than do shoplifters.

Attendance behaviors (e.g., arriving late, leaving early), absence, and unproductive turnover are also prevalent and can affect organizations. According to a recent survey, 19% of people report being late at least once per week, while 11% report doing so at least twice per week (Mandell, 2011). According to Spector et al. (2006), when employees arrive late or leave early without permission, these are also considered withdrawal behaviors. These actions have a strong impact on the organizations and the individuals within them.

Financial Costs

It is estimated that CWBs cost organizations billions of dollars each year in lost revenue, theft, and fraud (e.g., Bensimon, 1994; Hollinger & Langton, 2006). Moreover, Birati and Tziner (1996) stated that the direct costs of counterproductive work behaviors include lost revenue due to decreased productivity as well as additional expenses to pay employees or contractors to complete this unfinished work.

Unproductive turnover and absenteeism are also costly events for organizations. For example, Martocchio (1992) found that the absences of 400 employees working in a specific organization cost the company more than \$25,000 over a 3-month time period. It should be noted that these figures were found in a specific organization (i.e., blue collar and clerical workers in a financial services organization), and, therefore, the actual costs probably vary across organizations and industries. However, this data shows that the potential is present for employee absence to be costly for organizations.

Finally, while not always considered a type of CWB itself, employees may leave the organization in response to being targeted by acts of CWB. For example, 25% of the victims of bullying leave the organization. Furthermore, many of the victims who choose to remain in the organization have higher absenteeism rates than average (UNISON, 1997), further exasperating the costs of bullying. Although the approximate cost of replacing employees varies considerably based upon certain contextual factors (e.g., the employee's performance or position), at least one conservative estimate places the cost of an employee's turnover equivalent to 1.5–2.5 times that employee's annual salary (Cascio, 2000). While this may be an acceptable cost for replacing a poor employee, valuable and productive employees are difficult to replace with someone who will give comparable outputs.

Health Effects on Employees

In addition to its direct financial cost to organizations, CWBs can also adversely affect employees' physical health and psychological well-being. Birati and Tziner (1996) proposed that withdrawal behaviors could yield a decline in morale on other employees left to pick up the slack. This, in turn, could adversely affect employees' well-being and quality of life. Furthermore, another set of researchers found that turnover of a close friend or an employee within one's social circle is associated with negative emotions for the remaining employees (Krausz, Yaakovovitz, Bizman, & Caspi, 1999).

Additionally, CWBs aimed at individuals may also have a profound effect on those employees. In Britain, one study showed that 75% of a sample of police officers who are bullied at work experienced negative health effects, such as anxiety, sleeplessness, and dread of going to work

(Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Furthermore, these effects were not limited to the immediate aftermath of the event, particularly in the case of more extreme workplace violence. A study by Hogh, Borg, and Mikkelsen (2003) found that incidents of workplace violence predicted fatigue 5 years after the event, and long-term fatigue has clear implications for quality of life (QOL). This should give the reader an idea of the broad and profound effects of CWB, but we will discuss more of their consequences throughout the chapter.

Preventing CWBs

Organizations have a clear financial incentive to prevent CWB because behaviors like absenteeism, lateness, and wasting time or resources can cost companies millions of dollars in lost productivity per year. Additionally, behaviors such as sabotage and theft can have both direct (e.g., damage to/loss of equipment) and indirect (e.g., lost productivity, lower employee satisfaction) costs. Despite these costs, few researchers have addressed the question of how organizations actually implement these prevention programs.

Pulling together literature on CWBs (e.g., Mastrangelo & Jolton, 2001; Seijts & O'Farrell, 2005; Spector et al., 2006), there appear to be three main methods employers can use to prevent CWBs: positive behavior promotion, restrictive behavior prevention, and selection procedures. These methods differ in their implementation, effectiveness, and associated ethical considerations. Positive behavior promotion involves any policy or intervention that is aimed at improving employees' lives, and hopefully, eliminating the need or desire to commit CWBs. Restrictive behavior prevention includes policies and actions that are directed at stopping employees from committing CWBs, such as strict tardiness policies or smoking bans. Finally, organizations can use selection procedures to choose employees who are less likely to participate in CWBs. In the following sections, we will address several ethical principles and the potential ethical dilemmas that CWB can create. Throughout these sections, the above prevention methods will be discussed, in some cases as an area for a possible ethical dilemma, and in others as a solution to related dilemmas.

Beneficence and Nonmaleficence

The idea that people and organizations should strive to do good and not harm to individuals, work groups, and/or other institutions is heavily intertwined with CWB. When organizations do not provide a healthy working environment, they are harming the individual and the collective employees. Conversely, when employees do not contribute in expected ways, they are harming the organization. Finally, when organizations allow a climate that fosters counterproductive behaviors to develop, it will likely lead to a greater occurrence of those behaviors.

Dilemma: The Organization Is Not Creating a Positive Work Environment for Their Employees

Some researchers suggest that organizations have a corporate social responsibility, which would include an obligation to create a healthy work environment for their employees (Carroll, 1999). At the same time, organizations also have a reasonable expectation to have productive employees and earn a profit. So on one hand, an employee may need a short (or full day) mental break from

work for their own health, and on the other, the organization needs them to complete their work in a timely manner commensurate with their pay and contract. Carl, who we introduced at the beginning of the chapter, is obviously an extreme example, but many employees who commit minor (or even major) CWBs still contribute positively to the organization and its bottom line. How does an organization balance these often conflicting notions?

This problem is compounded by the fact that stress is one of the major proposed antecedents to CWBs. Spector's (1978) frustration-aggression model of CWBs, based upon Dollard and colleagues' (1939) frustration aggression theory, essentially states that emotional reactions mediate the relationship between frustration and CWBs. This means that when individuals experience frustration in the workplace, they have an emotional reaction toward it and then behave as a result of this emotional reaction. Thus, a negative work environment aimed at limiting CWBs as described above can beget even more CWB. Empirical evidence has consistently shown support for this model. Specifically, Chen and Spector (1992) found relationships among frustration, job stressors, and CWBs. Additionally, the perception of the likelihood of punishment is important. Individuals who did not expect to be caught and punished were more likely to engage in CWBs. This is important for organizations to keep in mind when designing programs to prevent CWBs, as well as the means by which they will monitor such behaviors.

Later, the Job Stress model of CWBs (Spector, 1998) incorporated additional stressors, not just those that lead to frustration, such as organizational constraints (e.g., lacking proper tools or information), interpersonal conflict with coworkers, and having too much work. Individuals can then have an emotional reaction to these stressors, which may lead to job strains, or reactions to stressors that can be behavioral (coping behaviors to deal with the problem or CWB), psychological (e.g., job dissatisfaction), or physical (e.g., increased blood pressure). It is important to note that in these models, stressors do not always result in an individual committing CWBs. Rather, an individual can engage in constructive behavior to fix the stressor (e.g., ask supervisor for required tools) or behave in a counterproductive way such as engaging in theft, sabotage, or withdrawal as a way of dealing with negative emotional strains (Fox & Spector, 1999). Nonetheless, stressors (as part of a negative work environment) create a situation where CWBs are more likely to occur.

Intervention

Good organizations strive to be healthy organizations, defined broadly as those that are financially successful and have a healthy workforce, meaning physically, mentally, and emotionally (Cooper & Cartwright, 1994). More specifically, a healthy work environment is high in productivity, employee satisfaction, and safety, while being low in grievances, absenteeism, turnover, and violent acts (Quick, 1999). Clearly, organizations that lower CWBs while still promoting satisfaction and productivity are going to be healthier and more ethical. Working to prevent CWBs provides a unique opportunity to promote organizationally and ethically sound programs that also provide employees with desired and needed services. When organizations treat employees in a way that makes them feel valued and that lowers their stress, it can result in a decrease in CWBs and an improvement in employee well-being and QOL (e.g., Devonish & Greenidge, 2010; Spector, 1998).

Since stress is a commonly cited antecedent of CWBs (e.g., Spector et al., 2006; Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001), companies that can reduce work-related stress are less likely to be susceptible to costly CWBs. For example, researchers have found that on-site fitness programs (e.g., Imm, 1990) and relaxation training programs (e.g., Chiesa & Serretti, 2009) lower employees' stress levels. These types of organizational changes signal to employees that the organization cares for their well-being, which in addition to reducing CWBs, can also increase job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and employee well-being (Parks & Steelman, 2008). Furthermore, since frustra-

tion and anxiety are common emotional reactions to stressors (Keenan & Newton, 1985), reducing organizational stressors should lower levels of these negative emotions and by extension, reduce instances of CWBs (e.g., Fox & Spector, 1999; Spector, 1978).

Survey research shows that employees want deeper meaning from work and seek an enriching environment for personal growth in all aspects of their life (Harter, Schmidt, & Keyes, 2003). Satisfied employees are more cooperative, more helpful, more punctual and efficient, less likely to be absent, and less likely to turnover. A recent meta-analysis even shows a consistent (albeit moderate, $\rho = .30$) relationship between satisfaction and job performance (Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001). Finally, employees who have a higher quality of life are healthier overall, as a recent intervention aimed at improving health quality of life showed greater physical and mental health in their intervention group (Pisinger et al., 2009). From an organizational standpoint, healthier employees can mean lowered health care costs (Andersson et al., 2000). In today's economy and with rising health care costs, a reduction in expenditures in this area can be valuable to an organization. Thus, by supporting meaningful and cooperative work environments, these types of interventions have the ability to not only promote productivity, but also create a more stress-free, healthy environment.

Dilemma: An Employee Is Not Contributing Positively and Productively to Their Job

Employees have an obligation to help the organization to succeed. As mentioned, CWBs such as being absent, late, or just working at less than one's capacity are detrimental to the organization. Certainly, Carl's behaviors are undesirable to the organization. However, employees may feel they have a justifiable reason for committing CWBs. They may perceive they are being treated unfairly and want to remedy this imbalance (see later section on "[Justice and Equity Theory](#)"). Additionally, some CWBs may be hard to avoid, such as being late because of a particularly bad traffic jam or having to miss work because a child is sick. How does the employee balance their wants and needs with the organization's? How does an organization decide where to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable behavior?

To further complicate this dilemma, CWBs have a strong, negative relationship with organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) or prosocial/helping behaviors (Berry, Ones, & Sackett, 2007; Dalal, 2005). Therefore, organizations with prevalent amounts of CWBs may also miss out on the positive effects of OCB, such as increased productivity (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000), increased job satisfaction (McNeely & Meglino, 1994), and increased organizational commitment (Johnson & Chang, 2006). Additional positive benefits of OCBs could also include a sense of camaraderie leading to improved team spirit, morale, and cohesiveness (Podsakoff et al.). This sense of camaraderie, in conjunction with improved levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment, could be a catalyst to improve employees' overall quality of life. So how can an organization and its employees create such a productive environment?

Intervention

In addition to the positive behavior promotion interventions already mentioned, open communication can solve a lot of issues between individuals and organizations. Satisfaction with communication (including supervisor communication, communication climate, and personal

feedback) is related to increases in both job performance and job satisfaction (Johlke & Duhan, 2000; Pincus, 1986). When managers provide clear communication, it enhances perceptions of supportiveness and creates trust that the organization will fulfill its obligations (Jo & Shim, 2005). An employee who feels these attitudes toward their employer will likely want to be productive for them.

From an organizational standpoint, simply knowing the reason why someone is late or is taking a 10-min break may alleviate tension between worker and employer. Research shows that the overall perception of the social exchange between organization and employee is predictive of organizational citizenship behaviors (Konovsky & Pugh, 1994), and it is quite possible the same holds true for CWBs. Open communication can also help to reduce ambiguity about an employee's work roles, a type of workplace stressor (Jex & Beehr, 1991). Reducing this stressor could have a variety of effects on CWBs, interpersonal relations, and quality of life.

Similarly, having clear goals can help determine when CWB is acceptable and when it is not. A goal can "give direction to a person's pursuits" (Locke & Latham, 2009, p. 19), and it can also increase their effort and help put the focus on the task at hand. Employees who know what they have to accomplish do not have to feel guilty about being counterproductive assuming they know they will meet their deadlines and goals. Meanwhile, the organization will have the tasks completed that they needed and are able to meet their own stated goals.

Dilemma: The Organization Is Supporting Its Employee's CWB

When Carl is consistently late and is not reprimanded, the underlying message being sent is that the organization does not have a problem with his behavior. Put another way, an absence or lateness culture can develop, where employees perceive that absenteeism and tardiness are tolerated by the organization. Researchers have found that perceptions of such an absence culture are related to an increase in employees' absenteeism (Martocchio, 1994). These repeated absences have a significant financial impact on organizations (Martocchio, 1992).

Similar findings suggest this is true for many types of CWBs and that several instances can result in a "CWB-tolerant climate." Robinson and O'Leary-Kelly (1998) found empirical support for this idea, coining the term "monkey see, monkey do effect". Specifically, they found that when a member of an employee's work group commits CWB, the individual is more likely to engage in acts of CWB (Robinson & O'Leary-Kelly). Similarly, Kessler, Spector, Chang, and Parr (2008) found that a violence climate is associated with increased acts of verbal aggression and physical violence. Most organizations do not want to place restrictive policies on their employees and/or punish them for minor instances, but how do they avoid creating an environment that suggests such incidents are permissible? Remember also that if those behaviors include actions of violence or bullying, they will also be creating a hostile and unhealthy work environment. This could also lead to stress, and consequently, more CWB (Spector, 1998).

Intervention

The main solution to a "CWB-tolerant climate" is to change this climate. If this climate has existed for quite some time, this will be a difficult (but not impossible) proposition. Picture, for a moment, a company where coming in 15 min late has been an acceptable practice for the last 20 years. Simply making a new policy is unlikely to change the climate, and suddenly enforcing consequences for being late will likely cause a negative response from employees. Instead, a

slow progression to a more accountable work environment is necessary. Recent research has shown that a poor safety climate can be changed, and that this improved climate has implications for safety behavior and outcomes (Neal & Griffin, 2006). While it, could be argued that unsafe behavior itself is a CWB, but it is also quite likely that these findings could be replicated with behaviors such as tardiness, absence, and aggression.

Organizations may also attempt to remove the positive feedback loop employees may experience when they are rewarded and/or not punished for CWB. Research shows that rewards from leaders (and to a lesser degree, leader punishment) are related to job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and overall performance (Podsakoff, Bommer, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2006). Thus, managers could change the climate and lower CWBs by rewarding the behaviors they want and, to a lesser extent, punishing the ones that are not desirable to the company.

Justice

Organizational justice has far reaching implications for CWBs. Employees expect to be treated fairly relative to their fellow employees. This expectation includes how the organization reacts to their productive and counterproductive behaviors in the workplace. If employees do not feel they are being treated equal, they may act out through CWBs (e.g., Devonish & Greenidge, 2010). Furthermore, organizations who attempt to limit CWBs may also end up favoring some employees over others, whether purposely or inadvertently. Finally, some of the positive behavior promotion interventions discussed here take resources, and those are programs that may only benefit a certain percentage of employees, leaving less resources for other programs.

Dilemma: The Organization Is Treating Employees Unfairly, Leading to CWBs

Organizations have an ethical obligation to treat their employees equally (Carroll, 1999), given an equal amount of work value to the company. If an organization violates this obligation, it can have a negative impact on employee behavior. Put another way, if an employee feels they are not being treated fairly by their employer, this will lead to a perception of injustice (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001). Injustice, has been suggested as one theory for why CWBs occur. It is possible that Carl's behavior could be based on his perception of his importance to the company and/or his belief that he is not being properly compensated for this role.

The justice/equity model of CWB is based upon Adams' (1965) equity theory. Adams hypothesized equity theory to explain how peoples' perceptions of fairness within organizations impacted their behavior. Specifically, he proposed that employees would attempt to ensure that their ratio of inputs to outputs is fair. Inputs refer to the things employees give to their organization, such as productivity and effort, while outputs refer to what the organization gives employees in return, such as pay, promotion, or commendations. Therefore, employees who feel they are underpaid for their work might respond by stealing from their employer in order to gain some sense of equity. Greenberg (1990) tested this theory by examining whether pay cuts in Midwestern manufacturing plants affected workers' feelings of inequity and employee theft. He found that employees who received a 15% pay cut and were given inadequate explanations for the pay cut had higher turnover, higher theft rates, and higher perceptions of pay inequity than employees who received the pay cut along with an adequate explanation. This study provides some support for equity theory because employees who received adequate explanations for the pay cut performed fewer CWBs because they did not feel as though their balance of inputs and outputs were uneven.

Justice theory is consistent with equity theory; the goal of both of these theories is to ensure that employees are treated fairly. More modern justice theories of CWB state that employees who are not treated fairly are likely to engage in CWBs. For example, Skarlicki and Folger (1997) found that organizational retaliatory behavior (ORB), defined as negative behaviors “used to punish the organization and its representatives in response to perceived unfairness” (p. 435), was related to employees’ perceptions of justice. They examined three types of justice: distributive, procedural, and interactional. Distributive justice refers to individual’s perception regarding the fairness of outcomes, while procedural justice refers to the perceived fairness of the process that is used to distribute rewards and punishment (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001). Interactional justice is an extension of procedural justice, and it refers to the way in which the management treats and relates to the employee. They found that all three types of justice interacted to predict organizational counterproductive behaviors. Other researchers have also found a strong relationship between justice and negative work behaviors. For example, Cohen-Charash and Spector’s meta-analysis showed that a lack of procedural justice was related to CWBs. A recent study in Barbados found that workers’ perceptions of both justice measures were moderately, but significantly, related to CWBs (correlations between $-.19$ and $-.28$; Devonish & Greenidge, 2010).

Based on recent extensions of these research avenues, researchers have also begun to look at the concept of psychological contracts or an employee’s belief regarding the mutual obligations between the employee and his or her organization (Rousseau, 1989). Perceived breaches of this contract are related to many types of CWBs, including abuse, production deviance, and employee withdrawal (Jensen, Opland, & Ryan, 2010). Employers need to be aware of these contracts and be careful not to violate them. So, how can an organization limit the chances that an employee will perceive an injustice or a contract breach, given that perception does not always equal reality? How can they ensure they are doing everything possible to prevent treating their employees unequally and unjustly, thus leading to more CWB?

Intervention

While organizations have little control over how employees *perceive* the equality of their treatment, they should strive to treat each employee the same and reward them equally based strictly on their performance. One way to do this is by linking rewards and promotion directly to performance. Financial incentives have been shown to relate to one’s performance quantity, but not performance quality (Jenkins, Mitra, Gupta, & Shaw, 1998), so such a system that rewards employees based on all aspects of performance has the potential to improve justice, productivity, and CWB prevalence if done correctly.

Within this, it is important that performance metrics are properly validated and perceived as fair by employees. Two possible ways to accomplish this is through the use of multiple raters and objective measures whenever possible, although the former are often impractical to collect and the latter are not available for all jobs. To increase positive perceptions of performance feedback, supervisors should provide this feedback frequently and be specific in criticism and praise (Cascio & Aguinis, 2011).

This is another area where open communication can help the organization. If all employees are given feedback throughout the decision-making process and are given a reasonable rationale for why a certain decision was made, the employee may be more likely to perceive the employer is acting justly. Additionally, organizations can enhance employees’ perception of fairness through increased communication and organizational support (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001). Since an employee’s participation in appraisal process and his/her reaction to that appraisal are related (Cawley, Keeping, & Levy, 1998), it makes sense to involve the employee in their own evaluation and communicate openly. While this does not necessarily mean the employee will

view the decision as just (distributive justice), it enhances the likelihood they will. Moreover, it should increase the employees' perceptions of the process by which the decision was made (procedural justice; Cohen-Charash & Spector).

Dilemma: The Organization May Be Discriminating Against Employees with CWB Prevention Policies

Certain restrictive policies have more recently been used to lower CWBs within a company. While these procedures may be effective, they may unfairly single out certain employees, such as forbidding their employees from certain activities, like taking smoking breaks. Much of the research on these topics is in its infancy, but these policies show a more restrictive direction that some companies are going in their fight against CWBs.

Recently, researchers have tried to determine which policies and legislation may effectively prevent workplace mobbing and bullying (Duffy, 2009). While it would seem that the results of such policies against violence would be mostly positive, some control policies may not produce such uniformly positive effects. These programs are often harsh and involve quite stringent regulations, and while they can be effective, they can also result in legal and ethical issues with employees and/or unions. For instance, some organizations install cameras to monitor employees in order to reduce theft and sabotage. This has raised the question as to whether such monitoring violates the privacy rights of employees (Martin & Freeman, 2003). Additionally, these practices can sometimes have unexpected, negative consequences for the employer. For example, after discovering that an employee was viewing pornography at work, a nonprofit organization installed a surveillance camera in the office (Berger, 2009). The organization never caught the alleged perpetrator, but two female employees did discover the camera. They subsequently sued the organization, sparking a time-consuming and costly lawsuit. Although the organization ultimately won the lawsuit, the process was one that they probably would have preferred to avoid.

Similarly, some organizations conduct random drug tests to limit the amount of on-site (and off-site) substance abuse as well as the potentially reduced productivity and theft that may be related to such abuse. However, this practice could be met with resistance from employees and also has important ethical considerations and employee satisfaction implications (Seijts & O'Farrell, 2005). For example, transportation vehicle drivers perceived impairment testing (tests that check for the ability to safely work, regardless of the reason for impairment, which could include illness, fatigue, stress, alcohol, or drug use) to be more fair and effective than traditional drug tests. This shows employees prefer tests and policies that are clearly job-relevant over ones that may appear more personal and/or arbitrary, such as drug testing.

Another recent controversial issue concerns cigarette smoking while at work. Some employers consider cigarette smoking to be a CWB because of the loss of productivity due to smoking breaks as well as the use of a harmful substance. Therefore, many organizations (e.g., Weyco, an insurance benefits company in Michigan, Peters, 2005; Timberland, a major shoe company based in New Hampshire, Singh Das, 2010) have taken the drastic step of banning their employees from smoking while at work and even in their personal lives. Such smoking bans have been effective at reducing the number of cigarettes employees smoke, especially among heavy smokers (Borland, Chapman, Owen, & Hill, 1990). However, this ban has implications for QOL. On one hand, such policies could increase stress levels, feelings of dissatisfaction, and feelings of injustice (due to the singling out a specific population). On the other hand, smoking cigarettes has detrimental effects on employee health and, by extension, current and future QOL (Sarna, Bialous, Cooley, Jun, & Feskanich, 2008). More specifically, a study conducted in Finland found that smokers had significantly lower health-related and overall QOL than nonsmokers, and that the QOL of ex-smokers approached that of nonsmokers (Heikkinen, Jallinoja, Saarni, &

Patja, 2008). Despite the potential health benefits, such restrictive policies are likely to be met with resistance, and organizations need to weigh the potential costs and benefits before implementing this type of program. HR managers need to decide if these “tactics” are within their personal moral and ethical codes, not to mention legal codes, as some of these procedures are still being argued in courts.

Intervention

As previously mentioned, there are ways to prevent CWBs that do not discriminate against certain individuals. Creating a low stress environment, generating a deeper meaning in employee’s work, and enhancing perceptions of justice are just a few solutions to combat high levels of counterproductive work behaviors. None of these are restrictive of employees and should be further linked to high satisfaction and quality of life (e.g., Devonish & Greenidge, 2010).

Further, these restrictive measures may lead employees to direct negative feelings toward the organization, another predictor of CWBs. Since negative emotions are among the strongest observed predictors of CWBs, this matter is not trivial. Levine (2009) put forth the notion that emotion and emotional climate in an organization also have an effect on the prevalence of CWBs, which is further influenced by the presence or lack of prosocial norms. Levine further explains that specific emotional states may be linked to particular types of CWBs (as well as OCBs), but future research is needed to examine what links exist specifically. Trait anger, a specific personality variable that is closely related to emotions, is the tendency to experience anger even from minor provocation (Spielberger, 1996) and is a strong predictor of CWB (Douglas & Martinko, 2001; Spector et al., 2006). Organizations can take steps to avoid the negative effects of trait anger, but rather than through restrictive policies, a more positive approach could be taken. Teaching employees how to deal with anger, stress, and frustration could be a positive solution, for example. Both anger management (Deffenbacher, Oetting, & DiGuiseppe, 2002) and stress management (Murphy, 1996) interventions have shown positive outcomes for employees and organizations.

Finally, smoking bans and random drug tests are not the only ways to support healthy behavior. In addition to the healthy behavior promotions mentioned in earlier intervention sections, organizational wellness programs show a myriad of desirable outcomes (Watson & Gauthier, 2003). These programs often cover a wide range of activities including eating and exercise, stress management, and/or life skills, as well as smoking cessation. These programs have the added bonus of indicating to the employee that the organization cares for their personal health and well-being, which should signal positive feelings toward the organization, such as organizational commitment and job satisfaction (Parks & Steelman, 2008). Also, most employees are likely to see them as a valuable addition, and if implemented correctly, many will utilize them (Crump, Earp, Kozma, & Hertz-Picciotto, 1996). As we will see in the next dilemma, this universal appeal could be an important factor in helping employers treat employees fairly.

Dilemma: Resources Given to One CWB Prevention Program Are Unavailable for Other Programs

An organization has a finite number of resources to devote to their various programs and initiatives discussed in this chapter, and this is particularly true of smaller companies. On one hand, simple programs or policies can have profound impacts on the amount of CWBs employees

commit and their personal well-being. For example, one study found that employee absenteeism was associated with having children at home under the age of 6 (Erickson, Nichols, & Ritter, 2000), while another study showed commuting distance and work-family conflict were related to employee tardiness (Koslowsky, 2000). Therefore, organizations who want to provide flexible work scheduling (relatively inexpensive, depending on the type of job) and/or day care services (more involved and expensive) need to consider the expected benefits and weigh them with the potential costs and allocations of resources. These interventions could improve job satisfaction, reduce employee stress, and reduce absenteeism, tardiness, and turnover (Glass & Finley, 2002).

However, not every employee has children, so those employees without dependents may prefer resources be put towards other ideas such as an on-site gym or a bonus program. So while the organization has helped some of its employees, it has inadvertently discriminated against others. For example, Carl does not have children, and it is possible that this situation adds to his feelings of injustice, and he is perceived reacting by engaging in CWBs. On the other hand, if an organization installs an on-site gym, not every employee will have an interest in using it. This could make those employees feel they are being treated unfairly or, even worse, that an organization is prying into their personal matters by suggesting they work out more. It is difficult to find positive behavior programs that all employees will view positively, but some programs have a higher chance of success than others.

Intervention

When possible, organizations should use broad interventions that the majority of employees can and will utilize. As mentioned in the previous section, organizational wellness programs are example of just such an intervention. Additionally, recent research shows that positive psychological capital was strongly and negatively related to CWB ($r = -.50$; Avey, Luthans, & Youssef, 2010). Positive psychological capital is having self-efficacy, optimism, working toward goals, and sustaining through adversity (Luthans, Youssef, & Avolio, 2007). Thus, organizations could utilize any number of interventions aimed at improving psychological capital. This could include worker retreats, motivational speakers, and/or office parties and activities, since most employees would view these programs as beneficial.

Surveys of employees' opinions about what programs they would like to see implemented could set the basis for future programs as well as increasing open communication and the justice perception of how management makes important decisions. Allowing employees to participate in company decision-making is linked to higher job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Scott-Ladd, Travaglione, & Marshall, 2006). Furthermore, it creates a record of what employees mandated for any future disputes that could arise.

Respect for People's Rights and Dignity

Respect for people's rights and dignity means that psychologists, individuals, and organizations should value and respect the worth of each individual. In psychology, we often think of this principle in terms of protecting the rights of privacy, confidentiality, and self-determination. However, in a broader sense, it means not infringing on the rights of others and considering that others have the right to the same considerations, freedoms, and opportunities as one would want for him/

herself. Employees need to consider this in their daily treatment of each other, and organizational leaders must weigh this principle when using methods to select employees who they believe will commit fewer CWBs.

Dilemma: Employees Are Not Respecting Each Other and/or Treating Each Other Kindly

Employees have the right to reasonably expect that their work environment will be civil and that their jobs will not cause them harm. Thus, they also have an ethical obligation to act civilly toward each other. When Carl got into a physical altercation with his fellow employee, he very likely caused himself and his coworker physical and emotional damage (e.g., Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Furthermore, interpersonal conflict, including behaviors such as incivility and aggression, is a commonly reported stressor (Keenan & Newton, 1985) that has negative consequences, such as anxiety and a range of physical symptoms (e.g., stomachaches and fatigue; Nixon, Mazzola, Bauer, Spector, & Krueger, 2011). Similarly, behaviors, like verbal abuse, that are directed toward individuals negatively affect employees' quality of life (Danes, Leichtentritt, Metz, & Huddleston-Casas, 2000).

Even seemingly "minor, indirect, and/or passive" interpersonal CWBs have negative effects on the organization and individual employees. For example, if an employee acts out by being uncivil to their coworkers, this can lead the targeted employee to experience lower levels of job satisfaction, higher psychological distress, and increased turnover intentions (Cortina et al., 2001). Business owners may be affected psychologically as well. For example, business owners in lower income areas, who were victims of employee theft indicated having more trouble "finding employees they could trust" and felt less confident that the police in the area could help solve the problem (Payne & Gainey, 2004). These feelings could affect managers who are victimized as well and may cause them to mistrust and/or mistreat other employees, potentially resulting in feelings of injustice, job dissatisfaction, and lower quality of life for those employees.

Furthermore, even those who are not the direct victims of CWB may experience adverse effects just by witnessing violent behavior. In Sweden, witnesses to bullying were shown to be less satisfied with their quality of work and had a higher level of impulsivity than a nonbullied reference group (Persson et al., 2009). While the negative outcomes for bullied individuals were more extensive, this study also suggests the possibility that simply witnessing a type of CWB, particularly a violent, persistent, or severe one, may be enough to psychologically affect the worker, adversely affecting his/her quality of life.

Intervention

Programs directly aimed at lowering CWBs, especially those involving violence, conflict, or infringing on another's rights, may have the ability to have a profound effect on behaviors. For example, the US Postal Service's implemented the REDRESS program focused on conflict interaction in employment disputes, and managers and employees alike have been highly satisfied with the program (Antes, Folger, & Della Noce, 2000). Such conflict resolution systems have the potential to lower interpersonal conflict and CWB, and they could help avoid the aggression escalation previously mentioned (Dupre & Barling, 2006).

Another solution is training employees to respect each other to the extent that they do not want to commit negative acts toward each other and hopefully, in turn, toward the organization. One method to do this could be through diversity training, which research shows has positive benefits (Pendry, Driscoll, & Field, 2007) and could also help increase fair treatment among employees and alleviate some justice ethical dilemmas (as discussed in the previous section).

Dilemma: Organizations Want to Select Employees Who Are Less Likely to Commit CWBs

Between 2003 and 2006, a vault manager stole an estimated 12 million dollars worth of gold (weighing over 500 lb) from her employer (Gendar & Bode, 2009). While an extreme example of the cost of CWBs, even more minor examples (including those represented by Carl) can be quite costly. With this in mind, organizations certainly have the incentive and the right to want to have employees who simply do not commit CWBs or do so at a lower frequency. One of the most common methods currently used for preventing CWBs is through hiring and selection procedures. However, this has the potential to deny an applicant a job that otherwise may have performed admirably if hired.

Integrity tests, which assess honesty, are often used and predict a broad range of CWBs (MacLane & Walmsley, 2010). On one hand, MacLane and Walmsley noted that these tests have rarely been reported in the professional literature (MacLane & Walmsley), and in fact, many of them were actually developed by polygraphers (Sackett, Burris, & Callahan, 1989), which brings into question their validity. On the other hand, one comprehensive meta-analysis showed integrity tests have substantial validity for predicting not only job performance but also CWBs, such as theft, disciplinary problems, and absenteeism (Ones, Viswesvaran, & Schmidt, 1993), and another study showed they could significantly predict on-the-job substance abuse (Mastrangelo & Jolton, 2001). However, individual organizations must decide for themselves if they believe this is the way they want to select their employees.

Personality tests are another commonly used method for selecting employees as certain personality traits appear to predict various types of CWB including theft, absenteeism, and loafing. For example, in a recent meta-analysis, conscientiousness, agreeableness, and to a lesser extent emotional stability predicted overall workplace deviance (Berry et al., 2007). However, using these tests as selection methods raises another interesting ethical question: should a company be allowed to deny someone a job because a metric says they *may* commit theft or abuse substances in the future? Human resources professionals must carefully consider the predictive validity of selection tools to protect the organization from litigation.

Intervention

Being treated as potential deviants before (and possibly after) hiring could lead to negative emotions and stress about a job, both predictors of CWB (Chen & Spector, 1992; Levine, 2009). If selection procedures are used, integrity tests should be used in conjunction with other predictors of performance, like general cognitive ability and structured interviews (Schmidt & Hunter, 1998). Additionally, some researchers suggest the use of low cutoff scores so as to only remove those individuals with the lowest integrity scores from the applicant pool (Fine, Horowitz, Weigler, & Basis, 2010). They also suggest including situational

considerations from the organization, such as employee engagement and security norms within the organization.

Employers can measure constructs that have shown validity for job performance that also relate to lower incidence of CWBs. As mentioned, researchers have also been interested in how the Big Five personality traits (openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism, McCrae & Costa, 1987) relate to CWBs. A meta-analysis indicated moderate to strong negative relationships between counterproductive work behaviors and agreeableness, conscientiousness, and emotional stability but only weak negative relationships between CWBs and extraversion and openness to experience (Salgado, 2002). Another recent study confirms the relationships between agreeableness and conscientiousness with CWBs (Bolton, Becker, & Barker, 2010). Both of these personality traits are related to job performance (Witt, Burke, Barrick, & Mount, 2002) and thus would make good overall predictors of employee performance. These tests have broad predictor potential and are unlikely to be interpreted by employees as measures of their character.

Finally, Koslowsky (2009) suggested that many additional individual characteristics may play a role in whether a person is inclined to commit CWBs. In his recent model of withdrawal behaviors, Koslowsky stated that biographical attributes, attitudes, various personality variables, work-family interface, and coping methods all play a role. These models and findings should guide researchers as they continue to examine the cause or precursors to CWBs. Ultimately, this can help organizations select the best employees without specifically singling out those who may commit CWBs.

How Are They Measured?

Researchers and practitioners who want to measure CWBs have numerous options. Given the broad nature of CWBs, the choice should depend upon the specific behaviors of interest. In the following section, we will describe many of the scales that are mainly used to measure CWB in organizations. These include Robinson and Bennett's deviance scale (1995), Gruys and Sackett's list of categories (2003), Spector and colleagues' checklist (2006), as well as more behavior-specific measures.

Robinson and Bennett's Organizational Deviance Scale

Robinson and Bennett's (1995) typology is one of the most influential and was among the first to distinguish between types of deviant behaviors (which fall under the broad heading of CWBs). They classify deviant behaviors along two continua: serious/minor and interpersonal/organizational. Examples of more serious behaviors include sabotaging equipment and assaulting a colleague, while more minor incidents include leaving work early or gossiping with coworkers. The interpersonal/organizational continuum refers to whom the behavior is directed—the organization itself or other individuals working in the organization. Robinson and Bennett's typology is important because it allows us to classify CWBs within four quadrants: minor acts directed toward the organization (e.g., wasting time, tardiness), serious acts toward the organization (e.g., stealing from the organization, sabotage), minor acts toward individuals (e.g., gossiping about employees, showing favoritism), and serious acts toward individuals (e.g., verbal abuse, stealing from coworkers, and endangering coworkers). Based upon this taxonomy, Bennett and Robinson (2000) designed one of the most widely used measures. Their scale, referred to as a

deviance scale, contains 12 items to assess organizational deviance (or CWB-O) and 7 items to assess interpersonal deviance (or CWB-P). Research indicates that the scale has acceptable psychometric properties (Berry et al., 2007).

Gruys and Sackett Categories

In another study, Gruys and Sackett (2003) placed CWBs into 11 categories: theft, destruction of property, misuse of information, misuse of time and resources, unsafe behavior, poor attendance, poor quality of work, alcohol use, drug use, inappropriate verbal actions, and inappropriate physical actions. While they did not develop a specific scale, their research helps form the basis for organizing specific behaviors and helping the researcher determine which types of behaviors are important to them.

Spector et al.'s CWB Checklist

Spector and colleagues (2006) distinguish between CWBs by identifying five distinct types of CWBs: abuse, production deviance, sabotage, theft, and withdrawal. Abuse refers to harmful behaviors directed toward others that harm the person either physically or psychologically, such as making threats, making nasty comments, or ignoring the person. Second, production deviance refers to the intentional failure to complete aspects of the job properly. Third, sabotage refers to when employees destroy property that belongs to the organization. The difference between production deviance and sabotage is that the former refers to when an employee does not do a task correctly (or at all), while sabotage refers to when an employee intentionally ruins something. Theft refers to when an employee steals materials from the organization or a coworker, and withdrawal occurs when an employee works fewer hours than required by the organization.

Behavior-Specific Scales

If a researcher is interested in examining only one specific type of counterproductive behavior, there are several more targeted scales. For example, aggression in the workplace is a frequent area of interest. Baron, Neuman, and Geddes (1999) focused solely on this interpersonal type of CWB by creating a list of overt and covert aggressive behaviors. These behaviors include physical attacks (with or without a weapon), yelling and shouting, refusal of requests, and whistle-blowing. While overtly aggressive behaviors often draw the most media attention, uncivil behaviors (i.e., incivility) occur more frequently in the workplace. Incivility, another CWB, refers to low-intensity antisocial behaviors at work, such as demeaning language and tone, implicit threats, and/or demonstrating disregard for others (Pearson et al., 2001). Researchers have also developed a short questionnaire to measure incivility in the workplace (Pearson et al.). These are just a few examples of the scales that are available to investigate specific types of CWBs, but a search of the literature in any particular domain of CWB can highlight the measures typically used by researchers in that area.

Measurement Issues

A noteworthy limitation of all of these scales is that they only allow the participant to respond to the specific behaviors on that scale. This represents a bias as the authors (and subsequently, the researchers and practitioners who use them) choose which behaviors to include and which to exclude. Additionally, the term “CWB” encompasses a wide range of behaviors that may not all be represented in a single scale. Therefore, it may be prudent to use a more open-ended approach, either exclusively or in conjunction with a previously validated scale. Spector and Fox (2005) call for using more diary and/or qualitative methodology in future CWB research. Furthermore, there are some types of CWBs, such as tardiness and absenteeism that are better measured using objective organizational records, if available.

A recent paper has advocated the use of more situation-specific CWB measures, tailored to the organization and/or occupation being studied (Bowling & Gruys, 2010). They also proposed more subdivisions than the ones created by Robinson and Bennett (1995) in the measure of CWBs. Some of their suggestions for the future include legal/illegal, hostile/instrumental aggression, and task-related/non-task-related. An additional measurement issue involves the linking of CWBs and OCBs and whether they are polar opposites of the same construct (e.g., Sackett, 2002). Recent research has seemed to debunk this idea, especially when the measurement is based on behaviors and not raters (Spector, Bauer, & Fox, 2010), which could have implications for individuals who want to measure and/or utilize either or both of these constructs in research or practice.

CWB in the Future

As new technology unfolds, it is difficult to anticipate how the work environment will change and, in turn, in which CWBs employees will participate. For example, just 20 years ago, managers could not have anticipated the amount of time that would be wasted on the Internet and that site blockers would become a regular feature of many organizations. However, there are at least two emerging areas of CWB that we believe may be important in the future and deserve additional research attention. First, given our service-oriented economy, CWB that is directed toward customers is an important issue. Second, more research is needed on the effects of the Internet on CWBs and how CWBs might change as a function of our technology.

CWBs Directed Toward Customers

Hunter and Penney (2007) developed a measure, the CWB-CC, which addresses CWB (committed by employees) directed toward customers. In line with the job stressor framework (Fox & Spector, 1999), they found that negative emotions mediated the relationship between customer-related stressors and CWB-CC. In a replication and extension of this study, Kessler, Galperin, Singla, and Spector (2010) found that emotional dissonance also mediates the relationship between customer-related stressors and CWB-CC. These studies have important implications for the emotional labor and customer service literatures.

From an economic standpoint, a company does not want dissatisfied customers (which experiencing a negative attitude or aggressive act will certainly result in) or the negative publicity that could arise from more serious incidents. From an ethical standpoint, organizations have an obligation to protect their customers and not just their employees.

CWBs and Technology

As technology has advanced, new types of CWBs have emerged. Specifically, “cyber bullying” has become a problem among adolescents in schools (Li, 2006), and a recent study shows that it takes place in organizations as well (Privitera & Campbell, 2009). A broader construct of cyber deviancy has also gained popularity in the literature, and a framework has recently been proposed for studying these behaviors (Weatherbee, 2010). Cyber deviance has been defined as CWBs that involves the Internet and can range from abusing fellow employees via email and/or Facebook or simply wasting company time on the Internet (Weatherbee, 2010). Many forms of cyber deviance, such as e-harassment (using communication technologies to disturb or upset another employee, often in a sexual nature) and e-politics (using communication technologies to advance one’s personal or group agenda, often at the expense of other employees), likely have a profound negative effect on quality of life, but research is needed to test this link.

However, it is also possible that some of these behaviors may enhance QOL for those who are committing them, especially if used as a coping mechanism to stress or injustice. For example, an individual who works long hours and seldom has time to relax may find that spending short amounts of time communicating with friends on Facebook allows them to cope with their workload by maintaining a social support system. A recent study supports this idea, as researchers found that production deviance and withdrawal may benefit employees by reducing emotional exhaustion, especially if experiencing low distributive justice (Krischer, Penney, & Hunter, 2010). Thus, once again the dilemma of supporting the employees and their work environment while being able to reasonably expect productivity comes into play. While using the Internet for personal reasons while at work seems to have positive individual benefits, it is also possible that the abuse of the Internet could lead to reduced productivity and wasted time.

It would be interesting for researchers to find a way to quantify the various positive and negative effects (especially in terms of dollar amounts) of these activities for the organization to help determine whether organizational leaders should restrict Internet access/usage (e.g., using site-blocking technology). Additionally, with our high level of connectedness, employees could post pictures and statements on their personal pages (e.g., Facebook pages or blogs) that might embarrass or harass fellow employees and even harm the legitimate interests of the organization (Weatherbee, 2010). The media has reported numerous stories related to employees being disciplined or even fired for Facebook or Twitter posts made either at work, about work, or just generally portraying themselves or the organization in negative light. Therefore, future researchers should focus on how our heightened access in a virtual world can contribute to or even intensify acts of CWBs. As noted, cyber deviance behaviors, such as e-harassment, are an emerging area that is just starting to be understood, and future researchers should investigate the antecedents and effects of such behaviors.

Conclusion

In conclusion, CWBs are prevalent and costly for both organizations and organizational members, and it is therefore advantageous for organizations to prevent such instances. However, since CWBs encompasses a large number of behaviors, this can be quite difficult, and the programs used could have a myriad of personal, monetary, and ethical consequences. By using the existing research and available technology, researchers and practitioners should work to create ethically sound prevention programs. Such programs can positively affect employees’ quality of life, as well as organizations’ financial interests.

We have discussed ethical dilemmas mostly through the eyes of employees, managers, and organizations, but these issues are important for researchers and consultants to be cognizant of as well. The competing goals and ideas presented here have profound implications for how organizations and employees interact, and anyone interested in CWBs and their effects should understand these interconnections. While CWBs will never be eliminated, we believe that healthy, ethically sound organizations can reduce them and their negative effects on individuals and institutions.

References

- Adams, J. S. (1965). Inequity in social exchange. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 267–299). New York: Academic.
- American Psychological Association. (2002). *American Psychological Association ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct*. Retrieved February 9, 2009, from <http://www.apa.org/ethics/code2002.html>
- Andersson, D. R., Whitmer, R. W., Goetzel, R. Z., Ozminkowski, R. J., Wasserman, J., & Serxner, S. (2000). The relationship between modifiable health risks and group-level health care expenditures. *American Journal of Health Promotion, 15*(1), 45–52.
- Antes, J. R., Folger, J. P., & Della Noce, D. J. (2000). Transforming conflict interactions in the workplace: Documented effects of the USPS REDRESS program. *Hofstra Labor & Employment, 429*, 429–467.
- Avey, J. B., Luthans, F., & Youssef, C. M. (2010). The additive value of positive psychological capital in predicting work attitudes and behaviors. *Journal of Management, 36*, 430–452.
- Baron, R. A., & Neuman, J. H. (1996). Workplace violence and workplace aggression: Evidence on their relative frequency and potential causes. *Aggressive Behavior, 22*, 161–173.
- Baron, R. A., Neuman, J. H., & Geddes, D. (1999). Social and personal determinants of workplace aggression: Evidence of the impact of perceived injustice and the Type A behavior pattern. *Aggressive Behavior, 25*, 281–296.
- Bennett, R. J., & Robinson, S. L. (2000). Development of a measure of workplace deviance. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 85*, 349–360.
- Bensimon, H. F. (1994). Crisis and disaster management: Violations in the workplace. *Training and Development, 28*, 27–32.
- Berger, B. (2009, August 14). Plan to videotape porn-watcher backfires on employer. *Denver Business Journal*. Retrieved from <http://denver.bizjournals.com>
- Berry, C. M., Ones, D. S., & Sackett, P. R. (2007). Interpersonal deviance, organizational deviance, and their common correlates: A review and meta-analysis. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*(2), 410–424.
- Birati, A., & Tziner, A. (1996). Withdrawal behavior and withholding efforts at work (WBWEW): Assessing the financial costs. *Human Resource Management Review, 6*(4), 305–314.
- Bolton, L. R., Becker, L. K., & Barker, L. K. (2010). Big Five trait predictors of differential counterproductive work behavior dimensions. *Personality and Individual Differences, 49*, 537–541.
- Borland, R., Chapman, S., Owen, N., & Hill, D. (1990). Effects of workplace smoking bans on cigarette consumption. *American Journal of Public Health, 80*(2), 178–180.
- Bowling, N. A., & Gruys, M. L. (2010). Overlooked issues in the conceptualization and measurement of counterproductive work behavior. *Human Resource Management Review, 20*, 54–61.
- Boye, M. W., & Slora, K. B. (1993). The severity and prevalence of deviant employee activity within supermarkets. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 8*(2), 245–253.
- Carroll, A. B. (1999). Corporate social responsibility: Evolution of a definitional concept. *Business & Society, 38*, 268–195.
- Cascio, W. F. (2000). *Costing human resources: The financial impact of behavior in organizations* (4th ed.). Cincinnati, OH: South-Western.
- Cascio, W. F., & Aguinis, H. (2011). *Applied psychology in human resource* (7th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Cawley, B. D., Keeping, L. M., & Levy, P. E. (1998). Participation in the performance appraisal process and employee reactions: A meta-analytic review of field investigations. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 83*(4), 615–633.
- Chen, P. Y., & Spector, P. E. (1992). Relationship of work stressors with aggression, withdrawal, theft, and substance use: An exploratory study. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 65*, 177–185.

- Chiesa, A., & Serretti, A. (2009). Mindfulness-based stress reduction for stress management in healthy people: A review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine*, 15(5), 593–600.
- Cohen-Charash, Y., & Spector, P. E. (2001). The role of justice in organizations: A meta-analysis. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 86(2), 278–321.
- Cooper, C. L., & Cartwright, S. (1994). Healthy mind; healthy organization – A proactive approach to occupational stress. *Human Relations*, 47(4), 455.
- Cortina, L. M., Magley, V. J., Williams, J. H., & Langhout, R. D. (2001). Incivility in the workplace. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 6, 64–80.
- Crump, C. E., Earp, J. A. L., Kozma, C. M., & Hertz-Picciotto, I. (1996). Effect of organization-level variables on differential employee participation in 10 federal worksite health promotion programs. *Health Education & Behavior*, 23, 204–223.
- Dalal, R. S. (2005). A meta-analysis of the relationship between organizational citizenship behavior and counterproductive work behavior. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(6), 1241–1255.
- Danes, S. M., Leichtenritt, R. D., Metz, M. E., & Huddleton-Casas, C. (2000). Effects of conflict styles and conflict severity on quality of life of men and women in family businesses. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 21(3), 259–286.
- Deffenbacher, J. L., Oetting, E. R., & DiGuseppe, R. A. (2002). Principles of empirically supported interventions applied to anger management. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 30(2), 262–280.
- Devonish, D., & Greenidge, D. (2010). The effect of organizational justice on contextual performance, counterproductive work behaviors, and task performance: Investigating the moderating role of ability-based emotional intelligence. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 18(1), 75–86.
- Dollard, J., Doob, L. W., Miller, N. E., Mowrer, O. H., Sears, R. R., Ford, C. S., et al. (1939). *Frustration and aggression*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Douglas, S. C., & Martinko, M. J. (2001). Exploring the role of individual differences in the prediction of workplace aggression. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 547–559.
- Duffy, M. (2009). Preventing workplace mobbing and bullying with effective organizational consultation, policies, and legislation. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research*, 61(3), 242–262.
- Dupre, K. E., & Barling, J. (2006). Predicting and preventing supervisory workplace aggression. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 11(1), 13–26.
- Erickson, R. J., Nichols, L., & Ritter, C. (2000). Family influences on absenteeism: Testing an expanded model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 57, 246–272.
- Fine, S., Horowitz, I., Weigler, H., & Basis, L. (2010). Is good character good enough? The effect of situational variables on the relationship between integrity and counterproductive work behaviors. *Human Resource Management Review*, 20, 73–84.
- Fox, S., & Spector, P. E. (1999). A model of work frustration-aggression. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 20, 915–931.
- Geddes, D., & Baron, R. A. (1997). Workplace aggression as a consequence of negative performance feedback. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 10(4), 433–454.
- Gendar, A., & Bode, N. (2009, August 29). Jewelry store employee, Teresa Tambunting, arrest for stealing gold in purse lining for six years. *New York Daily News*. Retrieved from <http://www.nydailynews.com>
- Glass, J. L., & Finley, A. (2002). Coverage and effectiveness of family-responsive workplace policies. *Human Resource Management Review*, 12, 313–337.
- Greenberg, J. (1990). Employee theft as a reaction to underpayment inequity: The hidden costs of paycuts. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75, 561–568.
- Gruys, M. L., & Sackett, P. R. (2003). Investigating the dimensionality of counterproductive work behavior. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 11(1), 30–42.
- Harter, J. K., Schmidt, F. L., & Keyes, C. L. M. (2003). Well-being in the workplace and its relationship to business outcomes: A review of the Gallup studies. In C. L. M. Keyes & J. Haidt (Eds.), *Positive psychology and life well-lived* (pp. 205–224). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Heikkinen, H., Jallinoja, P., Saarni, S. I., & Patja, K. (2008). The impact of smoking on health-related and overall quality of life: A general population survey in Finland. *Nicotine & Tobacco Research*, 10(7), 1199–1207.
- Herschcovis, M. S., & Barling, J. (2010). Towards a multi-foci approach to workplace aggression: A meta-analytic review of outcomes from different perpetrators. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 31, 24–44.
- Hogh, A., Borg, V., & Mikkelsen, K. L. (2003). Work-related violence as a predictor of fatigue: A 5-year follow-up of the Danish work environment cohort study. *Work and Stress*, 17(2), 182–194.
- Hollinger, P. (2009, July 14). French car parts workers threaten to blow up plant in compensation row. *Financial Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.ft.com>
- Hollinger, R., & Clark, J. (1982). Formal and informal social controls of employee deviance. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 23(3), 333–343.

- Hollinger, R. C., Dabney, D. A., Lee, G., Hayes, R., Hunter, J., & Cummings, M. (1996). *1996 National retail security survey: Final report*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida.
- Hollinger, R. C., & Langton, L. (2006). *2005 National retail security survey: Final report*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida.
- Hunter, E. M., & Penney, L. M. (2007). *The waiter spit in my soup! Counterproductive behavior towards customers*. Paper presented at the 2007 conference of the Society of Industrial/Organizational Psychology, New York.
- Imm, P. S. (1990). Perceived benefits of participants in an employees' aerobic fitness program. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 71(3), 753–754.
- Jenkins, G. D., Mitra, A., Gupta, N., & Shaw, J. D. (1998). Are financial incentives related to performance? A meta-analytic review of empirical research. *Journal of Applied Research*, 83(5), 777–787.
- Jensen, J. M., Opland, R. A., & Ryan, A. M. (2010). Psychological contracts and counterproductive work behaviors: Employee response to transactional and relational breach. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25, 555–568.
- Jex, S. M., & Beehr, T. A. (1991). Emerging theoretical and methodological issues in the study of work-related stress. In G. R. Ferris & K. W. Rowland (Eds.), *Research in personnel and human resources management*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Jo, S., & Shim, S. W. (2005). Paradigm shift of employee communication: The effect of management communication on trusting relationship. *Public Relations Review*, 31, 277–280.
- Johlke, M. C., & Duhan, D. F. (2000). Supervisor communication practices and service employee job outcomes. *Journal of Service Research*, 3, 154–165.
- Johnson, R. E., & Chang, C. H. (2006). “I” is to continuance as “We” is to affective: The relevance of the self-concept for organizational commitment. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27, 549–570.
- Judge, T. A., Thoresen, C. J., Bono, J. E., & Patton, G. K. (2001). The job satisfaction-job performance relationship: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 127, 376–407.
- Keenan, A., & Newton, T. J. (1985). Stressful events, stressors and psychological strains in young professional engineers. *Journal of Occupational Behavior*, 6, 151–156.
- Kessler, S. R., Galperin, B. L., Singla, N., & Spector, P. E. (2010). *When the customer is attacked: The role of emotional dissonance and perceived organizational support in preventing counterproductive work behavior!* Paper presented at the 12th Conference of the International Society for the Study of Work and Organizational Values, Estoril, Portugal.
- Kessler, S. R., Spector, P. E., Chang, C., & Parr, A. D. (2008). Organizational violence and aggression: Development of the three-factor violence climate survey. *Work and Stress*, 22, 108–124.
- Konovsky, M. A., & Pugh, S. D. (1994). Organizational citizenship behaviors and social exchange. *Academy of Management Journal*, 37(3), 656–669.
- Koslowsky, M. (2000). A new perspective on employee lateness. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 49, 390–407.
- Koslowsky, M. (2009). A multi-level model of withdrawal: Integrating and synthesizing theory and findings. *Human Resource Management Review*, 19(4), 283–303.
- Krausz, M., Yaakobivitz, N., Bizman, A., & Caspi, T. (1999). Evaluation of coworker turnover outcomes and its impact on the intention to leave of the remaining employees. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 14(1), 95–107.
- Krischer, M. M., Penney, L. M., & Hunter, E. M. (2010). Can counterproductive work behaviors be productive? CWB as emotion-focused coping. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 15(2), 154–166.
- Levine, E. L. (2009). Emotion and power (as social influence): Their impact on organizational citizenship and counterproductive individual and organizational behavior. *Human Resource Management Review*, 20, 4–17.
- Li, Q. (2006). Cyberbullying in schools: A research of gender differences. *School Psychology International*, 27(2), 157–170.
- Locke, E. A., & Latham, G. P. (2009). Has goal setting gone wild, or have its attackers abandoned good scholarship. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 23, 17–23.
- Luthans, F., Youssef, C. M., & Avolio, B. J. (2007). *Psychological capital: Developing the human competitive edge*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- MacLane, C. N., & Walmsley, P. T. (2010). Reducing counterproductive work behavior through employee selection. *Human Resource Management Review*, 20, 62–72.
- Mandell, L. J. (2011, February 24). One in five late to work every week, lame excuses given. *AOL Jobs*. Retrieved from <http://jobs.aol.com>
- Martin, K., & Freeman, R. E. (2003). Some problems with employee monitoring. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 43(4), 353–361.
- Martocchio, J. J. (1992). The financial cost of absence decisions. *Journal of Management*, 18(1), 133–152.
- Martocchio, J. J. (1994). The effects of absence culture on individual absence. *Human Relations*, 47(3), 243–262.
- Mastrangelo, P. M., & Jolton, J. A. (2001). Predicting on-the-job substance abuse with a written integrity test. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 13(2), 95–106.

- McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T. (1987). Validation of the five-factor model of personality across instruments and observers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *52*, 81–90.
- McNeely, B. L., & Meglino, B. M. (1994). The role of dispositional situational antecedents in prosocial organizational behavior: An examination of the intended beneficiaries of prosocial behavior. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *79*, 836–844.
- Murphy, L. R. (1996). Stress management in work settings: A critical review of health effects. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, *11*(2), 112–135.
- National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health. (1996). *Violence in the workplace: Risk factors and prevention strategies* (NIOSH Publication No. 96–100).
- Neal, A., & Griffin, M. A. (2006). A study of lagged relationships among safety climate, safety motivation, safety behavior, and accidents at the individual and group levels. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *91*(4), 946–953.
- Nixon, A. E., Mazzola, J. J., Bauer, J., Spector, P. E., & Krueger, J. (2011). Can work make you sick? A meta-analysis of job stressor-physical symptom relationships. *Work and Stress*, *25*(1), 1–22.
- Ones, D. S., Viswesvaran, C., & Schmidt, F. L. (1993). Comprehensive meta-analysis of integrity test validities: Findings and implications for personnel selection and theories of job performance. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *78*(4), 679–703.
- Parks, K. M., & Steelman, L. A. (2008). Organizational wellness programs: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *13*, 58–68.
- Payne, B. K., & Gainey, R. R. (2004). Ancillary consequences of employee theft. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *32*, 63–73.
- Pearson, C. M., Andersson, L. M., & Wegner, J. W. (2001). When workers flout convention: A study of workplace incivility. *Human Relations*, *54*, 1387–1419.
- Pendry, L. F., Driscoll, D. M., & Field, S. T. (2007). Diversity training: Putting theory into practice. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *80*(1), 27–50.
- Penney, L. M., & Spector, P. E. (2002). Narcissism and counterproductive behavior: Do bigger egos mean bigger problems? *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, *10*(1), 126–134.
- Persson, R., Høgh, A., Hansen, Å., Nordaner, C., Ohlsson, K., Balogh, I., et al. (2009). Personality trait score among occupationally active bullied persons and witnesses to bullying. *Motivation and Emotion*, *33*, 387–399.
- Peters, J. W. (2005, February 8). Company's smoking ban means off-hours too. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Pincus, J. D. (1986). Communication satisfaction, job satisfaction, and job performance. *Human Communication Research*, *12*(3), 395–419.
- Pisinger, C., Ladelund, S., Glümer, C., Toft, U., Aadahl, M., & Jørgensen, T. (2009). Five years of lifestyle intervention improved self-reported mental & physical health in a general population: The Inter99 study. *Preventive Medicine*, *49*, 424–428.
- Podsakoff, P. M., Bommer, W. H., Podsakoff, N. P., & MacKenzie, S. B. (2006). Relationship between leader reward and punishment behavior and subordinate attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors: A meta-analytic review of existing and new research. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *99*, 113–142.
- Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., Paine, S. B., & Bachrach, D. G. (2000). Organizational citizenship behavior: A critical review of the theoretical and empirical literature and suggestions for future research. *Journal of Management*, *26*(3), 513–563.
- Privitera, C., & Campbell, M. A. (2009). Cyberbullying: The new face of workplace bullying? *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, *12*(4), 395–400.
- Quick, J. C. (1999). Occupational health psychology: The convergence of health and clinical psychology with public health and preventive medicine in an organizational context. *Professional Psychology: Research & Practice*, *30*(2), 123–128.
- Rayner, C., & Keashly, L. (2005). Bullying at work: A perspective from Britain and North America. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 271–296). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Robinson, S. L., & Bennett, R. J. (1995). A typology of deviant workplace behaviors: A multidimensional scaling study. *Academy of Management Journal*, *38*, 555–572.
- Robinson, S. L., & O'Leary-Kelly, A. M. (1998). Monkey see, monkey do: The influence of work groups on the antisocial behavior of employees. *Academy of Management*, *41*(6), 658–672.
- Rousseau, D. M. (1989). Psychological and implied contracts in organizations. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, *2*, 121–139.
- Sackett, P. R. (2002). The structure of counterproductive work behaviors: Dimensionality and relationships with facets of job performance. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, *10*, 5–11.

- Sackett, P. R., Burris, L. R., & Callahan, C. (1989). Integrity testing for personnel selection: An update. *Personnel Psychology, 42*, 491–529.
- Salgado, J. F. (2002). The Big Five personality dimensions and counterproductive behaviors. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment, 10*(1–2), 117–125.
- Sarna, L., Bialous, S. A., Cooley, M. E., Jun, H.-J., & Feskanich, D. (2008). Impact of smoking and smoking cessation on health-related quality of life in women in the nurses' health study. *Quality of Life Research, 17*, 1217–1227.
- Schmidt, F. L., & Hunter, J. E. (1998). The validity and utility of selection methods in personnel psychology: Practical and theoretical implications of 85 years of research findings. *Psychological Bulletin, 124*(2), 262–274.
- Scott-Ladd, B., Travaglione, A., & Marshall, V. (2006). Causal inferences between participation in decision making, task attributes, work effort, rewards, job satisfaction and commitment. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 27*, 399–414.
- Seijts, G. H., & O'Farrell, G. (2005). Urine collection jars versus video games: Perceptions of three stakeholders groups towards drug and impairment testing programs. *Journal of Drug Issues, 35*(4), 885–916.
- Singh Das, A. (2010, June 3). Timberland's CEO bans smoking: CSR or playing with personal freedom? [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.sustainabilityforum.com/blog/timberlands-ceo-bans-smoking-csr-or-playing-personal-freedom>
- Skarlicki, D. P., & Folger, R. (1997). Retaliation in the workplace: The roles of distributive, procedural, and interactional justice. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 82*, 416–425.
- Skarlicki, D. P., Folger, R., & Tesluk, P. (1999). Personality as a moderator in the relationship between fairness and retaliation. *Academy of Management Journal, 42*, 100–108.
- Spector, P. E. (1978). Organizational frustration: A model and review of the literature. *Personnel Psychology, 31*, 815–829.
- Spector, P. E. (1998). A control theory of the job stress process. In C. L. Cooper (Ed.), *Theories of organizational stress* (pp. 153–169). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Spector, P. E., Bauer, J. A., & Fox, S. (2010). Measurement artifacts in the assessment of counterproductive work behavior and organizational citizenship behavior: Do we know what we think we know? *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 95*(4), 781–790.
- Spector, P. E., & Fox, S. (2005). Concluding thoughts: Where do we go from here? In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 297–305). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Spector, P. E., Fox, S., Penney, L. M., Bruursema, K., Goh, A., & Kessler, S. (2006). The dimensionality of counter productivity: Are all counterproductive behaviors created equal? *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 68*, 446–460.
- Spielberger, C. D. (1996). *State-trait anger expression inventory, research edition: Professional manual*. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.
- Two shot to death by co-worker at plant. (1997, June 6). *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://chicagotribune.com>
- UNISON. (1997). *Bullying survey*. London: UNISON.
- Waldman, J. D., Kelly, F., Arora, S., & Smith, H. L. (2004). The shocking cost of turnover in health care. *Health Care Management Review, 29*(1), 2–7.
- Watson, W., & Gauthier, J. (2003). The viability of organizational wellness programs: An examination of promotion and results. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 33*, 1297–1312.
- Weatherbee, T. G. (2010). Counterproductive use of technology at work: Information & communications technologies and cyber deviancy. *Human Resource Management Review, 20*, 35–44.
- Witt, L. A., Burke, L. A., Barrick, M. R., & Mount, M. K. (2002). The interactive effects of conscientiousness and agreeableness on job performance. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*, 164–169.

Chapter 10

Ethical Imperatives of Work/Life Balance

Carrie A. Bulger and Gwenith G. Fisher

Ethical Imperatives of Work/Life Balance

Over the past few decades, we have experienced demographic shifts, technological advances, and changing values that have led to a significant increase in the attention paid to the intersection of employees' work and personal lives. There is a global trend toward a higher proportion of women as well as a higher proportion of mothers in the workforce than ever before (Major & Germano, 2006). According to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics, about 60% of women in the USA are in the workforce (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). Women are more likely than men to work part time, but among working mothers in the USA, the vast majority (74%) are employed full time (Tomlinson, 2007). Another important demographic shift is the number of parents caring for children as well as aging parents, referred to as the "sandwiched generation" (Hammer & Neal, 2008). Advances in technology and communications have greatly increased the extent to which work can be reached anytime, anywhere. The use of smart phones, e-mail, and mobile broadband technologies permits employees to work anywhere at any time. Increased globalization and the rise of the service industry have created a much stronger need for a workforce that is available 24 hours per day, 7 days per week. As a result, employees are needing to cope with the intrusion of work into nonwork time, increased time pressure, working longer work hours, higher workloads, and more prevalent perceptions that work is stressful (Major & Germano, 2006; Milliken & Dunn-Jensen, 2005).

In this chapter, we describe the work/life interface and ethical imperatives pertaining to workers' achievement of work/life balance. We begin by describing how work/life balance has been conceptualized, including terms like work/life balance, work/family or work/life conflict, and work/family enhancement. Then we discuss why work/life behavior is an ethical issue at multiple levels, including the individual, family, and organization. We describe the type of work/life benefits and policies that have been implemented in organizations, including why such benefits *should* increase balance and review empirical evidence regarding the effectiveness of

C.A. Bulger (✉)

Department of Psychology, Quinnipiac University, 275 Mount Carmel Avenue, CL-AC1,
Hamden, CT 06518, USA

e-mail: carrie.bulger@quinnipiac.edu

G.G. Fisher

Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, USA

work/life benefits and policies and the importance of organizational support for work/life balance. We describe the business case as well as the quality-of-life case for why individuals and organizations should strive for work/life balance. We describe work/life balance as a multilevel ethical dilemma and present a case study with a number of examples to illustrate the types of challenges an employee may face when trying to juggle work and family responsibilities. Lastly, we present some possible solutions and discuss practical implications.

What Is the Work/Nonwork Interface and Why Does It Matter?

A number of theories have been used to examine the work/life interface. According to role theory, individuals juggle multiple roles, and conflict may result from the demands of one role interfering with trying to meet the demands of another role (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964). The conservation of resources model (Hobfoll, 1989) has also been utilized as a framework for understanding the work/life interface (Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999; Fisher, Bulger, & Smith, 2009). The conservation of resources model suggests that individuals are motivated to conserve or seek resources that are necessary for meeting the demands of various roles. Conflict or interference may emerge when resources are lost or threatened. This model also implies that work/life enrichment may take place when resources obtained in one domain can facilitate or enhance one's experience in another domain. Time and energy are frequently mentioned as resources relevant to the work/life interface. Consistent with both role theory and the conservation of resources model, Voydanoff (2005) developed a more recent conceptualization of the work/family interface. In particular, she proposed that work/life outcomes stem from work/life demands on individuals and the resources needed to obtain them.

Work/Life Balance

Work/life balance is a term which is frequently used but for which the definition and conceptualization is lacking relative to the degree of popular interest in the topic (Greenhaus & Allen, 2011; Grzywacz & Carlson, 2007). To date, work/life balance has been generally defined by researchers as the ability to accomplish the goals or meet the demands of one's work and personal life (Center for Creative Leadership, 2004; Fisher, 2001) and achieve satisfaction in all life domains (Kirchmeyer, 2000). Consistent with Marks and MacDermid's (1996) approach to role balance theory which considers work/family balance as taking place across multiple roles rather than being specific to one's experience within a specific role, Greenhaus, Collins, and Shaw (2003) defined work/family balance as "the extent to which an individual is equally engaged in – and equally satisfied with – his or her work role and family role" (p. 513). Others have offered similar conceptualizations, but have also referred to balance as the absence of conflict. For example, Clark (2000) indicated that work/life balance is "satisfaction and good functioning at work and at home with a minimum of role conflict." (p. 751). Greenhaus and Allen (2006, 2011) described work/family balance as a psychological construct that involves "an overall appraisal of the extent to which individuals' effectiveness and satisfaction in work and family roles are consistent with their life values at a given point in time" (p. 174). This definition suggests that the perception of balance is inherently in the eye of the beholder and that any one individual's idea of balance can change over time. Grzywacz and Carlson (2007), however, conceptualized balance as a social construct consisting of "accomplishment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his or her role-related

partners in the work and family domains” (p. 458). As a result, researchers are still not in agreement with regard to the conceptualization of balance. Previous definitions of work/life balance have been criticized for emphasizing equality between work and family domains, as well as for relying on satisfaction as an inherent part of the concept (Greenhaus & Allen, 2011; Grzywacz & Carlson, 2007).

In spite of some of the challenges associated with defining work/life balance, this topic has received so much attention in the research literature as well as the popular press because it has emerged as an important value among employees and particularly among younger employees (Shellenbarger, 1999). The increase in this focus stems from the notion that high work demands have negative consequences for other life domains, including family and leisure. Lyness and Judiesch (2008) described a transition in values over the last 50 years, from Whyte’s (1957) writings of *The Organization Man*, in which a successful manager is one who is very work-focused, to Friedman (2006), who emphasized the importance of work/life balance for success as a business leader. Greenhaus et al. (2003) found that work/life balance is related to quality of life. However, they found that role involvement and role satisfaction moderates the relationship between work/family balance and quality of life. Specifically, Greenhaus et al. found that work/family balance is only related to quality of life when individuals are involved in their work and family roles, as well as when they are satisfied with these roles.

Work/Family Conflict

In addition to work/life balance, work/family conflict is another term frequently used in the research pertaining to the intersection between work and nonwork. Work/family conflict is a specific work stressor that occurs when “the role pressures of the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect” (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). Antecedents of work/family conflict include role-specific involvement and stressors (e.g., job involvement, time pressure, lack of autonomy, and role ambiguity as antecedents of work-to-family conflict; family involvement, parental stressors, and marital stressors as antecedents of family-to-work conflict; Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992b), and personality (e.g., conscientiousness, which is associated with lower levels of conflict, and neuroticism, which is associated with higher levels of conflict; Wayne, Musisca, & Fleeson, 2004). The literature is replete with studies that have found many negative attitudinal, behavioral, and other outcomes of work/family conflict. For example, individuals with higher levels of work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict have lower levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998), higher levels of absenteeism and turnover and lower levels of job performance, higher levels of stress and burnout (Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly, 2002; Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997; Wayne et al., 2004), lower levels of marital satisfaction, poor physical health (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998), and cognitive problems including poor concentration and low alertness (MacEwen & Barling, 1994). Aycan and Eskin (2005) identified guilt as a possible outcome of work/family conflict such that guilt may develop when an individual is not able to fulfill his or her prescribed gender role. Additional research has shown crossover effects in which work stress and work/life conflict may affect other family members (Westman & Etzion, 2005).

Work/family conflict is bidirectional, such that work can interfere or conflict with family responsibilities (i.e., work-to-family conflict), and family can interfere with work demands (i.e., family-to-work conflict; Kopelman, Greenhaus, & Connolly, 1983). A number of studies have examined the important distinctions between these two directions of conflict. For example, prior meta-analytic research has found that work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict are both related to job and life satisfaction, but the strength of this relationship is smaller for family-to-work

conflict compared to work-to-family conflict (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). A recent meta-analysis investigated the relationships between work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict and various outcomes related to work and family, as well as some outcomes that were not specific to either domain (Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011). The results showed that work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict were both related to the work and family outcomes such as work satisfaction, organizational commitment, intention to turnover, burnout, family and marital satisfaction, and family stress. In general, the meta-analysis also indicated that results are stronger for within-domain outcomes; in other words, work-to-family conflict was more strongly related to work-related outcomes than to family-related outcomes and the same was true for family-to-work conflict being more strongly related to family-related outcomes. However, both work-to-family and family-to-work conflict were most strongly related to the domain unspecific outcomes, such as life satisfaction and general stress. In general, employees are more likely to report work-to-family conflict than family-to-work conflict (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992a). This may be due to family being a more important and salient role for many employees.

Some prior research has found gender differences in reports of work-to-personal life conflict and personal life-to-work conflict. For example, women were more likely to report work-to-personal life conflict than personal life-to-work conflict, whereas men were more likely to report life-to-work conflict (Perrewé & Carlson, 2002). A few studies have found that women tend to experience more work-role guilt than men (Aycan & Eskin, 2005; Chappell, Korabik, & McElwain, 2005). Guilt is more strongly related to work-to-family conflict than to family-to-work conflict, and these findings were reported for women, but not men (Aycan & Eskin, 2005). It may also be that women and men differ in their reporting of work-family conflict. Streich, Casper, and Salvaggio (2008) showed that husbands' self-rating of work-to-family conflict was significantly higher than wives ratings of their husband's work-to-family conflict, but there were no differences in wives' self-ratings of work-to-family conflict nor in husbands' ratings of their wives work-to-family conflict. Considering all of the research to date regarding work/family conflict, it behooves individuals and organizations to minimize this type of conflict because it is clearly associated with a number of deleterious outcomes.

Work/Life Enrichment or Enhancement

Consistent with the recent trend toward positive psychology, researchers have looked beyond the negative aspects of the work/life interface and have begun to investigate the extent to which engagement in multiple roles, such as work, family, and/or community may enrich or enhance workers' lives (Carlson, Kacmar, Wayne, & Grzywacz, 2006; Voydanoff, 2005). Work/life enrichment refers to the notion that participation in one role may lead to additional resources or benefits in another role. For example, work can enrich one's life outside of work by providing esteem, skills, income, positive mood, and other benefits that make it easier to perform nonwork roles. Carlson et al. (2006) conducted pioneering work in this area by developing measures to assess work/family enrichment and demonstrating that enrichment is empirically distinct from conflict. Work/life enrichment or enhancement has been shown to be positively related to important affective and behavioral outcomes, including job, life, and family satisfaction (Carlson et al., 2006; Fisher et al., 2009), job performance, family performance (Carlson, Grzywacz, & Kacmar, 2010); and turnover intentions (McNall, Masuda, & Nicklin, 2009).

Although the majority of this research to date has focused on work and family, some researchers have underscored the notion that we need to be more inclusive by considering more than just family and consider other aspects of one's personal life (Fisher et al., 2009; Frone, 2003).

Defining and measuring work/life more broadly is one mechanism by which we can offer a *voice* to all employees regardless of their family or personal life status. Therefore, we will use the term “work/life balance” for the remainder of this chapter when referring to this intersection between work and family or work and other nonwork roles.

Ethics and Work/Life Balance

Prior work/life research has demonstrated strong empirical support for the notion that work/life balance is related to important quality-of-work/life indicators. This research has implications for individual and organizational level issues at work, as well as individual and family level issues at home. Altogether, work/life research underscores the importance of work/life balance as an important part in achieving a high quality of life. The ethical imperative of *balance* is at the heart of this construct as individuals juggle multiple roles with limited resources. Employees who are struggling for balance may face ethical dilemmas in trying to meet the demands of work and the demands of their personal lives. Similarly, organizations may face ethical dilemmas in attempting to offer employees benefits that aid in attempts to balance while trying to meet the goals of the business. Next, we will describe ways in which organizations have taken some *responsibility* toward helping employees to achieve and maintain a work/life balance by offering work/life benefits and policies.

Work/Life Benefits and Policies

Given the clear negative impact of work/life conflict on employees, and the emerging evidence that work/life balance or enrichment has positive effects, organizations have increasingly begun to offer benefits and establish policies that are aimed at assisting employees with managing work and life demands (Beauregard & Henry, 2009). These benefits have often been termed “family-friendly” benefits (Allen, 2001). Examples of work/life benefits include flexibility in the time or location of work (i.e., flexible work arrangements), assistance with childcare, parenting resources/lactation support, elder care resources, employee health and wellness programs, (e.g., on-site fitness facilities, healthy food options), and other services aimed at assisting employees juggling multiple role demands (e.g., dry-cleaning, postal services). In addition, family-leave policies are offered by many organizations to assist employees with the birth or adoption of a child or a family member’s illness.

Research on the prevalence of such benefits has clearly shown that the most commonly available work/life benefits are those related to childcare, flexible work, and employee health and wellness (e.g., Dikkers, Geurts, den Dulk, & Peper, 2001). However, Neal and Hammer (2007) note that the availability of work/life benefits may be limited to certain categories of workers. Some recent research supports this possibility. For example, the National Compensation Survey (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010) showed that among civilian workers, 10% of all workers and 17% of management/professional workers have access to childcare benefits, 5% of all workers and 16% of management/professional workers have flexible work options, 34% of all workers and nearly half of management/professional workers have access to employee wellness programs, and at least 50% of workers (including management/professional) have access to Employee Assistance Programs (EAPs). In terms of family leave, 11% of all workers and 17% of all management/professional workers have access to paid family leave, whereas 86% of all workers and 91% of management/professional workers have access to unpaid family leave. This survey also showed

that these benefits are far more commonly available at large organizations that employ more than 500 workers. Similarly, a study conducted jointly by WorldatWork (a professional association for human resources professionals), the Alliance for Work-Life Progress (a not-for-profit professional association), and the Regional Research Institute for Human Services at Portland State University (WorldatWork, 2005) showed that salaried workers have more access to flexible work options than hourly employees. That study also found that flexible work may be more frequently available on an informal basis.

One work/life benefit now available to all working mothers who are breastfeeding a child up to 12 months old and employed at organizations with 50 or more employees is break time for breastfeeding or expressing milk. When the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act was signed in March 2010 (Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010), it included an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act such that working mothers are to be provided with a “reasonable break time” to express milk or nurse her child until the child is 1-year old. Further, the amendment stipulates that the organization provide a private space, not a bathroom, for this purpose. Under this act, employers are required to allow for breaks, but not required to compensate break time for breastfeeding, unless break time for other purposes is compensated. Further, while the act stipulates “reasonable” break time, the frequency and duration of breaks for breastfeeding is left to the employee to negotiate with the organization.

Who are work/life benefits designed to benefit? In other words, are work/life initiatives developed to meet business needs, employees’ needs, or both? The cynical view suggests that family-friendly policies allow employees to adjust their lives so they can meet work demands and work longer hours (Grosswald, Ragland, & Fisher, 2001; Lambert, 1993). The mutually beneficial view suggests that employees are better able to juggle responsibilities due to increased flexibility and support, which should positively impact employee performance and attitudes. Employers benefit by being able to attract, retain, and motivate employees, and by having more satisfied and higher performing employees. Family-friendly benefits may also be seen as a valuable public relations tool (Nord, Fox, Phoenix, & Viano, 2002), which may serve to improve the organization’s image. For example, Cascio (2000) indicated that firms rated as “best” (as in *Working Mother* magazine’s Best 100 for working moms) get twice as many job applications.

How and Why Work/Life Benefits Should Increase Work/Life Balance

The notion that making available work/life benefits and policies should assist employees with managing work/life demands is both logical and supported by empirical findings. That is, logically, if employees have access to assistance with childcare or wellness programs, then they should be more able to manage the competing demands of work and children or to better care for themselves, thereby reducing the likelihood of illness. Ethically, benefits that afford employees some *autonomy* in managing their work and personal lives (e.g., flexible scheduling) should result in higher levels of employee well-being. Some research provides support for this notion. Advantages of flexible work arrangements include reductions in travel time and being home later in the morning or earlier in the afternoon to better meet family responsibilities (Tremblay, 2003). Hill, Hawkins, Ferris, and Weitzman (2001) found that flexibility in both the timing and location of work helped employees achieve work/life balance. Similarly, Clark (2001) found that having the flexibility to alter one’s work was related to increased work satisfaction and family well-being, both outcomes she defined as a part of the work/life balance construct. Valcour (2007) showed that there was an interaction between hours worked and control over work time on satisfaction with work/family balance, such that as work hours increased those with lower control over work time experienced lower satisfaction with balance while those with higher control over work time did not.

A qualitative study found that Canadian mothers had very positive perceptions of telework, appreciating the flexible scheduling and perceiving that it facilitated optimal time management (Hilbrecht, Shaw, Johnson, & Andrey, 2008). In terms of health-related issues, Väänänen et al. (2008) indicated that work-to-family conflict was a significant predictor of sickness absence, particularly among those in blue-collar and lower-level white-collar occupations. Thus, it seems that offering employees access to work/life benefits should help employees better manage their work and nonwork demands.

Effectiveness (or Lack Thereof) of Work/Life Benefits

The business case for offering work/life benefits often centers around the idea that making such benefits available to employees reduces work/life conflict and, thereby, enhances organizational performance (e.g., Beauregard & Henry, 2009). However, a great deal of research shows that the mere availability of benefits does little to reduce work/life conflict or enhance work/life balance. Kossek and Ozeki (1998) cited numerous studies from the 1990s showing that work/family practices did not reduce work/family conflict and called for research to show the link between such policies and work/life outcomes. Those same authors, in (Kossek & Ozeki 1999), concluded that work/family policies were expensive and not effective; their study showed mixed relationships between policies and organizational outcomes.

One reason for the ineffectiveness of work/life benefits may be attributed to underutilization. In a 2005 study from WorldatWork, human resource professionals indicated that, on average, 54–84% of organizations provided access to flexible work arrangements (across job types), yet only 11–15% of organizations reported that more than half of their employees made use of the arrangements. A study of civil engineers by Watts (2009) found that only those who have worked for employers for a long time manage to successfully utilize flexible working arrangements. Underscoring the potential utilization issue further, Dikkers et al. (2001) found that flexible work benefits were more often used than childcare benefits. Underutilization implies that benefits are available to employees but not taken up. However, as noted previously, not all workers have access to all types of work/life benefits (Neal & Hammer, 2007; US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). Golden (2001) analyzed data from the May, 2001 supplement to the US Current Population Survey (CPS) and found great disparities in who has flexibility. For example, Golden's study indicated that employees with higher flexibility included those in college, married, working part time, working more than 50 h per week, or individuals who were self-employed. Typically, these benefits are most readily available to individuals in professional positions and/or individuals at higher levels in an organization. These findings highlight the ethical imperative of *justice* in considering work/life initiatives. While it may be that there are some occupations (e.g., manual labor) that do not lend themselves well to flexibility regarding the time or location of work compared to other positions, it could be that many more organizations can adopt practices that are more widely available, thereby increasing justice perceptions. Organizations may be able to go a few steps further toward developing and offering successful work/life solutions by encouraging workers to have a *voice* and facilitating workers' *participation* in discussions to more clearly identify specific challenges that employees' face in trying to have a better work/life balance. Then these employees and others in the organization can work together to develop solutions that will meet both the needs of the employees and the organization.

Some research shows that it is not the mere availability of benefits that impact outcomes, but that satisfaction with benefits may also be important. For instance, Rosin and Korabik (2002) showed that satisfaction with work/life policies was related to reduced work/family conflict. Grawitch, Trares, and Kohler (2007) showed that satisfaction with work/life balance practices

was related to two aspects of well-being: increased organizational commitment and reduced emotional exhaustion. Thus, it may be that employees could give input as to the types of benefits needed, especially where flexibility is concerned, thereby positively impacting perceptions of having a *voice* in one's work life.

Dickers et al. (2001) found that use of benefits was not related to reduced work/family conflict. Thompson, Jahn, Kopelman, and Prottas (2004) also found that the availability of benefits did not affect work/life outcomes. These findings suggest that having access to benefits does not translate to *participating* in these benefits. It may also be the case that simply having access to benefits does little to actually assist employees with managing work/life demands. This may further indicate that the utilization of benefits comes at a cost to employees. One cost could be in terms of how one who uses work/life benefits is perceived by other employees. For example, Parker and Allen (2001) examined perceptions of the fairness of work/family benefits and found that women, non-whites, parents of young children, and those who personally used benefits perceived them as more fair. These authors suggest that such disparities in fairness perceptions might be linked with a backlash toward the notion of "family-friendly" benefits. Similarly, Casper, Weltman, and Kwesiga (2007) studied the notion of a family-friendly backlash, but from the perspective of a singles-friendly work culture. The elements of a singles-friendly culture articulated by these authors include social inclusion in company events (e.g., not assuming singles would be uninterested in a family-oriented picnic), equal work opportunities (e.g., making promotions and training available to all employees, not just those who "need" extra income for family), equal access to benefits (e.g., offer more than just childcare benefits), equal respect for nonwork roles (e.g., acknowledge that everyone has multiple roles), and equal work expectations (e.g., do not assume that singles will always be available for travel). On this point, Sturges (2008) advised that "Organizations must develop policy and practices that support the view that work/life balance is not just an issue for parents but for all employees, whatever their family responsibilities and career stage." (p. 132). Taken together, these studies suggest that those who do not utilize work/life programs may avoid using benefits out of fear that others will look unfavorably upon them.

Further, our examination of work/life benefits and policies highlighted the notion that there may be ethical questions of *justice* in terms of the policies and benefits offered to employees. For example, an organization may offer paid parental leave time to all of its employees, but the length of paid time off may vary depending on job or organizational level. If higher level employees receive more paid time off than lower-level employees, this could easily lead to perceptions of injustice among those who receive less paid time off. Policies that offer similar benefits to all employees regardless of job level or classification would be more likely to be perceived fairly among employees.

Although flexible work arrangements and other work/life benefits are typically offered to facilitate work/life balance, there are some downsides as well. These include being unable to escape constant work pressure, higher levels of imbalance between work and personal life, and blurred boundaries between work and home. Thus, another potential cost could be related to the way that using work/life benefits changes expectations of employees. Towers, Duxbury, Higgins, and Thomas (2006) suggested that flexible work can have a "dark side" in terms of increased expectations from supervisors and coworkers related to availability and productivity. For example, an employee who occasionally works from home may be expected to do additional work at home even during nonscheduled work time. With the use of information technology, which facilitates employees being able to access e-mail almost anytime anywhere, coworkers and supervisors may expect to be able to reach employees during nonwork hours. Rogers and Spitzmueller (2011) examined information communication technology in relation to boundary preferences (i.e., integration or segmentation) and the work-family interface and concluded that technology can be a help or a hindrance, depending on the individual's boundary preferences. In a longitudinal study,

Glass (2004) found that, over time, the use of work/life benefits did not help and sometimes hurt mothers' wage growth. In looking at specific types of benefits, working from home had the strongest negative effect on wage growth. Kelliher and Anderson (2010) showed that while having flexibility positively impacted employee attitudes toward their job and organization, it also resulted in longer work hours, working off schedule, and working more intently. Thus, it may be that there are both advantages and disadvantages to using benefits. Eaton (2003) introduces the concept of perceived usability of benefits and showed that it was related to organizational commitment and to productivity. Eaton suggests that part of what makes benefits perceived as usable comes from the support for use of benefits from supervisors and the general culture of the organization.

The Importance of Support

Given the relatively clear empirical evidence that the mere availability of work/life benefits does not result in the intended positive outcomes, researchers have long investigated the role of various types of organizational support in relation to work/life benefits. Dikkers et al. (2001) showed that benefit utilization was related to positive work/family culture, which was also related to reduced work/family conflict. Allen (2001) introduced the construct family-supportive organizational perceptions and demonstrated that it is an important variable in work/life outcomes. For instance, family-supportive organizational perceptions were related to lower work/family conflict and turnover intentions and to higher job satisfaction and organizational commitment. O'Driscoll et al. (2003) found that family-supportive organizational perceptions mediated the relationship between benefits use and work/family conflict. Allen (2001) also showed that supportive supervision plays a role in reducing work/family conflict. Other research has indicated that reporting to a supportive supervisor has a positive effect on outcomes, like work/family conflict (Frye & Breaugh, 2004; LaPierre & Allen, 2006; Thompson et al., 2004; Thompson & Prottas, 2005). In line with these findings, Hammer, Kossek, Yragui, Bodner, and Hanson (2009) developed the construct of supportive supervision and found that it includes behaviors related to emotional support, role modeling work/life management, instrumental support for work/life management, and creative work/life management.

In addition to supportive supervision, much research has shown that employees must perceive that the opportunity exists to use benefits (Eaton, 2003; Thompson & Prottas, 2005). Opportunity to use benefits is linked to supportive supervision, but also to having both formal and informal flexibility and control to manage work/life demands (Behson, 2005; Kossek, Lautsch, & Eaton, 2006; LaPierre & Allen, 2006; Shockley & Allen, 2007), and to organizational supportiveness or a culture that is supportive of work/life needs (Grandey, Cordeiro, & Michael, 2007; Kossek, Lewis, & Hammer, 2010). Hobson, Delunas, and Kesic (2001) point out that offering work/life initiatives is one way an organization can communicate to its employees that it values them. However, in a recent study, Mescher, Benschop, and Doorewand (2010) found that the messages companies convey about work/life initiatives are most often mixed. That is, the explicit messages conveyed were of support for the work/life demands of employees, but the implicit messages conveyed the notion that having access to work/life initiatives was a privilege. Kossek et al. (2010) point out that there are two dimensions of support related to work/life initiatives: the structural support for work/life balance and the cultural support for work/life balance. Specifically, structural support simply involves making work/life benefits available, whereas cultural support relates to many of the ideas just discussed: that organizations need to foster an environment that places value on, and provides formal and informal support for, employees' multiple work and personal life roles.

From a Business Case to a Quality-of-Work-Life Case for Work/Life Benefits

As previously noted, the business case for making work/life benefits available to employees centers around the idea that offering such benefits will result in employees being better able to manage their work and nonwork demands, thereby increasing performance and positive attitudes and reducing withdrawal behaviors and intentions, which in turn may result in better organizational performance (Beauregard & Henry, 2009; Dorio, Bryant, & Allen, 2008; Pitt-Catsouphes & Googins, 2005; Sutton & Noe, 2005). In one study investigating whether performance does increase as a result of offering work/life benefits, Cascio and Young (2005) found that between 1995 and 2002, the companies named as the 100-Best companies for working mothers by *Working Mother* magazine consistently performed higher than broader benchmark firms on both the Standard and Poor's 500 (S&P 500) and the Russell 3000, two common indicators of stock market performance. Their study also showed that the *Working Mother* 100-Best companies were at least as profitable and productive as other firms during that time period. In addition, the business case generally suggests that offering such benefits can be used as a recruiting and retention tool as well as a public relations tool (Kossek & Friede, 2006; Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005). Given this orientation, many managers view work/life benefits as "fringe" rather than as a legitimate and necessary human resources practice (Kossek, 2005). This viewpoint may be an underlying factor for the wealth of empirical evidence showing the necessity of managerial and organizational support for work/life balance in the effectiveness of work/life benefits.

Many researchers have begun to argue for a change in the case made for offering work/life benefits. Rothbard et al. (2005) found that among employees who evidenced a desire to integrate their work and family lives, having benefits available that promoted work/family integration was correlated with higher job satisfaction and organizational commitment. For example, for such employees, having access to on-site childcare had a positive impact. The study also showed that employees who evidenced a desire to keep work and family segmented were positively impacted by having access to policies that promoted segmentation. Given these findings, the authors suggest, first, that as organizations consider the types of benefits to offer, there is no "one-size-fits-all" approach. And, second, the authors suggest that the types of benefits offered imply organizational values. As such, organizations that offer integrating policies, such as on-site childcare, may be suggesting to employees that they most value work-life integration and, therefore, would prefer employees be open to bringing work home, answering work-related calls or e-mails on personal time, among other work/life integrating practices. This preference would work for some, but not all employees.

It may be that organizations need to work toward linking employee work/life balance with organizational strategy. Burke (2006) suggests that organizations should include employee personal life goals a part of the assessment of performance. Similarly, Fletcher and Bailyn (2005) argue that the concept of work/life integration should be a social and organizational issue, rather than an individual issue. Bailyn (2005) suggests further that employee personal life needs should, at minimum, be put on par with organizational needs. Pitt-Catsouphes and Googins (2005) noted that if work/life balance were to be seen as a part of corporate social responsibility, then businesses would focus on quality of work life as well as quality of nonwork life as a way of achieving organizational goals.

Along those lines, some authors note that to be considered essential to business success, work/life efforts need to be linked with the strategic goals of the organization (Murphy & Zagorski, 2005; Thompson, Andreassi, & Prottas, 2005). One way to do this is to begin with support for work/life initiatives at top levels of the organization, with training for managers and managerial accountability of the work/life balance needs of employees. Murphy and Zagorski (2005) also

note that organizational managers and leaders must role model work/life balance efforts for employees. These authors note, like Rothbard et al. (2005), that managing the demands of work and personal life is not the same for all employees. That is, the benefits offered and initiatives undertaken must *respect* employee needs and values (Rothbard et al., 2005), to the job or work being done (Murphy & Zagorski, 2005; Thompson et al., 2005), and that they should be directly linked with organizational strategy (Sullivan & Maineiro, 2007).

Summary

The research literature on work/life balance highlights the importance of work/life balance as an important indicator of quality of life. The ethical imperative of *balance* is at the heart of the matter, indicating that individuals need to be able to successfully manage responsibilities and accomplish goals in multiple life domains in order to achieve satisfaction in those domains and in life in general. Failure to achieve this balance has deleterious effects on individuals at home and at work, as well as on families and the organizations that employ these individuals.

Empirical support for the effectiveness of work/life programs to date has been mixed. Some have found that work/life programs are related to increased autonomy, flexibility, satisfaction in multiple life domains, and positive perceptions of the organization. Furthermore, work/life programs have been shown to facilitate workers' engagement in roles outside of work, thereby leading to higher levels of work/life enrichment or enhancement. However, work/life programs have received a bad reputation to the extent that there is a lack of utilization due to interest, relevance, a lack of communication about offerings, or fear among employees regarding how they will be perceived by others if they participate in such programs. In some cases, these programs fail to succeed due to organizational culture, leadership, and/or supervisors who do not support balance.

The Multilevel Ethical Dilemma

When it comes to achieving work/life balance, ethical dilemmas may be faced by all stakeholders. Employees who are juggling multiple demands face the dilemma of wanting to put in the necessary effort to achieve work and organizational goals as well as the necessary effort toward achieving the goals of their personal lives. Personal resources, like having the time and energy needed to complete work and personal goals and responsibilities, can be in competition. For example, an employee who receives a phone call from a school nurse notifying him of a sick child must determine whether he can leave his job early to attend to the needs of that child while still completing his work. The employee must also consider the impact his decision will have on his partner if he determines he cannot leave to pick up his child. An employee with a commitment to attend a child's soccer game but who needs to stay late at work may be faced with a difficult choice.

Supervisors, similarly, may face ethical dilemmas in managing direct reports who have different work and personal life needs, if their primary objective is to maximize employee performance with little regard for the effect this may have on employee personal lives. For example, supervisors might consistently assign work-related travel to employees who do not have children under the assumption that they do not have obligations at home that will make travel difficult, yet acknowledge that focusing only on child-free employees for this job duty is unfair.

At the most macro level, organizations may face ethical dilemmas in determining both whether to offer work/life benefits and how to construct a benefits package that meets both employee and

organizational goals. That is, much is made in popular media about the business case for family-friendly benefits. For example, witness the attention paid to the *Working Mother* magazine list of Best Companies, yet little attention is paid to the effectiveness of benefits in terms of their supposed aim at increasing employee work/life balance.

It may be useful to consider a few situations as part of a hypothetical case that lays out some of these dilemmas that might be faced by a parent with young children, her supervisor, and the organization for which they both work.

Scenario 1

Jane, a mid-level manager, has two children: a 3-year-old daughter and a 4-month-old infant son. Jane's spouse is a salesman who works on 100% commission. Before the birth of her son, Jane realized that, despite a very good salary, she and her spouse could not afford to keep both children enrolled in the daycare center her daughter was currently attending. Jane spent 2 months researching and visiting less expensive daycares. Her employer does not offer an on-site daycare, assistance with daycare expenses, or provide referrals for daycare arrangements. Therefore Jane was on her own to make affordable arrangements that would work with her and her husband's work schedules. Jane's supervisor, Mike, was sympathetic and allowed her to flex her hours by rearranging her work hours so that she could visit potential daycare settings. Jane still worked all of her scheduled work hours, but at alternate times of the day. Mike was also aware that some of the other managers he supervises would prefer more flexible hours and that they were feeling a lack of equity because of the accommodations Mike made for Jane. However, Mike could not see how to justify the flexible time for all employees who did not have the same family needs as Jane. On the other hand, Jane also worried that focusing too much attention on her family needs would lead others to think she was less committed to her work.

Ethical Dilemmas: Jane struggles with *balancing* her roles as an employee and mother due to time-based conflict in her quest for more affordable, quality childcare because she needs time during the workday (when daycares are open) to visit potential daycares. She needs to ask for help from her supervisor and organization, yet she is conscientious and concerned about how she will be perceived by her supervisor and coworkers. In other words, she is trying to *responsibly* meet her home and work-role demands. Mike wants to give her the time but also must consider the issue of *justice* – how others on his team who might like some flexible hours will respond to Jane getting time for dealing with childcare issues. It seems that Mike has a few options for how to handle the situation. First, he could grant Jane unpaid time off from work to search for daycare arrangements. Second, she could use paid vacation time. A third option would be to permit Jane to flex her hours, where she comes in early and leaves early to visit the various daycares she is considering. In addition, Jane's organization could offer more daycare benefits, such as resources to assist with finding daycare arrangements or establishing an on-site daycare, but what comparable benefits could it offer to those who do not need childcare in order to be seen as fair?

Scenario 2

Jane's organization does not have specific maternity or paternity leave policies beyond the federally mandated Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Although the FMLA permits employees to take up to 12 weeks off from work in such circumstances, this legislation does not require employers to pay employees for this time off from work. Instead, Jane's organization treats time off from work following the birth of a baby as disability leave. Jane was on paid leave for 6 weeks following the birth of her son. Because Jane could not afford any unpaid time off from work, Jane returned to work only 6 weeks following the birth of her son. Because Mike is supportive of work/family issues, he and Jane negotiated a change in which Jane could reduce

some of her responsibilities for a period of time upon her return to work. For example, Jane had planned to work on revising and updating a procedures manual used by members of her organization, but Mike agreed to postpone the deadline for the manual update for 6 months after Jane's return to work.

Ethical Dilemmas: Mike's willingness to negotiate Jane's job duties upon her return demonstrates his commitment to helping her *balance* her work and family responsibilities. Further, allowing her to postpone her deadline indicates that Mike trusts Jane to get her job done, implying that she has some *autonomy* over her work. However, both Mike and Jane would likely struggle with how this might be seen by others in the organization, particularly Jane's peers who might also struggle with work-family balance, but not have supervisors who are as open to idiosyncratic deals as Mike seems to be. This suggests that the organization should examine policies related to parental leave as well as to return to work. It may be that the organization could increase both *participation* and *voice* by working with employees to develop policies around these issues.

Scenario 3

Jane is breastfeeding her infant son and therefore has to express milk at work in order to have milk available for her son while he is at daycare. Jane has a private office which she can use for this purpose, but the process of expressing milk takes her away from her work for at least 20 min two or three times during the workday. Jane has made the case to Mike that taking these breaks is a benefit to the company because some studies have shown that breastfed babies are sick less often, meaning their parents are sick less often and less likely to be absent from work.

Ethical Dilemmas: Jane clearly wants to do what is best for her son's health and is convinced by the literature and her pediatrician that breastfeeding will be best for him. This demonstrates her *responsibility* regarding her role as a mother and the extent to which she values her son's health. She is aware that taking time out of her day to express breast milk takes her away from her work tasks and feels the compromise is necessary, but may also feel some guilt about being away from work. She may worry that she is not perceived as available to her own direct reports and that she is seen as getting special treatment. In other words, she is aware of and concerned about perceptions of *justice* among her coworkers. Mike needs to determine how to help all of his employees manage work and family demands and may be concerned with figuring out how to give each of his employees the time they need to do so. The organization may be wrestling with issues related to parental leave and comparable benefits for nonparents. Similarly, the organization might see the business case for supporting lactation in the workplace, but not know how to provide this benefit without comparable benefits (e.g., break time) for all employees. Both Mike and the organization may value *justice* and *balance*.

Scenario 4

Jane's regularly scheduled work hours are 9:00 a.m.–5:30 p.m. However, Jane's new daycare arrangement requires her to work from 8:00 a.m.–4:30 p.m, because the daycare is a 30-min commute from her office, and it closes at 5:30 p.m, meaning Jane has to leave her workplace at 4:30 p.m. in order to get her children on time while allowing sufficient time in case of traffic or inclement weather. Because Jane's spouse can drop the children off in the morning, she can come to work early to make up for the fact that she needs to leave an hour earlier at the end of the workday.

Ethical Dilemmas: Jane's new flexible schedule demonstrates the extent to which her supervisor is *responsible* and *responsive* to helping Jane meet her demands outside of work. Mike gave Jane a *voice* in determining what hours would work for her new daycare arrangements. This was helpful given her need to *balance* work and family responsibilities. However, as with the issue of finding a new daycare and Jane's flextime, Mike may struggle with a justification for providing others of his employees with flexible schedules unless the organization adopts policies or procedures for making this possible for all employees.

Scenario 5

Because there is only one provider at the home daycare, when the provider is sick or on vacation, Jane and her husband have no daycare arrangement. This leaves them juggling two work schedules and childcare responsibilities. Similarly, when the children are sick, they are not allowed to attend the daycare, and there is no sick childcare option at Jane's workplace. Jane must therefore use her own sick days to care for her children when they are sick and cannot go to daycare. This means that when Jane herself is sick, she often has to come to work because she needs to save her sick time for when she must be available to care for her children.

Ethical Dilemmas: This situation raises a number of ethical issues. The first of these is *balance*, as Jane is faced with having to manage responsibilities both at home and at work. The second issue is that of *responsibility*. Jane has a responsibility to care for her sick children and to care for herself, particularly when she is sick. However, there is also the issue of public health, and the notion that Jane may be putting her coworkers at risk of getting sick when she comes to work when ill. In addition, continuing to work rather than resting when ill means that it may take Jane a lot longer to get well than if she was able to stay home and rest. Jane is also likely contributing to the problem of *presenteeism*, being at work but not fully productive due to illness, by coming to work sick (Hemp, 2004). The third ethical issue is *justice*. As a manager, Jane has access to flexible scheduling. However, this same kind of flexibility may not be available to all employees. Jane faces a difficult decision when her children are sick: should she bring them to the office, take time unpaid to care for them, or use sick time? If she uses sick time and then becomes sick herself, should she use more sick time and stay home, or should she save her sick time and come to the office when she is unwell? Mike's flexibility in allowing Jane to schedule her time means that he must consider offering this benefit to the other managers he supervises. The organization could offer sick child benefits, such as a daycare for sick children, but the organization must determine the costs vs. benefits associated with doing so, as well as consider the extent to which this fits into organizational goals. With regard to *participation*, it seems that it might be helpful for Jane to solicit help from Mike so they can both participate in making decisions in terms of what is best for Jane, Jane's family, and Jane's employing organization. It may also be quite helpful for Mike to engage in participative decision-making with his staff as he works through these issues to arrive at solutions that will meet both his work-related needs, as well as those of the employees he supervises.

Scenario 6

The situation previously described in scenario 5 is complicated by the fact that Jane's spouse works on 100% commission and does not receive any paid vacation or sick time benefits. As a result, there are economic consequences to his taking time from work to stay home when one of their children is sick. Because Jane does have sick time available, albeit limited time, she is the more likely parent to be the one to miss work to care for a sick child.

Ethical Dilemmas: The fact that Jane's husband doesn't have any paid sick or vacation time raises the issue of *justice* with regard to the fact that his organization does not offer benefits to employees that many other organizations do. Further, Jane may sometimes resent that she is more often the one who takes off work to care for a sick child. This may then be an issue of *justice* between her and her spouse. However, her spouse accepted his job knowing that one of the terms of employment was that he would work only on commission, and his employer does not seem to take any *responsibility* for providing benefits such as paid vacation or sick time.

Scenario 7

One month after returning to work following her 6 weeks of disability leave, Jane finds herself struggling with having the energy to complete her work tasks and care for her children. Jane's son wakes during the night, leaving Jane trying to function in a demanding job while sleep-deprived.

She also sometimes comes home from work already exhausted and worries that she is not able to be at her best for her children. She is trying to decide whether to broach this issue with Mike. She sometimes even wonders whether it would be better for her and her family if she did not work.

Ethical Dilemmas: Jane would not want her work or her employees to suffer, but may worry that telling her supervisor she's struggling will create ill will or worse. Mike, who has been very supportive, may wish to be even more so, but may also begin to resent Jane if he believes enough has been done. That is, if Jane tells Mike she sometimes thinks about quitting, he may feel a bit betrayed because he has been so supportive and accommodating of Jane. The organization may acknowledge that parents of babies suffer a lack of sleep, but may not know what to do about the issue. Certainly, the company would not want to lose valuable employees and have to replace them, yet not know how to handle the work/life balance needs of its employees. Jane has a responsibility to perform all of her roles the best of her ability. Although Mike has given Jane a *voice* and been very supportive of her need to *balance* multiple responsibilities, Jane is afraid to say too much.

Solutions and Practical Implications

A number of work/life benefits and policies have been put in place by organizations to facilitate work/life balance. The business and ethical case for having these benefits and policies is clear. It is our view that individuals and organizations share the responsibility for finding a work/life balance. To date, empirical support regarding the effectiveness of these policies is mixed. One key factor is utilization – not everyone who has access to these benefits *uses* them. Organizations may need to do more to evaluate the reason for lack of utilization within their organization. For example, is it simply a lack of communication about the offerings? Do the offerings not meet employees' particular needs? Or is there a fear or concern about how they will be perceived by others if they take advantage of such programs? There are also many employees who lack options for benefits such as flexible work arrangements, paid parental leave, and paid sick time. In addition, it is necessary to establish and maintain an organizational culture that supports work/life balance. The organizational culture needs to support balance, and not just give lip service to the topic or offer benefits "in name only" that are not truly encouraged or supported by the organization. Senior level management should demonstrate positive examples of using these benefits. As we described earlier in this chapter, organizational, supervisor, and coworker support are absolutely critical to the success of work/life initiatives.

The good news is that we have some indications from empirical work regarding ways to improve work/life balance. Karasek's (1979) demand/control model of work stress purports that workers who have higher levels of control, discretion, or *autonomy* over their work can better cope with job demands and are less likely to experience strain. In addition to fostering organizational culture support for work/life balance, there are a number of additional organizational and job design implications, such that some jobs may need to be redesigned in ways to offer more autonomy and flexibility to employees. Batt and Valcour (2003) showed that flexibility of both work time and place (with the assistance of technology) increased perceived autonomy over work. However, their study also indicated that such flexibility was associated with higher work/family conflict. Further, the study showed that supportive supervision was related to both reduced work/family conflict and increased perceptions of autonomy. These findings underscore the idea that the effectiveness of work/life benefits is dependent upon many factors, and that the benefits cannot be offered without attention to the overall culture of the organization. Yet, these results also suggest that redesigning jobs to provide more autonomy could be an effective work/life initiative. Considering the case of Jane presented earlier, her job allowed for a good deal of flexibility in managing work and family issues, yet it did not negate the importance of having a

supportive supervisor like Mike. Further, the impact of the organizational strategy with regard to work/life benefits was highlighted by, for instance, the lack of attention to sick childcare in that case.

Increasing access to quality, affordable childcare is another way that organizations can improve work/life balance. In a study of working mothers, Poms, Botsford, Kaplan, Buffardi, and O'Brien (2009) found that financial considerations related to childcare were related to both satisfaction with childcare and job satisfaction, even after controlling for income. In addition, satisfaction with childcare was negatively related to work interfering with family. This suggests that for a working mother like Jane in our case above, work/life balance could be positively affected if an organization provides help with childcare. For instance, organizations might find ways to assist with the cost of childcare or might find it strategically beneficial and socially responsible to establish an on-site daycare that is very inexpensive or even free to employees.

Currently, many part-time positions do not offer the same benefits and other conditions that full-time positions do (Kropf, 2002; Tomlinson, 2006), which makes part-time work less desirable to some workers. Therefore, we recommend increasing the number of opportunities for part-time work, particularly in professional positions where fewer such positions seem to exist, while modifying the terms and conditions of those jobs to be more desirable to organizations and employees.

As described previously in this chapter, technology can serve as both a help and a hindrance. The degree to which technology may facilitate work/life balance seems to depend on whether the worker prefers to integrate work and nonwork domains or maintain a clear boundary between domains such that work happens only at work, and family and other nonwork domains are not handled at work. Additional research is needed to further determine when and how technology can both facilitate and interfere with individuals' abilities to achieve and maintain a balance between work and personal life.

We strongly advocate for effective assessment, measurement, and evaluation of work/life needs and initiatives. Specifically, human resources professionals within an organization should perform a needs assessment to first identify the work/life needs that its employees may have, seek employee *participation* to develop possible strategies for meeting those needs, and be sure to evaluate any new work/life benefits or policies that may be implemented. At the beginning of this chapter, we described some of the definitional challenges that research on work/life balance has faced – namely, that construct development and measurement has lagged behind popular interest in the topic of work/life balance. Carlson, Grzywacz, and Zivnuska (2009) were among the first to develop and validate a measure of work/life balance that differs from conflict and enhancement or enrichment. Many different measures of work/life conflict and enhancement have been developed and validated, including measures of work/family conflict and enrichment (Carlson et al., 2006) and work/personal life interference and enhancement (Fisher et al., 2009) to name just a couple. A detailed review of the measures is beyond the scope of this chapter. We encourage researchers to choose measures most appropriate for their research.

Concluding Thoughts

Linking work/life balance with organizational goals will be a strategic challenge for organizations. Despite that, we believe there is an ethical imperative for organizations to take up this challenge and make it clear to their employees that quality of life is a key factor in both individual and organizational well-being. As with most strategy initiatives, constructing the appropriate set of work/life benefits, clearly linking them with both individual and organizational performance, communicating the new status quo, and establishing a culture of support for balance will not be easy.

However, as we have discussed, the empirical literature offers clues for how to proceed. It may also be that, as recently suggested by President Barack Obama (2010), ensuring that "...our workplaces are mobile and flexible and accommodating enough to give people the opportunities they need to contribute and raise a family... (is) not just a work/family balance issue. It's an economic competitiveness issue."

References

- Allen, T. D. (2001). Family-supportive work environments: The role of organizational perceptions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 58*, 414–435.
- Allen, T. D., Herst, D. E. L., Bruck, C. S., & Sutton, M. (2000). Consequences associated with work-to-family conflict: A review and agenda for future research. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 5*, 278–308.
- Amstad, F. T., Meier, L. L., Fasel, R., Elfering, A., & Semmer, N. K. (2011). A meta-analysis of work-family conflict and various outcomes with a special emphasis on cross-domain versus matching-domain relations. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 16*, 151–169.
- Anderson, S. E., Coffey, B. S., & Byerly, R. T. (2002). Formal organizational initiatives and informal workplace practices: Links to work-family conflict and job-related outcomes. *Journal of Management, 28*, 787–810.
- Aycan, Z., & Eskin, M. (2005). Childcare, spousal, and organizational support in predicting work-family conflict for females and males in dual-earner families with preschool children. *Sex Roles, 53*, 453–471.
- Bailyn, L. (2005). Filling the gap by redesigning work. In S. M. Bianchi, L. M. Casper, & R. B. King (Eds.), *Work, family, health, and well-being* (pp. 133–140). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Batt, R., & Valcour, P. M. (2003). Human resources practices as predictors of work-family outcomes and employee turnover. *Industrial Relations, 42*, 189–220.
- Beauregard, T. A., & Henry, L. S. (2009). Making the link between work-life balance practices and organizational performance. *Human Resource Management Review, 19*, 9–22.
- Behson, S. J. (2005). The relative contribution of formal and informal organizational work-family support. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 66*, 487–500.
- Burke, R. J. (2006). Organizational culture: A key to the success of work-life integration. In F. Jones, R. J. Burke, & M. Westman (Eds.), *Work-life balance: A psychological perspective* (pp. 235–260). New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Carlson, D. S., Grzywacz, J. G., & Kacmar, K. M. (2010). The relationship of schedule flexibility and outcomes via the work-family interface. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 25*, 330–355.
- Carlson, D. S., Grzywacz, J. G., & Zivnuska, S. (2009). Is work-family balance more than conflict and enrichment? *Human Relations, 62*, 1459–1486.
- Carlson, D. S., Kacmar, K. M., Wayne, J. H., & Grzywacz, J. G. (2006). Measuring the positive side of the work-family work/family interface: Development and validation of a work-family enrichment scale. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 68*, 131–164.
- Cascio, W. F. (2000). *Costing human resources: The financial impact of behavior in organizations*. (4th ed.). Cincinnati, OH: South-Western College Publishing.
- Cascio, W. F., & Young, C. E. (2005). Work-family balance: Does the market reward firms that respect it? In D. F. Halpern & S. E. Murphy (Eds.), *From work-family balance to work-family interaction: Changing the metaphor* (pp. 49–63). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Casper, W. J., Weltman, D., & Kwesiga, E. (2007). Beyond family-friendly: The construct and measurement of singles-friendly work culture. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 70*, 478–501.
- Center for Creative Leadership. (2004). *Benchmarks facilitators manual: Version 3.0*. Greensboro, NC: Author.
- Chappell, D., Korabik, K., & McElwain, A. (2005, June). *Effects of gender role attitudes on work-family conflict and work-family guilt*. Poster presented at the Canadian Psychological Association, Montreal, Québec, Canada.
- Clark, S. C. (2000). Work-family border theory: A new theory of work-family balance. *Human Relations, 53*, 747–770.
- Clark, S. C. (2001). Work cultures and work/family balance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 58*, 348–365.
- Dijkers, J. S. E., Geurts, S. A. E., den Dulk, L., & Peper, B. (2001). Work-nonwork culture, utilization of work-nonwork arrangements, and employee-related outcomes in two Dutch organizations. In S. A. Y. Poelmans (Ed.), *Work and family: An international research perspective* (pp. 147–172). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Dorio, J. M., Bryant, R. H., & Allen, T. D. (2008). Work-related outcomes of the work-family interface: Why organizations should care. In K. Korabik & D. S. Lero (Eds.), *Handbook of work-family integration: Research, theory, and best practices* (pp. 157–176). Amsterdam: Academic Press.
- Eaton, S. C. (2003). If you can use them: Flexible policies, organizational commitment, and perceived performance. *Industrial Relations*, *42*, 145–167.
- Fisher, G. G. (2001). *Work/life balance: A construct development study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH.
- Fisher, G. G., Bulger, C. A., & Smith, C. S. (2009). Beyond work and family: A measure of work/nonwork interference and enhancement. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *14*, 441–456.
- Fletcher, J. K., & Bailyn, L. (2005). The equity imperative: Redesigning work for work-family integration. In E. E. Kossek & S. J. Lambert (Eds.), *Work and life integration: Organizational, cultural, and individual perspectives* (pp. 171–189). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Friedman, S. D. (2006). Learning to lead in all domains of life. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, *49*, 1270–1297.
- Frone, M. R. (2003). Work-family balance. In J. C. Quick & L. E. Tetrick (Eds.), *Handbook of occupational health psychology* (pp. 143–162). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Frone, M. R., Russell, M., & Cooper, M. L. (1992a). Prevalence of work family conflict: Are work and family boundaries asymmetrically permeable? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *13*, 723–729.
- Frone, M. R., Russell, M., & Cooper, M. L. (1992b). Antecedents and outcomes of work-family conflict: Testing a model of the work-family interface. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *77*, 65–78.
- Frone, M. R., Yardley, J. K., & Markel, K. S. (1997). Developing and testing an integrative model of the work-family interface. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *50*, 145–167.
- Frye, N. K., & Breaugh, J. A. (2004). Family-friendly policies, supervisor support, work-family conflict, family-work conflict, and satisfaction: A test of a conceptual model. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *19*, 197–220.
- Glass, J. (2004). Blessing or curse? Work-family policies and mother's wage growth over time. *Work and Occupations*, *31*, 367–394.
- Golden, L. (2001). Flexible work schedules: Which workers get them? *The American Behavioral Scientist*, *44*, 1157–1178.
- Grandey, A. A., Cordeiro, B. L., & Michael, J. H. (2007). Work-family supportiveness organizational perceptions: Important for the well-being of male blue-collar hourly workers? *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *71*, 460–478.
- Grandey, A. A., & Cropanzano, R. (1999). The conservation of resources model applied to work-family conflict and strain. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *54*, 350–370.
- Grawitch, M. J., Tares, S., & Kohler, J. M. (2007). Healthy workplace practices and employee outcomes. *International Journal of Stress Management*, *14*, 275–293.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Allen, T. D. (2006, March). *Work-family balance: Exploration of a concept*. Paper presented at the Families and Work Conference, Provo, UT.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Allen, T. D. (2011). Work-family balance: A review and extension of the literature. In J. C. Quick & L. E. Tetrick (Eds.), *Handbook of occupational health psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 165–183). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *The Academy of Management Review*, *10*, 76–88.
- Greenhaus, J. H., Collins, K. M., & Shaw, J. D. (2003). The relation between work-family balance and quality of life. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *63*, 510–531.
- Grosswald, B., Ragland, D., & Fisher, J. M. (2001). Critique of U.S. work/family programs and policies. *Journal of Progressive Human Services*, *12*, 53–81.
- Grzywacz, J. G., & Carlson, D. S. (2007). Conceptualizing work-family balance: Implications for practice and research. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *9*, 455–471.
- Hammer, L. B., Kossek, E. E., Yragui, N. L., Bodner, T. E., & Hanson, G. C. (2009). Development and validation of a multidimensional measure of family supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB). *Journal of Management*, *35*, 837–856.
- Hammer, L. B., & Neal, M. B. (2008). Sandwiched generation caregivers: Prevalence, characteristics, and outcomes. *The Psychologist-Manager Journal*, *11*, 93–112.
- Hemp, P. (2004). Presenteeism: At work – but out of it. *Harvard Business Review*, *82*, 49–58.
- Hilbrecht, M., Shaw, S. M., Johnson, L. C., & Andrey, J. (2008). 'I'm Home for the Kids': Contradictory implications for work-life balance of teleworking mothers. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *15*, 454–476.
- Hill, E. J., Hawkins, A. J., Ferris, M., & Weitzman, M. (2001). Finding an extra day a week: The positive influence of perceived job flexibility on work and family life balance. *Family Relations*, *50*, 49–58.
- Hobfoll, S. E. (1989). Conservation of resources: A new attempt at conceptualizing stress. *The American Psychologist*, *44*, 513–524.

- Hobson, C. J., Delunas, L., & Kesic, D. (2001). Compelling evidence of the need for corporate work/life balance initiatives: Results from a national survey of stressful life-events. *Journal of Employee Counseling, 38*, 38–44.
- Kahn, R. L., Wolfe, D. M., Quinn, R., Snoek, J. D., & Rosenthal, R. A. (1964). *Organizational stress*. New York: Wiley.
- Karasek, R. A. (1979). Job demands, job decision latitude, and mental strain: Implications for job redesign. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 24*, 285–308.
- Kelliher, C., & Anderson, D. (2010). Doing more with less? Flexible working practices and the intensification of work. *Human Relations, 63*, 83–106.
- Kirchmeyer, C. (2000). Work-life initiatives: Greed or benevolence regarding workers' time? In C. L. Cooper & D. M. Rousseau (Eds.), *Trends in organizational behavior* (Vol. 7, pp. 79–93). Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- Kopelman, R. E., Greenhaus, J. H., & Connolly, T. F. (1983). A model of work, family, and interrole conflict: A construct validation study. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 32*, 198–215.
- Kossek, E. E. (2005). Workplace policies and practices to support work and families. In S. M. Bianchi, L. M. Casper, & R. B. King (Eds.), *Work, family, health, and well-being* (pp. 97–115). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kossek, E. E., & Friede, A. (2006). The business case: Managerial perspectives on work and the family. In M. Pitt-Catsouphes, E. E. Kossek, & S. Sweet (Eds.), *The work and family handbook: Multi-disciplinary perspectives and approaches* (pp. 611–626). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kossek, E. E., Lautsch, B. A., & Eaton, S. C. (2006). Telecommuting, control, and boundary management: Correlates of policy use and practice, job control, and work-family effectiveness. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 68*, 347–367.
- Kossek, E. E., Lewis, S., & Hammer, L. B. (2010). Work-life initiatives and organizational change: Overcoming mixed messages to move from the margins to the mainstream. *Human Relations, 63*, 3–19.
- Kossek, E. E., & Ozeki, C. (1998). Work-family conflict, policies, and the job-life satisfaction relationship: A review and directions for organizational behavior-human resources research. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 83*, 139–149.
- Kossek, E. E., & Ozeki, C. (1999). Bridging the work-family policy and productivity gap: A literature review. *Community, Work, and Family, 2*, 7–32.
- Kropf, M. B. (2002). Reduced work arrangements for managers and professionals: A potential solution to conflicting demands. In D. L. Nelson & R. J. Burke (Eds.), *Gender work stress and health* (pp. 155–167). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Lambert, S. (1993). Workplace policies as social policy. *The Social Service Review, 67*, 237–260.
- LaPierre, L. M., & Allen, T. D. (2006). Work-supportive family, family-supportive supervision, use of organizational benefits, and problem-focused coping: Implications for work-family conflict and employee well-being. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 11*, 169–181.
- Lyness, K. S., & Judiesch, M. K. (2008). Can a manager have a life and a career? International and multisource perspectives on work-life balance and career advancement potential. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*, 789–805.
- MacEwen, K. E., & Barling, J. (1994). Daily consequences of work interference with family and family interference with work. *Work and Stress, 8*, 244–254.
- Major, D. A., & Germano, L. M. (2006). The changing nature of work and its impact on the work-home interface. In F. Jones, J. Burke, & M. Westman (Eds.), *Work-life balance: A psychological perspective* (pp. 13–38). Hove, UK: Psychology Press.
- Marks, S. R., & MacDermid, S. M. (1996). Multiple roles and the self: A theory of role balance. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 58*, 417–432.
- McNall, L. A., Masuda, A. D., & Nicklin, J. M. (2009). Flexible work arrangements, job satisfaction, and turnover intentions: The mediating role of work-to-family enrichment. *The Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied, 144*, 61–81.
- Mescher, S., Benschop, Y., & Doorewand, H. (2010). Representations of work-life balance support. *Human Relations, 63*, 21–39.
- Milliken, F. J., & Dunn-Jensen, L. M. (2005). The changing time demands of managerial and professional work: Implications for managing the work/life boundary. In E. E. Kossek & S. J. Lambert (Eds.), *Work and life integration: Organizational, cultural, and individual perspectives* (pp. 43–59). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Murphy, S. E., & Zagorski, D. A. (2005). Enhancing work-family and work-life interaction: The role of management. In D. F. Halpern & S. E. Murphy (Eds.), *From work-family balance to work-family interaction: Changing the metaphor* (pp. 27–47). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Neal, M. B., & Hammer, L. B. (2007). *Working couples caring for children and aging parents: Effects on work and well-being*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Nord, W. R., Fox, S., Phoenix, A., & Viano, K. (2002). Real-world reactions to work-life balance programs: Lessons for effective implementation. *Organizational Dynamics, 30*, 223–238.

- O'Driscoll, M. P., Poelmans, S., Spector, P. E., Kalliath, T., Allen, T. D., Cooper, C. L., et al. (2003). Family-responsive interventions, perceived organizational and supervisor support, work-family conflict, and psychological strain. *International Journal of Stress Management*, *10*, 326–344.
- Obama, B. (2010, October 5). *Speech given at the 2010 Fortune Most Powerful Women Summit*. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CJRgWuAwpE0>
- Parker, L., & Allen, T. D. (2001). Work/family benefits: Variables related to employees' fairness perception. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *58*, 453–468.
- Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. 42 U.S.C. §18001 (2010). <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-111publ148/html/PLAW-111publ148.htm>
- Perrewé, P. L., & Carlson, D. S. (2002). Do men and women benefit from social support equally? Results from a field examination within the work and family context. In D. L. Nelson & R. J. Burke (Eds.), *Gender work stress and health* (pp. 101–114). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Pitt-Catsouphes, M., & Googins, B. (2005). Recasting the work-family agenda as a corporate social responsibility. In E. E. Kossek & S. J. Lambert (Eds.), *Work and life integration: Organizational, cultural, and individual perspectives* (pp. 469–490). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Poms, L. W., Botsford, W. E., Kaplan, S. A., Buffardi, L. C., & O'Brien, A. S. (2009). The economic impact of work and family issues: Child care satisfaction and financial considerations of employed mothers. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *14*, 402–413.
- Rogers, A., & Spitzmueller, C. (2011, April). Life in the electronic age: Work–family integration and technology. In R. A. Matthews (Chair), *Work–family research is a theoretical? Not anymore: Advancements in boundary theory*. Symposium presented at the 26th Annual Conference of the Society for Industrial/Organizational Psychology, Chicago, IL.
- Rosin, H. M., & Korabik, K. (2002). Do family-friendly policies fulfill their promise? An investigation of their impact on work-family conflict and work and personal outcomes. In D. L. Nelson & R. J. Burke (Eds.), *Gender work stress and health* (pp. 211–226). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Rothbard, N. P., Phillips, K. W., & Dumas, T. L. (2005). Managing multiple roles: Work-family policies and individuals' desire for segmentation. *Organization Science*, *16*, 243–258.
- Shellenbarger, S. (1999, November 17). What job candidates really want to know: Will I have a life? *Wall Street Journal*. p. B1.
- Shockley, K. M., & Allen, T. D. (2007). When flexibility helps: Another look at the availability of flexible work arrangements and work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *71*, 479–493.
- Streich, M., Casper, W. J., & Salvaggio, A. N. (2008). Examining couple agreement about work-family conflict. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *23*, 252–272.
- Sturges, J. (2008). All in a day's work? Career self management and the management of the boundary between work and non-work. *Human Resource Management Journal*, *18*, 118–134.
- Sullivan, S. E., & Maineiro, L. A. (2007). Kaleidoscope careers: Benchmarking ideas for fostering family-friendly workplaces. *Organizational Dynamics*, *36*, 45–62.
- Sutton, K. L., & Noe, R. A. (2005). Family-friendly programs and work-life integration: More myth than magic? In E. E. Kossek & S. J. Lambert (Eds.), *Work and life integration: Organizational, cultural, and individual perspectives* (pp. 151–169). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Thompson, C. A., Andreassi, J. K., & Prottas, D. J. (2005). Work-family culture: Key to reducing workforce-workplace mismatch? In S. M. Bianchi, L. M. Casper, & R. B. King (Eds.), *Work, family, health, and well-being* (pp. 117–132). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Thompson, C. A., Jahn, E. W., Kopelman, R. E., & Prottas, D. J. (2004). Perceived organizational family support: A longitudinal and multilevel analysis. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, *16*, 545–565.
- Thompson, C. A., & Prottas, D. J. (2005). Relationships among organizational family support, job autonomy, perceived control, and employee well-being. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *10*, 100–118.
- Tomlinson, J. (2006). Women's work-life balance trajectories in the UK: Reformulating choice and constraint in transitions through part-time work across the life-course. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling*, *34*, 365–382.
- Tomlinson, J. (2007). Employment regulation, welfare and gender regimes: A comparative analysis of women's working-time patterns and work–life balance in the UK and the US. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *18*, 401–415.
- Towers, I., Duxbury, L., Higgins, C., & Thomas, J. (2006). Time thieves and space invaders: Technology, work, and the organization. *Journal of Organizational Change*, *19*, 593–618.
- Tremblay, D. G. (2003). Telework: A new mode of gendered segmentation? Results from a study in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, *28*, 461–478.
- US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010). *Employment status of the civilian noninstitutional population 16 years and over by sex, 1973 to date*. Retrieved from <ftp://ftp.bls.gov/pub/special.requests/lfi/aat2.txt>

- Väänänen, A., Kumpulainen, R., Kevin, M. V., Ala-Mursula, L., Kouvonen, A., Kivimäki, M., et al. (2008). Work-family characteristics as determinants of sickness absence: A large-scale cohort study of three occupational grades. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 13*, 181–196.
- Valcour, M. (2007). Work-based resources as moderators of the relationship between work hours and satisfaction with work-family balance. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 1512–1523.
- Voydanoff, P. (2005). Toward a conceptualization of perceived work-family fit and balance: A demands and resources approach. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 67*, 822–836.
- Watts, J. H. (2009). 'Allowed into a Man's World' meanings of work-life balance: Perspectives of women civil engineers as 'minority' workers in construction. *Gender, Work and Organization, 16*, 37–57.
- Wayne, J. H., Musisca, N., & Fleeson, W. (2004). Considering the role of personality in the work-family experience: Relationships of the big five to work-family conflict and facilitation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 64*, 108–130.
- Westman, M., & Etzion, D. (2005). The crossover of work-family conflict from one spouse to the other. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 35*, 1936–1957.
- Whyte, W. H., Jr. (1957). *The organization man*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- WorldatWork. (2005). *Flexible work schedules: A survey of members of WorldatWork and AWLP*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldatwork.org/pub/E157963FWS05.pdf>

Chapter 11

When Sending Flowers Is Not Enough: The Eldercare Dilemma in the Workplace

Carol F. Shoptaugh, Michelle E. Visio, and Jeanne A. Phelps

The impact of caregiving was played out in public in 2006 when United States Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor retired from the Court to care for her ailing husband, John O'Connor. Her husband was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease in 1990. As the disease progressed, Justice O'Connor brought her husband to work with her because he could not be left alone (Biskupic, 2008; Rosenberg & Conant, 2007). After retiring from the Court, Justice O'Connor planned to spend time with her husband, but his condition deteriorated rapidly, and she was forced to place him in a care center near their home in Phoenix, AZ. After placing him in a facility, retired Justice O'Connor split her time between Phoenix and Washington, DC where she continued to work on legal cases and public policy (Rosenberg & Conant, 2007). Her husband passed away in 2009.

This very public story is one that plays out in thousands of families every day. Unlike Justice O'Connor, many of these individuals do not have the flexibility to bring their spouse to work or the financial security to place their loved one in a care center close to home. Like Justice O'Connor, many find the burdens of caregiving so taxing, emotionally and physically, that they are left with few choices. Many who have years of productivity left to offer organizations leave employment behind to become full-time caregivers (Family Caregiver Alliance [FCA], 2011).

Eldercare, Prevalence, Costs, and Attitudes

Caregiving is defined as “the act of providing unpaid assistance and support to adult family members or acquaintances who have physical, psychological, or developmental needs” (Drentea, 2007, para 1). Drentea differentiated caregiving from parenting because it is outside the norm of expectations for older adults. Caregiving is multidimensional and fluid, with needs for various services constantly changing. Over time, caregivers may be called upon to provide a full range of support that encompasses emotional, instrumental, and informational dimensions. Listening, counseling, and providing companionship are common forms of emotional support. Instrumental support may encompass assistance with basic activities of daily living (ADLs), such as getting

C.F. Shoptaugh (✉) • M.E. Visio • J.A. Phelps
Department of Psychology Missouri State University, Springfield, MO, USA
e-mail: CarolShoptaugh@missouristate.edu

out of bed (reported by 40% of caregivers), feeding (19%), bathing (26%), toileting (24%), dressing (32%), and other personal care (National Alliance for Caregiving [NAC] & American Association of Retired Persons [AARP], 2009). Caregivers may also provide other kinds of instrumental support for ADLs, such as checking in with an aging parent, meal preparation, monitoring medications, managing money, shopping, driving to doctors' appointments, and helping with household chores. Informational support may take the form of gathering and explaining information about diseases, treatments, services, and benefits.

Eldercare responsibilities can range from occasional care to daily care responsibilities, and time involved in caregiving ranges from 3.5 to over 40 h a week (Wagner, 2003). Caregivers of adults spend on average approximately 19 h per week (NAC & AARP, 2009).

Seventy-nine percent of all caregivers are over the age of 50, and 48% are employee caregivers (MetLife, 2010). Additionally, 17% of employee caregivers are 18–39 years old, and 35% are ages 40–49 (MetLife, 2010).

Employers want to know how many employees are affected by eldercare concerns, and there have been attempts to collect this information. It is estimated that approximately 21–25% of adults in the USA have some level of caregiving responsibilities (NAC & AARP, 2004, 2009; Rose, 2006), and approximately 2% have primary care responsibilities. Further, close to 60% of caregivers hold full or part-time jobs (NAC & AARP, 2004). Research by Shoptaugh, Phelps, and Visio (2004) suggested that approximately 5% of the workforce has eldercare responsibilities. Pearce and Kuhn (2009) reported that by 2020, the number of workers with eldercare responsibilities will reach 40%. Eighty-three percent of caregivers are caring for a relative (MetLife, 2010). Eldercare is clearly a family responsibility that places difficult choices on a large number of workers and has become a recognized workplace issue over the last 20 years. Although the number of workers who have eldercare responsibilities continues to be debated, and is likely due to how eldercare is defined (Shoptaugh et al., 2004), no one argues that as life expectancy increases, the number of employees faced with caring for an elderly family member also increases and that these responsibilities have individual and organizational consequences.

Galinsky, Bond, Sakai, Kim, and Giutoli (2008) reported that there has been a 16% increase (39% vs. 23%) in employer-provided information about eldercare services. Pearce and Kuhn (2009) cited a 2006 press release from LTC Financial Partners LLC, a long-term care insurance brokerage, in which a Vice President of Development is quoted: "Workers are more concerned with caring for a parent than a child... with 77 million Baby Boomers set to retire, an ever greater percentage of workers will be distracted by elder-care needs.... The childcare crisis was solved by day care centers, flextime and such. Now we need to face the long term healthcare crisis" (p. 1,323). Stebbins (2001) stated that "families will soon spend more time caring for elderly parents than for children" (p. 40).

Caregiver Consequences

Under the best circumstances, caring for an aging parent or spouse is fraught with negative emotions. Becoming someone's caregiver brings many unwelcome changes, most notably a change in role. One moves from being someone's daughter, son, spouse, or partner to someone's caregiver daughter, son, spouse, or partner. We take on decision-making responsibilities for someone who once made decisions for us or with us. We move into uncharted waters. Am I doing the right "thing"? Should I be doing more? Why do I lose my temper when I know the person I am caring for is not responsible for their illness or its symptoms? Caregivers take on a tremendous burden that can cause feelings of guilt, resentment, anger, worry, loneliness, grief, and/or defensiveness (Spencer, 2011). Add work responsibilities to caregiving and interrole conflict and overload are predictable consequences.

Juggling full-time job responsibilities and eldercare responsibilities is a balancing act associated with a range of individual consequences including higher levels of stress, role conflict, interrole conflict, role strain, and job overload (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Barling, MacEwen, Kelloway, & Higginbottom, 1994; Beitman et al., 2004; Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1994); greater health risk behaviors (e.g., alcohol or drug use, poor sleep habits, poor nutrition); poorer emotional health, for example, depression and anxiety (Bookwala, Yee, & Schulz, 2000; Lee, Walker, & Shoup, 2001; Suchulz & Beach, 1999); and an increase in worker's susceptibility to physical illness, including hypertension, pulmonary disease, cancer, cardiovascular disease, and other conditions (Barling et al., 1994; Gottlieb et al., 1994; MetLife, 2010). In fact, the proportional increase in medical costs for white-collar caregivers is 7.1% and 10.9% for blue-collar workers (MetLife, 2010).

Although workers with either childcare or eldercare responsibilities report interrole conflict, there appears to be a qualitative difference in how that conflict is experienced. A truly interesting finding is that workers with eldercare responsibilities perceive family interfering with work (FIW), while those with childcare perceive work interfering with family (WIF) (Shoptaugh et al., 2004). Employee caregivers experience conflict about leaving the care recipient and for missing more work and being less productive (Spencer, 2011).

Organizational Consequences

Employees who have eldercare responsibilities are faced with workday interruptions (Reid, Stajduhar, & Chappell, 2010), the occasional care crisis (e.g., hired day help does not arrive, the care recipient needs immediate medical attention, etc.), and are forced to miss work, reduce work time from full- to part-time employment, take unpaid leave, and in extreme cases quit their organizations due to caregiving (Johnson & Lo Sasso, 2006). In fact, Johnson and Lo Sasso (2006, p. 206) stated that "providing care to elderly parents may be incompatible with full-time employment at midlife" for women ages 55–67. These individual consequences have staggering costs for employers. MetLife Mature Market Institute in cooperation with the National Alliance for Caregiving reported that total costs to the organization due to "full-time caregiving" were \$2,110 per employee caregiver or over \$33 billion annually (MetLife, 2006). Replacement costs associated with the 9% of employees who left these workplaces were reported to be over \$6 billion (MetLife, 2006). The number of employees who leave to meet these responsibilities will continue to increase if creative solutions are not initiated. Family Caregiver Alliance (FCA) (2011) reports that 12% of workers with eldercare quit their jobs to become full-time care providers.

Organizational Attitudes

Employers generally believe that programs which assist employees with eldercare responsibilities are beneficial in recruiting and retaining employees (Burke, 2003). Twenty-five percent of employee respondents in this survey indicated that their organization had eldercare benefits, and 6% reported that their organization had specific eldercare policies (Burke, 2003). Not surprisingly, in the same survey, Burke reported that 75% of respondents reported that their organization made exceptions to formal policies to assist employees with eldercare responsibilities. The most commonly reported exceptions included unpaid leave options beyond the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA), employee assistance programs for counseling and support of caregivers, flexible spending accounts, paid sick leave for eldercare issues, and flextime for eldercare reasons.

A 2007 Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM) benefits survey reported that 11% of employers offer elder care leave above FMLA, 22% offer referral services, 76% offer flexible spending accounts, 58% offer flextime, and 4% offer emergency eldercare services (Society for Human Resource Management, 2007).

Although there is little disagreement in the literature that eldercare responsibilities have an impact on employees and organizations, there is limited research on employer's perception of eldercare programs and employees with eldercare responsibilities (Dembe, Dugan, Muschler, & Piktialis, 2008). Dembe et al. examined organizations' perceptions of eldercare programs as an initial step in determining attitudes and costs of eldercare programs. Consistent with the SHRM data (Burke, 2003; Society for Human Resource Management, 2007), most large organizations offered some type of eldercare benefits and reported positive organizational outcomes, including reduction of absenteeism and employee stress, improved recruitment and retention, and increased productivity (Dembe et al.).

Sixty percent of 118 respondents to a survey of Hawaii employers felt employers should provide eldercare benefits for employees with eldercare responsibilities (Lum, Arnsberger, Sur, Blumhardt, & Nagatoshi, 2007). Approximately 49% believed that cost was a barrier to offering eldercare benefits, 26% of employers felt that covering employees' time was an issue, and finally, 26% reported that eldercare was not a relevant issue (Lum et al.). Katz, Lowenstein, Prilutzky, and Halperin (2011) reported that Israel employers' attitudes were divided on developing and establishing eldercare policies and programs. While this study sampled only 13 employers, seven of the employers were opposed to these policies and programs and felt that eldercare issues were personal, not social or organizational. Further, many organizations perceive the costs associated with eldercare benefits would be prohibitive (Burke, 2003; Dembe et al., 2008; Katz et al., 2011; Society for Human Resource Management, 2007).

Attitudes toward eldercare benefits appear mixed despite employer consensus concerning increasing need and recognition of employee and organizational costs associated with eldercare responsibilities in working care givers. Monetary costs associated with these programs and a belief that eldercare is not an organizational issue appear to be key reasons for organizational hesitancy. Although we did not find any research on employer attitudes about the fairness of these programs, underlying ethical issues might be behind some organizational reticence.

Ethical Issues and Eldercare

When trying to apply the five general principles of ethical practice of psychology in organizations to the issue of eldercare, we were stymied. The authors are trained in industrial and organizational psychology (I-O), and this area does not fit neatly into our ethical framework. It was not Principle A: Beneficence and Nonmaleficence, Principle B: Fidelity and Responsibility, nor was it Principle C: Integrity. Although you could loosely argue that not meeting workers' eldercare needs could violate Principle E: Respect for People's Rights and Dignity, this seemed a bit of a stretch. We did feel that I-O practitioners and organizations would face issues that raised ethical dilemmas with Principle D: Justice, when dealing with the needs of employees who provide care to elderly family members.

According to the Ethical Principles of Psychologists (American Psychological Association, 2002), Principle D: Justice requires:

Psychologists recognize that fairness and justice entitle all persons to access to and benefit from the contributions of psychology and to equal quality in the processes, procedures, and services being conducted by psychologists. Psychologists exercise reasonable judgment and take precautions to ensure that their potential biases, the boundaries of their competence, and the limitations of their expertise do not lead to or condone unjust practices. (p. 3)

We pondered whether providing various eldercare benefits for those employees who need such benefits were fair to those employees who did not have eldercare responsibilities. When we raised the issue with colleagues, some argued this was a moral issue not an ethical practice issue. We disagree and will explore the conflicts that eldercare creates for workers and organizations.

Although it is reasonable to argue that the moral imperative applies equally to psychologists, employers, and employees, the ethical frameworks of these constituencies will vary, and the construct of justice will have varying meanings for each. From an organization's perspective, justice can easily be defined as abiding by Fair Employment Laws. By rigidly adhering to these laws, employers will treat employees "equal" in terms, conditions, and privileges of employment, and the organization is defended against litigation. While these laws are intended to eliminate discrimination, they raise several questions for organizations, the most obvious of which "Is equal always fair?"

Justice: Is Equal Always Fair?

James Autry (1991) passionately argued for organizations to abandon the notion that no one should get special treatment. In his book, he distinguishes between favoritism and discrimination, and the special treatment that involves a manager's best judgment and a "willingness to bend the rules" to accommodate employee needs. This is a bold statement that flies in the face of fair employment practices that espouse that fair treatment is equal treatment in employment decisions that impact any terms or conditions of employment, including all benefits and leave.

Everyone knows that employees are treated differently. We research the issues and problems associated with in-groups and out-groups, but what we frequently ignore are the differences in treatment that occur as a function of simply "liking" an individual and more troubling ethically, an individual's level within an organization. White-collar workers, for example, professionals, executives, and mid-level managers, have positions that offer considerable autonomy. In many cases, they can choose to alter their workday, work from home, take hours away from work, answer phone calls, and deal with interruptions from home and care providers. All of these are conditions of employment that are not offered to workers at other levels of the organization. We would like to illustrate this justice dilemma by presenting two scenarios and a discussion of workplace interventions and programs that reduce stressors associated with working and providing care but may be differentially available.

Scenario 1: Joanne

Joanne is a 50-year-old internal human resources consultant who works with a team of professionals charged with developing selection, performance appraisal, and training systems. Her job involves determining job requirements for classification, selection, placement, performance appraisal, training, and other personnel functions (O*Net OnLine, 2011a). In addition, she surveys employees, analyzes data, and produces interpretive reports. She works for a large agency and is the primary caregiver for her 84-year-old father and her 82-year-old mother. Her father is frail, and her mother has dementia. Both of her parents live in the family home. After her mother's diagnosis, Joanne recognized that her father could not serve as the sole caretaker of his wife. He had relied on Joanne's mother to take care of him and was experiencing anxiety dealing with his wife's dementia. A friend suggested to Joanne that it may be time to place her mother in a care center. Joanne discussed it with her father, and he was adamantly against it. He believed he would be abandoning his wife.

After her father refused to place his wife in a care facility, Joanne moved back into the family home to take care of her parents. Like other caregivers, Joanne was troubled by the changes she saw in her parents. The demands of cooking, cleaning, and helping her parents with their daily needs left her exhausted. She was preoccupied at work. She has trouble concentrating in meetings. She was often late to work or left work early to run errands for her parents, take care of an emergency at home, or take one or both parents to a doctor's appointment. She worried that she was neglecting her work. She was concerned that others at work may perceive her as not committed to her work and her work group. Despite the distractions, her boss rated her overall performance as exceptional and even commented on how well she was handling the demands of work and home.

Because Joanne worked in human resources, she was well aware of the benefits available to working caregivers. She knew her job was suitable for telework, which is using technology to work from home. She also knew that she could work on a flexible schedule; in other words, she did not have to be available between certain hours on set days. She could work in the evenings or on the weekend, if she wanted. Joanne discussed it with her supervisor, and she started working from home 3 days a week. Joanne thought working from home would alleviate the strain she felt, but she has a difficult time stepping away from work after she has put in a full day. She also feels isolated because she has fewer opportunities to interact with others.

Scenario 2: Emily

Emily is an administrative assistant at the same large agency where Joanne works; in fact, she reports to the same supervisor. Her position involves providing support to the unit by gathering information, preparing reports and invoices, handling informational requests, and performing clerical and some reception functions (O*Net OnLine, 2011b). Emily has similar caregiving circumstances as Joanne. Her 73-year-old mother has mild dementia and still lives at home. Her father died 10 years ago. Like Joanne, Emily moved back home to care for her mother.

Before Emily leaves for work, she bathes her mother and helps her dress. She prepares breakfast and lunch for her mother. Emily calls her mother several times a day to check on her. Emily uses paid sick leave or paid vacation days to take her mother to doctors' appointments. When those options are depleted, Emily takes time off without pay. On her last performance appraisal, she was rated lower than in the past on "overall" performance despite maintaining high levels of performance on specific job tasks.

Emily worries about her mother's safety at home alone. Because she is preoccupied, she often makes errors and has to do the work over. She arrives late to work several times a month. She neglects her own health, and she has not seen her primary care physician since moving back home with her mother.

Because of several incidents, Emily decided that it was too dangerous to leave her mother unattended during the day. Through her office, she found an adult daycare for her mother. However, Medicare does not cover the cost of adult daycare, and it is difficult for Emily to afford the service. Emily has to leave her home an hour earlier to take her mother to the center, and it takes her an hour longer to arrive home at night because she picks her mother up.

Emily asked her supervisor if she could telework 2 days a week so she could stay home with her mother. This would also help Emily financially because she would not be using the adult daycare every day of the work week. Her supervisor denied her request. She told Emily that her job required her to be physically present in the office to answer the phone and assist others. Emily asked her supervisor if there were other programs that may help her balance her work and caregiving duties, such as flextime. So far, her supervisor has been unable to find a program to help Emily.

The difference in attitude and treatment of Joanne and Emily are clear despite working in the same office and organization. Joanne's position allows her to work from home 3 days a week with no change in compensation or benefits, whereas Emily is expected to be at her desk from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday. In some cases, essential functions of the job dictate the need to be physically on-site. If, for example, Emily were a nurse, it would be impossible for her to serve patients from her own home. Emily's employer argued that her clerical work or ability to answer the office telephone cannot be completed from home, and both are essential functions of her job. But is that true? Call forwarding is a common service that many of us have on our home telephone; why not from work? Programs like Skype, SightSpeed, Google Talk, iChat, and others allow users to voice and video call and/or videoconference PC to PC. Is this really substantially different from being in the outer office? We argue that much of what Emily does could be done from home, and her request for telecommuting could be as easily accommodated as Joanne's.

Benefits, Interventions, and Programs

This section will examine benefits interventions and programs that could, if available, benefit workers with eldercare responsibilities. As you read through them, we ask you to think about those that are available to all employees and those that might be less fairly distributed.

Laws and Required Benefits

The Older Americans Act

The Older Americans Act (OAA) of 1965 and its 2000 and 2006 amendments were aimed at providing community level programs to meet the needs of our aging population. The act is considered by the Administration on Aging (Administration on Aging, 2011) to be integral to the organization and delivery of social and nutritional services. The stated purpose of the act was "To provide assistance in the development of new or improved programs to help older persons through grants to the States of community planning and services and for training, through research, development, or training project grants, and to establish within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an operating agency to be designed as the "Administration on Aging" (Committee on Education and Labor US House of Representatives, 1986, p. 8)." While it is certainly helpful to the working caregiver to have these services available, programs associated with this act are inadequate and lack adequate funding (Koerin, Harrigan, & Secret, 2008).

Family Medical Leave Act

The program that most directly influences the workplace and is administered by employers is FMLA. FMLA became effective in 1993 and protects employee's jobs and benefits for 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the care of a seriously ill family member. FMLA covers public and private sector employers with 50 or more employees. To be eligible, an employee must have worked for a minimum of 1 year, been on the payroll for 20 or more weeks, and worked a minimum of 1,250 h during the 12 months prior to taking their FMLA leave. An individual is entitled to take FMLA leave to care for an immediate family member with a serious health condition. Note an

immediate family member includes an employee's spouse, child, or parent but does not include a parent-in-law, sibling, or grandparent. Many employees cannot take advantage of this act because of the size of their organization or because the person for whom they provide care does not qualify as a relative as defined by the act. Additionally, many individuals cannot afford to lose the income associated with unpaid leave.

These laws are an integral component of meeting the needs of working caregivers; however, these individuals are likely to need more support than is mandated in either of these acts or their amendments. These employees need information about services, support from supervisors and coworkers, organizational flexibility, and well-thought-out benefits.

Employee Benefits, Program, and Organizational Policies

Organizational Support and Flexibility

Zacher and Winter (2011) found high levels of perceived organizational eldercare support buffered the relationship between eldercare demands and subsequent strain from elder caregiving. In addition, they found high levels of perceived organizational eldercare support increased work engagement for those with elder care responsibilities.

Workers with eldercare benefit greatly when their employing organizations are flexible. Wagner (2003) stated that "Policies regarding flexible hours and time off are the most important support an employer can provide caregivers, and the one benefit that helps all employees, regardless of their age or family situation" (p. 6). Specifically, caregivers may need flexible work arrangements such as coming to work late and/or leaving early, working from home, shift exchanging on an as-needed basis, or job sharing. Caregivers also need the flexibility to use personal days, family illness days, sick days, leaves of absence, and/or employee leave sharing (Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services, 2004; Family Caregiver Alliance [FCA], 2011; Wagner, 2003). Flexible scheduling is reported to improve workplace outcomes, including job performance, tardiness rates, turnover rates, and job satisfaction (FCA, 2011).

The need for flexibility goes beyond work scheduling. Arrangements that accommodate caregiving employees can be quite broad in scope. For example, workers with eldercare responsibilities need the flexibility to refuse time sensitive assignments, overtime, workplace-related travel, and/or new job assignments or relocations (Wagner, 2003). Without these options, care providers may be forced to leave their organizations.

Phased retirement plans may benefit caregivers. Similar to part-time and job sharing, phased retirement involves workers near or past retirement age working reduced hours or days, and eventually transitioning to full-time retirement. Some organizations use this as a means of retaining skilled workers at a reduced cost, while simultaneously preparing an employee's replacement.

Policies and Benefits

Supportive policies that allow workers to use paid sick leave or paid family leave are the type of family-friendly initiatives that are especially useful to workers with eldercare responsibilities (Breugh & Frye, 2008). The FCA (2011) suggests cafeteria-style employee benefits that allow employees to select supplemental dependent care coverage to reimburse costs for in-home care or adult day care can reduce some of the financial stress associated with elder needs. Flexible spending and dependent care accounts for caregivers, cash subsidies for services for older

relatives, assistance developing care plans tailored to the needs of the elder, and other insurance options (e.g., hospice inclusion in company-sponsored health insurance) can all ease the burdens associated with eldercare. For those long-distance caregivers, travel discounts and use of employer travel miles can reduce the financial burden associated with caregiving. The question raised by many of these cafeteria choices concerns their impact on other workers. For example, do organizations also allow cash subsidies for childcare, assistance for individual financial planning, or insurance options for non-eldercare needs? Can other employees use employer travel miles to visit family or friends? If not, these benefits are likely to be viewed as unfair by those who do not have eldercare concerns and may raise the question of trammeling the rights of others. Additionally, the organizational costs of some of these initiatives could be prohibitive for many organizations to consider.

Eldercare Programs

Workplace eldercare programs are largely informational and referral in nature. The first of these programs appeared in the mid-1980s in pacesetter organizations like Hallmark, IBM, and Herman Miller (Wagner, 2003). Today, workplace programs continue to be unavailable to most employees. Only 25% of employers with 100 or more employees report having formal eldercare programs, and formal programs are even rarer among smaller employers (Wagner, 2003).

Work wellness programs, employee assistance programs (EAP), and human resources (HR) departments can all provide information and fact sheets that are useful to workers with eldercare responsibilities. These departments can provide printed materials, video materials, and lending libraries that provide valuable information on-site. Some employers print contact information in employee newsletters and establish a telephone hotline that answers employees' questions about eldercare resources, services, and programs.

Working caregivers frequently need access to direct eldercare services including adult daycare, despite care services or home healthcare providers. Community information and referral services, useful internet sites, and other community resources that have been vetted and found to be reliable, ethical, and safe can save a caregiver an enormous amount of investigative time, reduce stress, and increase productivity.

Legal and Financial Advice

Additionally, employees dealing with eldercare issues also find themselves faced with difficult legal and financial issues. Organizations can provide access to financial planning and legal services; dependent life insurance; long-term care insurance for spouse, parents, and parents-in-law; flexible spending accounts; and access to private long-term care insurance coverage for employees and family members. These benefits, even when available, can be extremely costly to employees and also to organizations, raising the questions: (a) which and how many employees are likely to benefit from these programs, and (b) will employees at all levels of the organization be able to take advantage equally?

Most employees would likely benefit from legal and financial advice, particularly in challenging economic times. One way to accomplish this is through caregiver fairs. Company caregiver fairs, like workplace wellness fairs, are a great way to bring resources to employees. Caregiver fairs can bring speakers, agencies, and providers to the workplace. This solution gives employees access to the local agency on aging, hospitals, senior centers, faith-based organizations, disease-related organizations, legal aid, local hospice organizations, home health programs, home-delivered

meals programs, and other useful services. Sponsoring brown-bag lunchtime seminars on issues relevant to eldercare sends the message that employee issues are workplace issues.

Workers with eldercare responsibilities report higher levels of stress and depression. Benefits that cover psychological counseling to help caregivers better cope with their stresses can be offered through employee assistance programs (EAPs). The FCA (2011) suggested that in-house caregiver support groups or support groups managed by hospitals or community groups can be a valuable benefit.

Care Teams/Circles of Care

One final intervention stems from the care team model proposed by the Care Team Network at the University of Alabama. A care team is a group of 6–15 volunteers, typically friends and associates of a caregiver, who work together as a team to help meet the needs of the caregiver. These teams form and provide only services requested by the caregiver. Like other teams, these individuals need to commit to working together toward a common goal. This goal is typically to offer practical, emotional, and/or spiritual support to individuals and families with healthcare concerns or other special needs (Care Team Network, 2002). Teams do not provide financial assistance or provide nursing tasks. What they do is meet for 1 h each month to discuss their experiences supporting the caregiver and family, discuss issues, and coordinate time and tasks for the next month. Care team members can join or leave a team at any time and provide only services they desire to provide. These services will vary based upon caregiver needs but could include providing transportation to a doctor's appointment, running errands, helping with household tasks, staying with the care recipient for an hour or two to offer a respite for the caregiver, or just meeting and talking with the caregiver.

Although not widely accepted or used in the workplace, workplace care teams can offer the above services and additionally may take over some job responsibilities, such as completing a report, attending a meeting in the place of a coworker, answer coworkers phones, etc. For this to work in an organization, care teams need to be supported by management and available to those who need the support. The first author worked with two organizations that "informally" adopted this approach: one public, one private. In both cases, an employee was caring for a spouse suffering from a terminal but protracted illness. In both cases, the care teams were composed of a combination of coworkers and friends and extended family members not associated with the organization. In one organization, the care team leader was the individual's supervisor and in the other a close friend. In both situations, the organization provided an hour a month for the care team to meet, discuss, and plan. In both cases, the employee was given a considerable amount of flexibility at work, including flexible hours scheduling, working from home on "bad" days, and ability to take paid vacation and holidays as needed. In one case, coworkers were able to donate a proportion of their vacation and sick days to their coworker. In one organization, eight of the team members worked 1 h extra each day and donated those working hours, which gave the working caregiver a 4-day work week. As an advisor to these teams, the first author attended meetings and carefully monitored both what they were providing and the degree of burden they reported feeling. Because individuals were each only providing an hour or two of service to their coworker, no one reported feeling impinged upon. This is surprising, given each team was in existence for over a year. One of the caregivers did take advantage of FMLA in the final months of his wife's life. The care team's existence allowed both working caregivers to remain employed, which would not have been possible without the support. Clearly, these were success stories for the employees and the organization.

Concluding Thoughts

All of these benefits, interventions, and programs will be useful to working caregivers; however, organizations must realize that underlying culture and perceptions of justice will determine how successful they will be. Organizations with eldercare programs send a message to their employees that they care about them and their families, but employees are unlikely to use programs unless there is a work-family culture that respects employees' nonwork lives and responsibilities (Thompson, Andreassi, & Protta, 2004). Organizations with strong work-family cultures will support employees' use of programs and, as a result, will foster committed and satisfied employees. On the other hand, if there are strong norms for a physical presence at work and for working long hours, employees will be less likely to use the programs (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2002). Organizations will have wasted time, money, and energy implementing programs that will not be used because the culture of the organization is perceived as unsupportive (Thompson et al.).

An organization's culture will be directly reflected in the attitudes of supervisors and managers. Organizations with strong work-family cultures will have supervisors who are supportive of eldercare programs. If supervisors are not supportive, employees will be reluctant to use the programs because they fear negative consequences, such as receiving fewer salary increases or being passed over for promotions (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2002). Singleton (2004) reported that supervisor support was a significant predictor of employees using company benefits for elder caregiving.

Care teams, while an interesting and potentially useful program for organizations, illuminate many of the underlying justice concerns inherent in a system that may be unequally distributed. Neither organization described previously in the section on care teams actually formalized this program; rather, they supported a grass-root employee-generated activity. Both organizations bent rules – neither company had a policy concerning donating sick or vacation days or working additional hours for someone else. Management in both organizations felt that care teams could be an administrative “quagmire” and could lead to litigation. Formalizing the program would mean that it would be available to all employees. What if no wanted to participate in a care team? What would the organization do then?

It appears on the surface that employee benefits and programs offered through HR or wellness programs are free from justice concerns; however, just below that surface lurks the truth. Even in organizations with eldercare-friendly policies, those policies may not be available to all employees at all levels of the organization. Further, since flexibility is the key to successful continuation of work while providing eldercare, supervisory discretion is fundamental in translating policy into practice. Finally, how well liked someone is will likely determine how far supervisors and coworkers are willing to go to ensure that a working caregiver can remain employed. We believe that most managers will require training to recognize the ethical dilemmas that may be raised by eldercare-friendly decision-making. Although we support and encourage eldercare-friendly organizational policies and programs and believe they will produce positive organizational outcomes, we want to leave readers and managers with the caveat – meeting the needs of any one group of employees at the burden of others is not appropriate and, in the long term, may produce just as many negative consequences as failing to consider the needs of the working eldercare provider. Like most ethical dilemmas, the solutions are not one-size fits; all and each decision must be carefully examined. It is safe and easy for organizations to make token gestures – such as sending flowers – in times of trouble, but wise organizations will go beyond token gestures to a real and thoughtful consideration of the realities of their employees' lives.

References

- Administration on Aging. (2011). *Older Americans Act*. Retrieved May, 2011 from http://www.aoa.gov/aoaroot/aoa_programs/oaa/index.aspx
- Allen, T. D., Herst, D. E., Bruck, C. S., & Sutton, M. (2000). Consequences associated with work-to-family conflict: A review and agenda for future research. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 5*, 278–308. doi:10.1037/1076-8998.5.2.278.
- American Psychological Association. (2002). *American Psychological Association: Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct*. Retrieved May 1, 2011, from <http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx>
- Autry, J. (1991). *Love and profit: The art of caring leadership*. New York: Harper Collins Publisher Inc.
- Barling, J., MacEwen, K. E., Kelloway, K., & Higginbottom, S. F. (1994). Predictors and outcomes of elder-care-based interrole conflict. *Psychology and Aging, 9*(3), 391–397.
- Beitman, C. L., Johnson, J. L., Clark, A. L., Higsmitth, S. R., Burgess, A. L., Minor, M. C., & Stir, A. L. (2004). Caregiver role strain of older workers. *Work, 22*, 99–106.
- Biskupic, J. (2008, May 14). O'Connor takes private ordeal public. *USA Today*. Retrieved from EBSCOhost.
- Blair-Loy, M., & Wharton, A. S. (2002). Employees' use of work-family policies and the workplace social context. *Social Forces, 80*(3), 813–845. doi:10.1353/sof.2002.0002.
- Bookwala, J., Yee, J. L., & Schulz, R. (2000). Caregiving and detrimental mental and physical health outcomes. In G. M. Williamson, D. R. Shaffer, & P. A. Parmelee (Eds.), *Physical illness and depression in older adults: A handbook of theory, research, and practice*. New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Breagh, J. A., & Frye, N. (2008). Work-family conflict: The importance of family-friendly employment practices and family-supportive supervisors. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 22*(4), 345–353. doi:10.1007/s10869-008-9081-1.
- Burke, M. E. (2003). *SHRM 2003 Eldercare survey*. Alexandria, VA: Society for Human Resource Management.
- Care Team Network. (2002). *Care team leadership training conference guidebook*. Birmingham, AL: The Care Team Network at The University of Alabama at Birmingham.
- Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services. (2004). *When employees become caregivers: A manager's workbook*. Washington, DC: Department of Health and Human Services. Retrieved from <http://www.dfwbgh.org/documents/Caregiver.pdf>
- Committee on Education and Labor US House of Representatives. (1986). *Compilation of the Older Americans Act of 1965 and related provisions of law as amended through September 30, 1986* (Serial No. 99–H). Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED273870.pdf>
- Dembe, A. E., Dugan, E., Muschler, P., & Piktialis, D. (2008). Employer perceptions of elder care assistance programs. *Journal of Workplace Behavioral Health, 23*(4), 359–379.
- Drentea, P. (2007). Caregiving. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Blackwell Publishing. Retrieved May 18, 2011, from http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_chunk_g97814051243319_ss1-7
- Family Caregiver Alliance (FCA). (2011). *Work and eldercare* [Online Fact Sheet]. Retrieved from http://caregiver.org/caregiver/jsp/content_node.jsp?nodeid=413
- Galinsky, E., Bond, J. T., Sakai, K., Kim, S. S., & Giutoli, N. (2008). *2008 National study of employers*. Retrieved May 1, 2011, from <http://familiesandwork.org/site/research/reports/2008nse.pdf>
- Gottlieb, B. H., Kelloway, E. K., & Fraboni, M. (1994). Aspects of eldercare that place employees at risk. *The Gerontologist, 34*(6), 815–821.
- Johnson, R. W., & Lo Sasso, A. T. (2006). The impact of elder care on women's labor supply. *Inquiry, 43*, 195–210. doi:0046-9580/06/4303-0195.
- Katz, R., Lowenstein, A., Prilutzky, D., & Halperin, D. (2011). Employers' knowledge and attitudes regarding organizational policy toward workers caring for aging family members. *Journal of Aging & Social Policy, 23*, 159–181.
- Koerin, B. B., Harrigan, M. P., & Secret, M. (2008). Eldercare and employed caregivers: A public/private responsibility? *Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 51*(1/2), 143–161. doi:10.1080/01634370801967612.
- Lee, J. A., Walker, M., & Shoup, R. (2001). Balancing eldercare responsibilities and work: The impact on emotional health. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 16*(2), 277–289.
- Lum, W., Arnsberger, P., Sur, J., Blumhardt, F., & Nagatoshi, C. (2007). *Eldercare policies in the workplace results of a survey conducted in 2007*. Honolulu, HI: State of Hawaii Department of Health Executive Office on Aging. Retrieved May, 2011, from <http://hawaii.gov/health/ea/Docs/E.pdf>
- MetLife (2006). *The MetLife caregiving cost study: Productivity losses to U.S. business*. MetLife Market Institute and the National Alliance for Caregiving. Report retrieved May 1, 2011, from <http://www.caregiving.org/data/Caregiver%20Cost%20Study.pdf>

- MetLife (2010). *The MetLife study of working caregivers and employer health care costs*. MetLife Mature Market Institute, National Alliance for Caregiving and University of Pittsburgh Institute on Aging. Report retrieved May 1, 2011, from <http://www.metlife.com/assets/cao/mmi/publications/studies/2010/mmi-working-caregivers-employers-health-care-costs.pdf>
- National Alliance for Caregiving (NAC) and American Association of Retired Persons (AARP). (2004). *Caregiving in the U.S. Funded by the MetLife Foundation*. Retrieved May, 2011, from <http://www.caregiving.org/data/04finalreport.pdf>
- National Alliance for Caregiving (NAC) and American Association of Retired Persons (AARP). (2009). *Caregiving in the U.S. Funded by the MetLife Foundation*. Retrieved May, 2011, from http://www.caregiving.org/data/Caregiving_in_the_US_2009_full_report.pdf
- O*Net OnLine. (2011a). *Summary report for: 19-3032.00: Industrial-organizational psychologists*. Retrieved May 13, 2011, from <http://www.onetonline.org/link/summary/19-3032.00>
- O*Net OnLine. (2011b). *Summary report for: 43-6011.00: Executive secretaries and administrative assistants*. Retrieved May 13, 2011, from <http://www.onetonline.org/link/summary/43-6011.00>
- Pearce, J. A., & Kuhn, D. R. (2009). Manager's obligations to employees with eldercare responsibilities. *University of Richmond Law Review*, 43(1319), 1319-1372.
- Reid, C. R., Stajduhar, K. I., & Chappell, N. L. (2010). The impact of work interferences on family caregiver outcomes. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 29(3), 267-289. doi:10.1177/0733464809339591.
- Rose, K. (2006). Eldercare: A responsibility that requires a collaborative effort. *World at Work Journal*, 15(2), 60-69.
- Rosenberg, D., & Conant, E. (2007). Bench Player. *Newsweek*, 149(7), 32-34. Retrieved from EBSCOhost.
- Shoptaugh, C. F., Phelps, J. A., & Visio, M. E. (2004). Eldercare, job attitudes and organizational outcomes: Should organizations care? *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 19, 179-196.
- Singleton, J. (2004). Employed elder caregivers: The use of company-sponsored benefits. *Michigan Sociological Review*, 18, 82-107.
- Society for Human Resource Management. (2007). *2007 Employee benefits survey: Examining employee benefits in a fiscally challenging economy*. Alexandria, VA: Author.
- Spencer, P. (2011). *The 7 deadly emotions of caregiving*. Report retrieved May 1, 2011, from <http://www.caring.com/articles/7-deadly-emotions-of-caregiving>
- Stebbins, L. F. (2001). *Work and family in America: A reference handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- Suchulz, R., & Beach, S. (1999). Caregiving as a risk factor for mortality: The caregiver health effects study. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 282, 2215-2219.
- Thompson, C.A., Andreassi, J., & Prottas, D. (2004). *Work-family culture and climate*. Report retrieved May 20, 2011, from http://wfnetwork.bc.edu/encyclopedia_entry.php?id=262
- Wagner, D. L. (2003). *Workplace programs for family caregivers: Good Business and good practice*. Family Caregiving Alliance. Report retrieved May 1, 2011, http://www.caregiver.org/jsp/content_node.jsp?nodeid=953
- Zacher, H., & Winter, G. (2011). Eldercare demands, strain, and work engagement: The moderating role of perceived organizational support. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 79, 667-680.

Chapter 12

A New Layer to Inclusion: Creating Singles-Friendly Work Environments

Wendy J. Casper and Bella DePaulo

In November 2008 the name of Arizona Governor Janet Napolitano was floated as President Barack Obama's possible pick for the new Secretary of Homeland Security. Napolitano had no children and had always been single. Pennsylvania Governor Ed Rendell responded with enthusiasm: "Janet's perfect for the job," he said. "Because for that job, you have to have no life. Janet has no family. Perfect. She can devote, literally, 19, 20 hours a day to it" (Collins, 2008).

Rendell's statement was an example of singlism, the stereotyping and stigmatizing of people who are single that is so ubiquitous today. The woman he described as having "no life" and "no family" has a brother and a sister; has climbed Mt. Kilimanjaro; likes tennis and whitewater rafting; spends time with close friends; knows tons about movies, opera, and songs; and credits her family and friends for the support she needed to recover from a mastectomy (D'Adamo, 2008; Kornblut, 2010) (She addressed the 2000 Democratic National Convention just 3 weeks later.)

In years gone by, perhaps no one would have raised an eyebrow at Governor Rendell's blatant statement of singlism, but not this time. He was called on it in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, CNN, the Huffington Post, *Psychology Today*, the *Week* magazine, and by many other media outlets. Perhaps the roaring response to Rendell's brazen assumption that people who are single have no life will serve as a cautionary tale not just to politicians but to people in the workplace as well. Today it is not wise to ignore the needs of people who are single.

Today singles have a more prominent place in American society than they ever have had before. Census Bureau reports indicate that as of 2009, there were 106.4 million Americans, 18 and older, who were divorced, widowed, or had always been single. That is 45.6% of the adult population. Knock on any door in the nation, and you are more likely to find a single person living solo (27.5% of all households) than a household comprised of married parents and their children (20.6%). Single Americans (divorced, widowed, or always single) also account for 43.8% of the civilian labor force.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the ethical challenges involved in providing support to employees' nonwork lives in such a way as to be inclusive of all workers, including those who

W.J. Casper, Ph.D. (✉)

Department of Management, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX, USA
e-mail: wjcasper@uta.edu

B. DePaulo, Ph.D.

Department of Psychology, University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA, USA

are single without dependent children. To form the backdrop to discuss this topic, we first discuss research findings about the stereotyping of single people. Drawing from this research as well as information on public policy, we describe a number of types of discrimination that singles face, with a particular emphasis on how singles face discrimination at work. Next, we discuss the notions of organizational culture and organizational support, focusing on organizations' family-friendly cultures, and how singles are often inadvertently excluded from them. We follow with a discussion of ethical guidelines and apply these guidelines to an ethical dilemma an organization might face in trying to deliver support for employees' work-life issues in a manner that is equitable for all employees. Finally, we discuss quality of work-life interventions that might be used to create inclusive work-life cultures which are life-friendly for all employees, as well as the larger benefits of singles-friendly cultures to organizations and society at large.

Stereotyping of Single People

Governor Rendell's dim view of the ever-single Janet Napolitano is a contemporary example of the stereotyping of singles, but negative perceptions of single people have been documented at least as far back as 1981. That's when Etaugh and Malstrom (1981) published their study of perceptions of people with different marital statuses. They created a brief biographical sketch of a 41-year-old, and varied whether the person was described as married, divorced, widowed, or never married, and male or female. Undergraduates rated these profiles on a variety of dimensions.

The people who had always been single were perceived more negatively than the married people in several ways. For example, they were judged as less reliable, less sociable, and less attractive than married people but also as more successful at their jobs. Among the different categories of unmarried people, widows were viewed most positively – they were believed to be friendlier and more likable than divorced people or people who had always been single – perhaps because they had been married at one point and the change in their marital status was not voluntary.

Several studies published since Etaugh and Malstrom (1981) have also documented negative perceptions of single people. In a study of job-relevant perceptions, Eby, Allen, and Noble (2004) created application packets complete with a letter of recommendation, a personal statement, a resume, and other application materials. All applicants were described as single, but some were single parents and others were single with no children. The single parents were judged as more mature than the singles without children and were more likely to be offered jobs that did not require relocation. Even though the job-relevant qualifications in all packets were identical (only parental status was varied), single parents were more likely to be awarded a stipend that was supposedly merit-based.

DePaulo and her colleagues (DePaulo, 2011; DePaulo & Morris, 2005; Morris, DePaulo, Hertel, & Taylor, 2008) have studied perceptions of different kinds of singles, using several methodologies. In an open-ended study, 950 undergraduates were assigned to think about either single people or married people and list characteristics that came to mind to describe these two groups. The differences were stunning. For example, nearly every other person thinking about married people (49%) described them as kind or caring or giving. Only 2% of participants thinking about single people listed any of those characteristics. About one in every three participants thinking about married people described them as loving; none of the participants thinking about singles did so. Flattering characteristics such as happy, faithful, compromising, secure and stable, reliable, and honest were also used to describe married people more often than

singles. Singles, in contrast, were more often described as lonely, shy, flirtatious, insecure, inflexible, and unhappy. There were only a few ways in which singles were not described more disparagingly than married people – they were seen as more independent, friendlier, and more confident. Married people were more often described as needy or dependent. In short, these studies found that undergraduate students held a greater number of positive stereotypes about married people and many more negative stereotypes about single people.

In subsequent studies (Morris et al., 2008), brief biographical sketches were created, and the target person's marital or relationship status, age (25 or 40), and sex were varied. Participants who rated the people in the sketches included college students as well as a more diverse sample of people from a suburban mid-Atlantic community. Again, the single people were generally perceived more negatively than the married people. Singles were rated as less well adjusted, more socially immature, and more self-centered and envious than married people. However, the singles were also seen as more independent and career-oriented relative to those who were described as married.

Negative perceptions of singles also appear to exist outside of North America. The study of people described as single or married, and as 25 or 40 years old, was replicated with a German sample (Schutz, Hertel, DePaulo, Morris, & Stucke, 2007). Again, the singles were viewed more harshly than the married people. For example, singles were seen as less warm and caring, and more lonely and unhappy. Also replicating American results, the differences were apparent among the 25-year-olds but were even greater for the 40-year-olds.

Greitemeyer (2009) reported another program of research with German participants. He used the same biographical-sketch methodology, and added something important – measures of the actual characteristics of the single and married people who were rating the profiles. First, with regard to perceptions of single and married people, Greitemeyer found the same dim views of singles documented in earlier research. The single people – even though they were described identically to the married people in the biographical sketches – were perceived as less conscientious, less agreeable, less extraverted, more neurotic, and less attractive than married people. They were also believed to have lower self-esteem and to be less satisfied with their lives and with their relationship status. Singles were, however, seen as more open to new experiences than married people.

Now, for the differences between ratings of actual single and married participants across the series of studies: With one exception, there were none. When the actual single and married participants rated themselves, were rated by the experimenters, or were rated by other participants in the research study, they did not differ significantly in any of the personality characteristics. The one actual difference was for measures of satisfaction with their relationship status. Singles were less satisfied than married people were, and more interested in changing their relationship status. Even so, singles did not report extreme dissatisfaction; their ratings were near the midpoint of the scales. Taken together, these findings suggest that even though people stereotype singles as uncaring and lonely, they are less likely to use stereotypes to characterize singles that they have actually met.

Greitemeyer (2009) also reported the actual self-esteem and life satisfaction of single and married people across large representative samples from 30 nations, using data from the European Social Survey. He found that people who had never been married and had never been in a civil partnership reported levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction that were nearly identical to those reported by married people. That the singles had just as much self-esteem and life satisfaction as the married people is especially noteworthy because the married group had an advantage. The group did not include everyone who ever got married but only those who were currently married. Those who married, felt dissatisfied with their married life, and then divorced were set aside.

Discrimination Against Single People

Most followers of the same-sex marriage debate know that there are 1,138 provisions in federal law “in which marital status is a factor in determining or receiving benefits, rights, and privileges.” The argument advanced by advocates of same-sex marriage is that couples should not have to be heterosexual in order to have access to those rights and protections. Less often recognized is that single (uncoupled) people are excluded, too. DePaulo (2006) provided a review of many of the ways in which discrimination against single people exists in our society and our workplaces.

One important disparity for US employees involves Social Security benefits. Single people with no children sometimes work side-by-side with married people on the same job, for the same number of years, and with a similar record of accomplishments. When the married workers die, their surviving spouse can access their benefits. But no one can access the benefits earned by single workers without children (the money goes back into the system) – nor can anyone give their Social Security benefits to those singles. It does not matter if singles have shared homes and finances with extended family such as a sibling or a parent. Despite this, when the single passes on, his or her social security cannot be left to loved ones.

Taxes are another example. There is so much talk of reducing the “marriage penalty,” that it has become part of the conventional wisdom that married people pay more in income taxes than single people do. Actually, they do not. DePaulo (2006) showed that for every level of taxable income, single people always pay more than married couples filing jointly. In a law review article Kahng (2010) came to the same conclusion: “There is never a single person’s bonus – that is, a single person never pays less relative to a couple, whether married or unmarried, with the same amount of income as the single person (p. 660).”

The so-called marriage penalty is not about differences between single people and married couples but between different kinds of couples. An unmarried couple can, under certain circumstances, end up paying more in taxes if they marry. But they can also pay less. A single person (not part of a couple) never pays less on the same income as a couple would. Moreover, the comparison of a single person to a couple is not always a comparison of one wage-earner to two. For example, a couple can include just one person who works for pay. Thus, if a single worker and a married worker have the same job, perform the same, and earn the same pay, the single worker effectively earns a lower income because of his/her additional tax burden.

Several studies have shown that single men are paid less than married men, even when their accomplishments are comparable. (The results are less consistent for single and married women.) For instance, in a study of single and married men who were identical twins, the married twin was paid an average of 26% more than his single brother. (Studies are reviewed in DePaulo, 2006.) Both single women and single men have less access to health insurance relative to their married counterparts. Most employers allow their married workers to add their spouse to their health-care plan at a reduced rate; some offer the same option to add domestic partners. Single workers, however, cannot add a parent, sibling, friend, or any other adult to their plan, and receive nothing comparable to the extra health-care dollars allocated to those with spouses and children. Moreover, if a single person is self-employed, unemployed, or for another reason does not have access to an employer’s health-care plan, he or she is often left only with the option of purchasing an individual plan. The married person in this same situation would likely have the option to choose to either participate in a spouse’s medical plan or purchase an individual plan (Short, 1998).

The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) guarantees more benefits for married workers than single workers. Anyone, regardless of marital status, can take up to 12 weeks unpaid leave under FMLA to care for a child or parent, provided they have worked for the employer for a total of 12 months, have worked at least 1,250 h over the previous 12 months, and work at a location

in the United States or in any territory or possession of the United States where at least 50 employees are employed by the employer within 75 miles. However, employees are only eligible to take FMLA leave to care for close family members, defined by FMLA as spouse, son, daughter, or parent. Thus, married workers can take leave to care for a spouse, whereas single workers cannot take time to care for a friend, sibling, or anyone else. Moreover, for a single person whose parents are deceased, friends may constitute the “family” they turn to for support. If a single person faces a serious illness and turns to others for support, FMLA may not allow those in his/her support system (friends) time away from work to provide care for them.

Singles also appear to face a wide array of slights or subtle forms of discrimination. A nationally representative survey in 1995 asked Americans whether they had ever experienced a wide array of interpersonal or institutional examples of discrimination. More than 3,000 Americans, ages 25–74, participated and results were described by Byrne and Carr (2005). People who had always been single reported more experiences of both institutional and interpersonal discrimination than people who were currently married. Some of the incidents reported more often by always-single than married people included being denied a bank loan, being harassed by someone, receiving poorer service in restaurants, experiencing insulting or disrespectful treatment, and being regarded as scary or dishonest.

Morris, Sinclair, and DePaulo (2007) found experimental evidence that singles are seen as less desirable renters than married people. In four studies, participants read about several people interested in a property. Taking the role of a landlord, participants indicated which of the interested parties they would accept as tenants. The participants making the decisions included actual rental agents as well as college students. One of the interested parties was always a married couple. Others included a single man and a single woman (in one study), a cohabiting couple (in another study); and a cohabiting couple and a pair of friends (in two more studies). Participants acting as landlords overwhelmingly favored the married couple. For example, the married couple was chosen 70% of the time when the other interested applicants were a single woman (chosen 18% of the time) and a single man (12%). The rental agents showed the smallest preferences, but even their favoritism was striking: They chose the married couple 61% of the time, when their other possible choices were a cohabiting couple (chosen 24% of the time) and a pair of platonic friends (15%). In variations of the study in which the choices were between a married couple and a cohabiting couple, the married couple was vastly favored (71%) even when they had been together just 6 months, compared to the 6 years that the cohabiting couple (29%) had been together.

In the final study, Morris and her colleagues (2007) sought to determine whether people recognized the bias against singles as illegitimate and discriminatory. Participants read about a landlord who is renting a house and deciding between two applicants:

“Both of the applicants have steady jobs and their current landlords described them as very good tenants. One of the applicants has offered to pay a slightly higher rent each month. The tenant who has offered to pay higher rent is single. The landlord prefers to lease houses to married people and decides to accept the married person as the tenant.”

Participants reported their reactions to the scenario. For example, they rated the degree to which they thought the landlord’s decision was legitimate, and they indicated whether they agreed with the landlord’s decision. In order to compare awareness of discrimination against singles to awareness of prejudice against other groups, five other scenarios were included. In those, the landlord accepts a Caucasian person over an African-American who has offered to pay more rent, a man over a woman, a straight person over a homosexual, a thin person over an obese person, and a younger person over an elderly person.

The landlord’s decision to rent to the married person instead of the single person who offered to pay more was considered more legitimate than the other five discriminatory decisions. Participants were also more likely to agree with the landlord’s decision to rent to the married

person instead of the single person than they were to agree with the other five biased decisions, suggesting participants also held subtle biases against singles.

Discriminatory behavior such as that described in the proceeding sections often occurs more often in organizations due to the prevailing organizational culture or the accepted norms for behavior in a given organization. The section which follows discusses the notion of organizational culture for work-life balance. Specifically, we focus on what past researchers have labeled “family-friendly” culture and explore ways in which family-friendly cultures may discriminate against single workers. A broader conceptualization of work-life issues is suggested in order to create a singles-friendly culture, which is inclusive of the work-life needs of all workers.

What Is Family-Friendly Organizational Culture?

Organizational culture has been defined as “a pattern of basic assumptions, invented, discovered, or developed by a given group, as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be perceived as valid and, therefore, is taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems” (Schein, 1990, p. 111). Culture has three levels: (1) observable artifacts (symbols, stories, and myths), (2) values (norms, ideologies, and philosophies), and (3) basic underlying assumptions (unconscious, taken for granted) (Schein, 1990). Similarly, Denison (1996) argues that culture represents the “deep structure of organizations, which is rooted in the values, beliefs and assumptions held by organizational members” (p. 624).

Work–family culture has been defined as “the shared assumptions, beliefs, and values regarding the extent to which an organization supports and values the integration of employees’ work and family lives” (Thompson, Beauvais & Lyness, 1999, p. 392). These authors suggest three components of work–family culture. The first component, organizational time demands, refers to expectations that employees work long hours, take work home, and engage in other activities that encourage allocation of time to prioritize work above family. When organizational time demands are high, employees who are unable or unwilling to meet time demands may be marginalized or perceived as unable to successfully perform their jobs. The second component suggested by Thompson et al. (1999) is negative career consequences associated with utilizing work–family benefits or devoting time to family. Organizations with unsupportive work–family cultures may sometimes provide family-friendly policies “on the books,” but using these policies is likely to result in negative repercussions to one’s career, such as when a mother chooses to scale back work while her children are smaller and is stigmatized as not serious about her career. The final component proposed by Thompson et al. concerns managerial support and sensitivity to employees’ family responsibilities. In organizations with more supportive work–family cultures, managers and supervisors are understanding about and sensitive to employees’ family needs. Thompson et al. formed a composite of these three dimensions of work–family culture and found that positive work–family cultures were associated with higher affective commitment, lower turnover intentions, and lower work-to-family conflict.

Research from several other authors also suggests that a supportive work–family culture is related to favorable outcomes for the organization. Allen (2001) found that employees who perceived their organizations as more family supportive reported higher job satisfaction, higher organizational commitment, and lower turnover intentions. Clark (2001) found that a flexible work culture and family-supportive supervision were related to higher work satisfaction and employee citizenship behavior. Moreover, a supportive work–family culture has also been found to be more strongly related to positive employee attitudes than formal work–family policies (Behson, 2005).

How Are Singles Excluded from Family-Friendly Organizational Cultures?

Single workers without children do have families. They have parents and grandparents, and perhaps some siblings, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins, and others. The usual use of the word “family” in the “work–family” literature, however, does not refer to those family members, but instead to a spouse and children. Casper and Roberto ([in press](#)) found that when single adults without dependent children were interviewed about work/nonwork balance, the majority reported that being a family member was their most important life role, despite the fact that their employers and society in general often perceive them as “not having a family.”

Although a family-supportive environment (in the sense that “family” is typically used) is great for workers with a spouse and children, one must also consider how these environments influence single workers who do not have a spouse or children. Family-friendly initiatives and benefits are sometimes perceived as unfair by these workers (Conlin & Hemple, [2003](#); Flynn, [1996](#); Young, [1996](#)), resulting in family-friendly backlash (Joyce, [2006](#); Wells, [2007](#)). Family-friendly backlash refers to the resentment among some employees regarding unequal access to and use of family-friendly benefits (Grandey & Cordeiro, [2002](#)).

In fact, single workers without children may deal with their own unique work-life issues (Casper & Swanberg, [2009](#)). For instance, singles may be expected to take on additional work responsibilities when employees with a spouse and/or children need time away from work since their nonwork roles are perceived as unimportant (Bradley, [2006](#); Scott, [2001](#); Wilson, [2004](#)). Some singles report that better work assignments and opportunities are given to employees with a spouse and children, but that they are still required to work more weekends or travel more for business (McCafferty, [2001](#); Young, [1999](#)). Some single workers may be so exhausted that they lack the time or energy to devote to build supportive social relationships (Abruzzese, [1999](#); Anderson, Stewart, & Dimidjian, [1994](#)).

Recent studies have included single workers in the work-life literature (Casper & Roberto, [in press](#); Casper & Swanberg, [2009](#); Casper, Weltman, & Kwesiga, [2007](#); Hamilton, Gordon, & Whelan-Berry, [2006](#); Young, [1996, 1999](#)). For instance, Hamilton et al. ([2006](#)) found that never-married women without children reported significant work-to-life conflict, at a level similar to that of married women both with and without children (i.e., single women reported 11.62, married women without children reported 12.00, married women with children reported 11.62). Single women also exhibited significantly more work-to-life conflict (11.61) than life-to-work conflict (8.27). The higher work-to-life conflict is consistent with the notion that these women may have felt pressured to let their work spill over into their nonwork roles, leaving them with little time for building and nurturing friendships and other relationships outside of work. These single women also felt that many benefits offered by their organizations were geared toward the needs of workers with a spouse and children rather than single workers.

Casper and Swanberg ([2009](#)) analyzed data from 37 singles without children who were interviewed about their work-life concerns and found 62% felt they were treated differently from coworkers with a spouse and children, and 30% described different work expectations for single and married workers. Examples of different expectations included requirements for longer hours, undesirable hours (working holidays), additional work assignments, and more business travel. More than 1/3 reported that single people without children were perceived as though they did not have important responsibilities outside of work.

As a whole, the research suggests that work-life issues are important to single workers without children but that family-friendly cultures offer few supports which are useful for these workers. Several advocacy organizations have emerged in response to what can be considered organizations' tendencies to neglect the needs of this group of workers. The Childfree Network

(Lafayette, 1994) advocates for nonparents, arguing that parents are afforded more benefits than nonparents. The Alternatives to Marriage Project (www.unmarried.org) advocates for equity in employee benefits and workplace policies for unmarried employees. The World Childfree Association (www.worldchildfree.org) advocates for the childfree globally. Also relevant is the Sloan Work and Family Research Network (<http://wfnetwork.bc.edu/>), which now includes in its Policy Briefing Series a discussion of marital status discrimination. The emergence of these organizations and issues suggests that at least some singles feel their needs are overlooked by family-friendly organizations.

Ethical Principles as a Guide for Decision Making

It is important to create workplaces that are friendly to all employees, regardless of their marital, relationship, or parental status. When conflicts or dilemmas arise, though, it may not always be clear how they can best be resolved. We will look to two sets of established ethical principles for guidance: the ethical principles of the *American Psychological Association* (APA), whose guidelines refer to the ethical treatment of clients and participants in research studies, and the principles of the *Society for Human Resource Management* (SHRM), whose guidelines govern the treatment of people in work organizations. Two APA principles offer guidance for how managers in organizations can make decisions about supporting employees' work-life needs. The first principle, justice, refers to the fact that all persons have a right to benefit from the contributions of psychology; it also affirms the importance of access to equality in services being offered by psychologists. Justice maintains that psychologists will exercise reasonable judgment and take precautions to ensure that their potential biases, the boundaries of their competence, and the limitations of their expertise do not lead to or condone unjust practices. Thus, when psychologists are involved in developing work-life benefits or determining how to implement them, their ethical duty is to ensure these practices are implemented in a fashion that is fair to all workers.

Singles-friendly environments should increase perceptions of distributive and procedural justice. Distributive justice, the fairness of outcomes obtained (Adams, 1965), is driven by a perception that the relationship between worker inputs and outcomes is similar across workers. When expectations of workers and the rewards they receive are contingent on performance-relevant factors rather than parental or marital status, distributive justice is likely to be high.

Procedural justice deals with the fairness of procedures used to determine outcomes (Greenberg, 1990). Using fair procedures to determine who has access to supports such as alternative work arrangements should ensure procedural fairness. Because employees are more accepting of unfavorable outcomes when procedures are fair (Brockner & Wiesenfeld, 1996), even an employee who is denied access to telecommuting might perceive it as a fair decision if the decision were made based on job-related factors (e.g., a need to work at the office to provide service to other employees or customers). Because justice perceptions are associated with higher job satisfaction, organizational commitment, trust, citizenship behaviors, and job performance and fewer withdrawal behaviors (Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001), organizations that create cultures which support the work-life needs of all employees are likely to benefit by having a happier, more committed, and higher-performing workforce.

A second ethical principle of the APA, respect for people's rights and dignity, is also pertinent to supporting employees in managing work-life issues. This principle asserts that psychologists respect the dignity and worth of all people, and the rights of individuals to privacy, confidentiality, and self-determination. Psychologists already do realize that they need to respect cultural, individual, and role differences based on age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status and consider

these factors when working with members of relevant groups. Respecting people of every marital and parental status would be consistent with those understandings.

The respect principle stipulates that psychologists try to eliminate the effect of any biases on their work and that they should not knowingly participate in or condone prejudicial activities of others. To comply with this ethical principle, psychologists involved in developing and managing work-life programs in organizations must examine their own implicit biases and consider how these may manifest in offering such practices. For example, organizations often offer work-family practices with an implicit bias that these policies address “women’s” issues. If so, men may perceive that the organization does not encourage their participation in family-support programs. Similarly, many organizations may offer flexible schedules with an implicit bias that they are offered to support parents’ child care needs, despite the fact that this benefit can be used to support a wide variety of nonwork roles. This suggests that being involved in creating a positive work-life culture involves (1) recognizing what may have been a previously unexamined belief that work-life issues pertain only to married workers, women, and parents and (2) actively working to eradicate work-life assumptions that exclude single employees.

SHRM’s ethical guidelines also suggest the importance of promoting and fostering fairness and justice for all employees and their organizations. A set of specific guidelines are offered to encourage compliance with this principle. Some of these guidelines include respecting the uniqueness and intrinsic worth of every individual, ensuring an environment of inclusiveness and commitment to diversity in the organizations we serve, and developing, administering, and advocating policies and procedures that foster fair, consistent, and equitable treatment for all.

An Ethical Dilemma

The challenge to organizations is the creation of a work culture that is friendly to all employees, regardless of whether they have a spouse or children. Ethical dilemmas may arise when offering support for one employee’s (or set of employees’) responsibilities outside of work becomes a burden to other employees.

Consider the hypothetical case of Patheon Associates, an IT consulting firm in the Pacific Northwest. Patheon was founded 20 years ago in the basement of the company president, Larry. Larry is a brilliant man who spent his early career working in Silicon Valley. He was passionate about technology and helping people, so he quickly became well regarded by clients for superior customer service and providing state of the art solutions. Larry was disillusioned by the myopic focus on money of the organizations he worked for, over and above helping clients and fostering creativity in technology. His vision was to start a different kind of company, where people were motivated by the intensity of their interest in emerging technology and their devotion to helping clients. He wanted his employees to be committed to excellence at work, but also have the freedom and opportunities to tend to the other important people and interests in their lives outside of work. He was driven by the desire for interesting and challenging work, helping clients, and work-life balance, and believed that if he followed his vision, profits would follow.

Larry had grown his small one-man shop to a company of 250 staff members, all focused on providing the most innovative solutions to customers. He developed long-term relationships with customers based on trust and his business was based mostly on repeat business. His success reflected his ability to attract and retain a special kind of consultant. Consultants at Patheon were a talented bunch with impressive backgrounds. Many had advanced degrees from Stanford, Cal Tech, and MIT and had been at the top of their class. They loved technology and wanted to do great work that was creative and stimulating. They were committed to client satisfaction. Patheon did not pay the highest salaries around, but they often had the very best people. Why? The company

was committed to living their motto: “Love at work, love at home.” Larry wanted a company of people deeply committed to work but equally happy with family life. He considered himself a dedicated family man with good work–family balance – he coached his son’s soccer team and was careful to make sure he spent enough quality time with his wife.

Many consultants were drawn to Patheon because of the opportunity to do interesting and creative work and have work-life balance. Such was the case for Joe. Joe was trained at a top university and came to Patheon after a bad experience at a competitor where he observed unethical business practices and was expected to neglect his family for his work. Joe considered family one of his top priorities and had a demanding family life. He and his wife had three children, ages 8, 6, and 4. The 4-year-old, Ben, had autism. Ben’s behavior was characterized by severe outbursts, aggression, and tantrums. This included self-mutilation and aggressive actions toward his siblings and other children in which they sometimes sustained injuries. Joe’s wife was a loving mother with a gentle nature but managing these outbursts was often difficult for her. The family had hired numerous caregivers for Ben and had been unable to retain them because Ben was such a challenging child.

Joe and his wife decided to purchase a house that was directly across the street from Joe’s office. The company was flexible if Joe needed to leave work during the day to help out with a crisis at home. This had worked well for Joe and his family, and the company was glad to help. Despite his family demands, Joe was a great consultant. He was smart, motivated, and knew how to build relationships with clients. Clients and other consultants had great respect for him. Although he sometimes worked unusual hours, he always made deadlines and delivered high-quality work products. He had done well at Patheon and had earned several promotions. The company valued Joe’s contributions and wanted to keep him, and they knew that sensitivity to his family demands was important. Despite the fact that consulting can be a travel-intensive job, Joe was never asked to go on business trips – he was either assigned local clients or was teamed up with another consultant who did the travel for his projects.

Patheon got a call from a former client who was now employed as the VP of Finance with L. Raymond Bank and Trust. The client was in panic mode. They had recently discovered some security issues with their system and hackers had entered client accounts and transferred funds into offshore accounts. They thought they had closed the security problem, but they were wrong, and funds had again disappeared. The client wanted a new, highly secure IT system to be developed and implemented in a short 6-month window. It was an aggressive time frame, but it was possible, and Patheon had the team with the skills.

Larry chose his two top consultants to lead the program – Joe, and another consultant named Irene. Irene was outstanding with clients and had top notch technical skills. She was single, 32 years old, and had no children. The client needed a project manager on-site in New York so Larry thought Irene was perfect for this role. Irene willingly signed up for the project. She was told she would have to work on-site in New York 3 days a week for a few months, but she had never been to New York and thought the travel would be fun. She respected Joe and wanted to help support his need to stay local. Joe and Irene began team-managing the project and everything was fine at first.

However, after a month, the VP of Finance had been fired and Irene was supporting a new VP with demands that were increasingly difficult to meet. Irene was quickly working on-site all week rather than just 3 days, and working most nights until 10 or 11, returning to the bank the next morning at 7 a.m. As time went on, Irene was asked to stay in New York to work through the weekends. By the third month, when Irene was supposed to stop working on-site, the on-site phase of the project had been extended to 6 months, and Irene was told by the client she was to work on-site in New York 7 days a week, except for 1 weekend a month, when she could return home. Irene and her boyfriend began to argue about her long business trips and soon he broke up with her when he met a new woman. Although Irene had once had a large circle of friends who

often got together to play softball and socialize, she had been traveling so much that she had lost close touch with them, and they no longer called to invite her anywhere since she was always in New York. The little time she spent at home was very lonely – she just had time to do laundry, pay bills, and get back on the plane to New York. She was starting to develop stress-related health problems, perhaps because of the high-stress project, difficult travel schedule, and lack of social support. Irene was unhappy and was considering leaving her job. Still, Joe was quite happy at Patheon. Although Irene had initially been happy to travel, she began to feel resentful that the company seemed to value Joe's time and personal roles more than her own. When she tried to discuss this with her boss, he told her there was no one else who could travel and that if she valued her job, she would do it.

Quality of Work-Life Intervention

Because organizational support for work-life balance has often overlooked workers who are single with no children, it is important to develop recommendations that organizations can follow or use as guidelines to support work-life balance in a way that includes these workers. Unfair practices involving singles need special attention because that form of discrimination is not as widely recognized as similar discrimination against groups such as women or African-Americans (DePaulo & Morris, 2006). Moreover, the stereotypes of singles as more career-oriented probably feed into the belief that it is fine to assign more work to singles than to other employees.

The Patheon example illustrates how a well-intentioned desire to support the needs of an employee who is married with children can create a poor quality of work-life for a single worker who has no children. This poses a dilemma for organizations seeking to create a supportive environment for all: How does an organization support the nonwork needs and interests of employees who do and do not have a spouse or partner and who do and do not have children? The answer: Create a work environment that is supportive of work-life needs more broadly, rather than focusing solely on the needs of employees who are married with children. In the section which follows, we provide specific recommendations for how organizations might create a work environment which supports the work-life issues of all workers. In doing so, we draw on the research of Casper and colleagues (2007) to examine their research findings regarding how a singles-friendly organizational culture might increase the attachment and engagement of single employees, thereby resulting in positive outcomes from the organization. To do this, Casper and colleagues suggest there are five important dimensions of a singles-family culture that organizations should attend to: creating social inclusion, equal work opportunities, equal access to benefits, equal respect for nonwork roles, and equal work expectations.

Recommendation #1

Create an environment which supports and includes all workers, regardless of marital, relationship, or parental status. A key mechanism through which this sense of support can be generated is through supervisors. Training can be implemented to help supervisors understand the subtle social fabric of organizations and how to manage their team so that all team members feel connected and supported. Supervisors may not always be aware of the degree to which their employees feel or do not feel connected at work. For instance, some single workers report being excluded from social gatherings with coworkers to which only workers with a spouse and children were invited. Single employees who did experience a sense of social inclusion in their organization

perceived strong organizational support, the sense that their organization values their contribution and cares about their well-being (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986), and this relationship was strong ($r = .58$). Those who felt included were more committed to their organizations, $r = .40$ (Casper et al., 2007).

Recommendation #2

Provide work opportunities without regard to family status or personal situation. Instead, use only job-relevant criteria such as past performance and strengths to determine work opportunities. Both the popular press and empirical literature suggest that employees with a spouse and children sometimes receive opportunities and benefits from work that are not offered to single workers (Flynn, 1996; McCafferty, 2001; Young, 1996, 1999). For instance, DePaulo (2006) notes that continuously married (never divorced) men earn on average 26% more than single men, conservatively earning over a half a million dollar differential over a lifetime. Moreover, there are numerous examples in the literature of married workers who received plum projects, assignments, or clients not because of their outstanding work but because they were perceived as “needing it” to support their families. Research has found that such perceptions may have important consequences for organizations. When single employees felt that workers with a spouse and children received greater work opportunities, they had higher intentions to leave their firm, $r = -.21$ (Casper et al., 2007).

Recommendation #3

Provide a wide array of cafeteria style employee benefits so that employees can choose the benefits that best meet their personal work-life needs. Organizations can continue to offer benefits such as on-site day care, resource and referral programs, and health coverage for a spouse and children but should also make sure to offer programs that would be helpful to single employees with no children. Some such programs might include fitness center subsidies, employee education and training subsidies, or pet care programs that employees can use during business travel. Organizations could learn more about what benefits appeal to their employee base by conducting focus groups to gather this information directly from employees.

In one version of the menu option, organizations could offer cafeteria style choices, and all workers can receive an equal number of dollars with which to purchase benefits. Employees could then choose the benefits that most appeal to them. An employee with a spouse and children might choose to spend their benefit dollars on family medical coverage, whereas a single worker could use the same dollars to purchase benefits for a fitness center membership, dental coverage, training and education benefits, or even medical coverage for a close friend or a relative not typically included in such plans.

Offering benefits in a manner that is perceived as equitable by all is clearly important, given the emerging discussion of family-friendly backlash – the negative perceptions and attitudes that some single workers without children develop when they see workers who do have a spouse and/or children receive more benefits for the same work (Cole & Flint, 2004; Grandey, 2001; Grover, 1991). Several studies have found that some singles perceive these benefits as unfair (Grandey, 2001; Grover, 1991; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Parker & Allen, 2001; Young, 1999). Despite this, Casper et al. (2007) found that single workers who felt their organizations offered more benefits to workers with a spouse or children were not any less committed nor more likely to intend to quit

their job (though that could change as more workplaces become singles-friendly). Other studies have found workers often view family benefits positively, even if they do not use those benefits themselves (Casper & Buffardi, 2004; Casper & Harris, 2008; Grover & Crocker, 1995). Given the general predisposition many people have to view family-supportive benefits as a “good thing” even when they do not use them, organizations smart enough to ensure that benefits are equitable (i.e., are offered as part of a cafeteria style plan with valuable options for singles) are unlikely to face family-friendly backlash.

Recommendation #4

Treat all employee requests for time off, schedule flexibility, or other alternative work arrangements the same, regardless of the reason the accommodation is requested. In fact, it is not even necessary for organizations to know the reason employees want flexibility. Although it is appropriate that employees get permission from their supervisor to work an alternative work arrangement, organizations that want a singles-friendly environment should ensure that supervisors consider only work-related reasons for granting or denying such a request. Factors such as the nature of the employee’s job (e.g., can they telecommute or must they be here to serve customers in person?) and the employee’s performance (e.g., are they a top performer who will produce high-quality results even with less supervision?) are relevant and should be considered. Factors such as why the employee wants flexibility (childcare or attending classes) are not relevant. Thus, an employee whose job type and strong work performance warrant flexibility should be granted that option regardless of the reason the flexibility is desired, and the employee should not be obligated to disclose the reason. Allowing the employee the choice as to whether he or she wishes to disclose the reason he or she seeks flexibility is a good application of the APA’s respect principle, which asserts an individual’s right to privacy.

Increasingly, organizations are offering alternative and flexible work arrangements, and thus, fair policies that govern who gets access to these benefits and under what conditions is important. Flextime, compressed work weeks, or options to telecommute (work from home) are likely to be widely appealing to singles as well as workers who are married with children. Although these policies were often implemented in order to be responsive to the needs of working parents, such policies clearly benefit singles as well, given all employees face situations outside of work that demand their attention. Employees could use flextime to care for friends and family members, to attend classes, to do volunteer work, to attend medical appointments, or to run errands. Compressed workweeks create long weekends, freeing employees to travel to see family and friends who may live quite a distance away. Single employees may also appreciate the chance to telecommute to avoid a long commute, to be available at home to meet a service repair person, or simply because they find their lives more enjoyable and their work more productive when they do not need to travel regularly to a workplace.

The importance of offering equal flexibility to all employees is highlighted by past research findings. Casper et al. (2007) found that single workers with no children often felt that their organizations did not respect their need to attend to their nonwork roles. Moreover, when single workers felt there was little respect for their nonwork roles, they perceived their organization as less supportive, $r = .51$ (Casper et al.). Making decisions about requests for schedule accommodations based only on work-related reasons is one way that organizations can demonstrate to singles (and all workers) that they *do* respect their nonwork roles. Employees who hear “When your job allows it, and your work performance warrants it, we’ll work around your nonwork needs” are likely to feel supported and, in turn, commit to providing their organizations the best possible performance.

Recommendation #5

Let job type or job level drive work expectations rather than personal or family situations. This is an important concern for some singles who report they are expected to work overtime or holidays more often than coworkers with spouses and children (Young, 1996, 1999). Other studies have found single workers without children were required to engage in more business travel than those with children (Kirby & Krone, 2002). Still there is other evidence that, despite the fact that many singles believe they face greater work expectations, equal work expectations were not related to perceived organizational support, organizational commitment, or intention to turnover (Casper et al., 2007). This may suggest that for some singles, occasionally pitching in to help out with more travel or holiday work may be acceptable, as long as doing so does not interfere with the important nonwork roles in the single person's life.

The issue of work expectations relates specifically to the case example provided earlier, in which Irene, the single woman, was covering all the travel for her partner, Joe, who did not travel due to his family demands with a special-needs child. At the beginning of this case, the firm had handled this issue in a way that worked for both employees – Joe was able to stay home and Irene was happy to travel and excited to spend some time in New York. Fortunately, employees often have different preferences for overtime work and business travel. For an employee who despises travel, business travel might represent an undesired expectation that takes valued time away from family. In contrast, another employee might see the same situation as an opportunity to see new places and rack up some frequent flyer miles. This was the situation early in the aforementioned case, and the organization dealt with the business travel effectively by assigning employee roles consistent with employee preferences (Irene to travel, Joe to stay home).

The problem emerged, however, and the organization ceased to be singles-friendly when the level of business travel increased dramatically and no longer fit with Irene's preferences. Clearly, the organization was in a tough situation as this had become a difficult project with excessive travel and was not likely to be perceived as an attractive work opportunity to most employees. Still, the organization's solution, to tell Irene if she valued her job she would do it, clearly did not create a singles-friendly environment in which Irene felt supported. So, what is an organization to do if a particular work condition is perceived as uniformly undesirable and they cannot accommodate employee preferences? Rather than forcing this option on one employee, offering incentives to make this work requirement more desirable is preferable. Organizations often do this when they pay employees a premium to work holidays or overtime – such an incentive system could be adopted to make any undesirable work assignment more appealing. In doing so, an undesirable assignment could be transformed into a desirable one. By offering time off or a bonus to any employee willing to complete an undesirable assignment, an organization might transform this difficult assignment into one an employee would willingly take on in order to gain the perk associated with it.

In the case in which a perk cannot be offered to make an assignment more desirable, a rotation system might be set up in which employees take turns at taking on the assignment. That way, no one is forced to do all the business travel or work all the holidays, but each person takes their turn. This is a common way to deal with staffing the Department Chair job in academic departments. Since most professors became academics in order to teach and do research, the Department Chair role is often quite unpopular, and few faculty voluntarily wish to assume this responsibility. In situations where no one wishes to take on the Department Chair role, academic departments often set up rotation systems so that each faculty member "takes his/her turn" as Department Chair for several years after which the position rotates to another faculty member.

One cautionary note may also be important. Constructs such as "work-life balance" seem to imply that work is separate from and in competition with "life." In fact, many workers may

perceive their jobs in just that way. However, people who love their jobs may see work as an enhancement of, or a significant part of, their lives and of course should not be discouraged from that outlook.

The Value of Singles-Friendly Work Environments

In 2010, the *Journal of Marriage and Family*, the flagship journal of the field, included among their important decade-in-review articles a review of work and family research (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Many topics were covered, from division of labor in the home to stress and health, time demands, and policy considerations. However, nowhere to be found in the review was any mention of the work and family concerns single workers who do not have children. This is in stark contrast to research findings that single workers without dependent children do indeed have significant family demands (Casper & Roberto, [in press](#)). In too much of mainstream academic writing, as well as in media accounts, the work-life needs of single people without children are completely neglected. It is not surprising, then, that most work-life programs offered by today's organizations do a better job of helping employees with the kind of work-family problems that parents (i.e., child care) and married (i.e., spouse employment assistance) workers have than those of single employees without children (i.e., programs to help with pet caregiving during business travel).

There are many good reasons to encourage the development of singles-friendly environments that support a vast array of work-life balance needs. Single employees who have the same access to benefits, flexibility, dignity, and respect as every other employee are likely to enjoy happier, healthier, and more meaningful lives than those who are treated unfairly. They can attend to the important people in their lives, such as friends, relatives, partners, neighbors, and mentors. They will have more opportunities to stretch themselves physically, mentally, and emotionally, as, for example, by engaging in a regular exercise program, pursuing classes and other educational experiences, traveling, caring for pets, or becoming active in political, social, or community organizations and activities. They may also have the option of solitude, which can be both restorative and creatively generative. Clearly, singles will benefit from the organizational supports that aid them in their quest for work-life balance.

Society, too, has much to gain from organizations creating more singles-friendly work environments. The stereotype of singles as alone and isolated is belied by the results of several national studies showing that people who have always been single, compared to those who are or have been married, actually do more of the work of supporting and staying in touch with people from older generations, such as their parents (Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2008). They also have more contact with friends, siblings, and neighbors, and they help them more, too (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006).

Some of the help that singles offer to others is informal and short-term, but in other instances, singles are providing intensive, ongoing, long-term help to ill or infirm relatives or friends. This work has the potential to be even more burdensome and stressful to singles than it is to people who can provide that care while taking time off from work under the Family and Medical Leave Act. When singles have access to the same benefits, flexibility, and respect that other workers do, they can perhaps provide support that is even more helpful to others while it is less costly to the single caregivers. When workplaces support all their employees, much of society benefits. The individual who can pursue a variety of interests and challenges outside of work, and stay involved in networks of relatives, neighbors, and friends is likely to be a better citizen, contributing to a better society. Thus, creating singles-friendly environments not only is helpful to singles but may benefit the many individuals whom singles are helping and supporting in their personal lives.

Clearly, society benefits when organizations support workers to help others, regardless of whether these others are more distant relatives or close friends.

Creating a singles-friendly work environment is likely to benefit not only single employees and society but organizations as well. Developing a culture which supports all employees' work-life needs is likely to enhance employee perceptions of both supportiveness and fairness. Much research finds that when employees perceive their organizations as more supportive, they are more committed, more satisfied, more likely to stay, and have a greater tendency to go "above and beyond" for the organization (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Thus, it makes good business sense for organizations to create an environment in which employees feel valued and cared about.

References

- Abruzzese, M. (1999, February 7). Employers can overlook single workers' needs. *The Des Moines Register*.
- Adams, J. S. (1965). Inequity in social exchange. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 267–299). New York: Academic.
- Allen, T. (2001). Family-supportive work environments: The role of organizational perceptions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 58, 414–435.
- Anderson, C. M., Stewart, S., & Dimidjian, S. (1994). *Flying solo: Single women in midlife*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Behson, S. J. (2005). The relative contribution of formal and informal organizational work-family support. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 66, 487–500.
- Bianchi, S. M., & Milkie, M. A. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72, 705–725.
- Bradley, M. (2006, June 12). In family-friendly workplaces, singles feel overlooked. *Christian Science Monitor*.
- Brockner, J., & Wiesenfeld, B. M. (1996). An integrative framework for explaining reactions to decisions: The interactive effects of outcomes and procedures. *Psychological Bulletin*, 120, 189–208.
- Byrne, A., & Carr, D. (2005). Caught in the cultural lag: The stigma of singlehood. *Psychological Inquiry*, 16, 84–91.
- Casper, W. J., & Buffardi, L. C. (2004). The impact of work/life benefits and perceived organizational support on job pursuit intentions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 65, 391–410.
- Casper, W. J., & Harris, C. (2008). Work-life benefits and organizational attachment: Self-interest utility and signaling theory models. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 72, 95–109.
- Casper, W. J., & Swanberg, J. E. (2009). Single childfree adults: The work-life stress of an unexpected group. In A. G. Antoniou, C. L. Cooper, G. P. Chrousos, C. D. Spielberger, & M. W. Eysenck (Eds.), *Handbook of managerial behavior and occupational health*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Casper, W. J., Roberto, K., & Buss, C. (in press). We have lives families too! Balance between work and nonwork for single adults without dependent children. In *Research in careers* (Vol. III). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Press.
- Casper, W. J., Weltman, D., & Kwesiga, E. (2007). Beyond family-friendly: The construct and measurement of singles-friendly work cultures. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 70, 478–501.
- Clark, S. C. (2001). Work cultures and work/family balance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 58, 348–365.
- Cole, N. D., & Flint, D. H. (2004). Perceptions of distributive and procedural justice in employee benefits: Flexible versus traditional benefit plans. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 19, 19–40.
- Collins, G. (2008, December 4). One singular sensation. *New York Times*, p. A43.
- Colquitt, J. A., Conlon, D. E., Wesson, M. J., Porter, C. O. L. H., & Ng, K. Y. (2001). Justice at the millennium: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of organizational justice research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 425–445.
- Conlin, M., & Hemple, J. (2003, October 20). Unmarried America: Say good-bye to the traditional family. Here's how the new demographics will change business and society. *BusinessWeek Online*. Retrieved January 25, 2010, from http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/03_42/b3854001_mz001.htm
- D'Adamo, D. (2008, September/October). Janet Napolitano: Getting to know AZ's governor. *Phoenix Woman*.
- Denison, D. R. (1996). What is the difference between organizational culture and organizational climate? A native's point of view on a decade of paradigm wars. *Academy of Management Review*, 21, 619–654.

- DePaulo, B. (2006). *Singled out: How singles are stereotyped, stigmatized, and ignored, and still live happily ever after*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- DePaulo, B. (2011). Living single: Lightening up those dark, dopey myths. In W. R. Cupach & B. H. Spitzberg (Eds.), *The dark side of close relationships II* (pp. 409–439). New York: Routledge.
- DePaulo, B. M., & Morris, W. L. (2005). Singles in society and science. *Psychological Inquiry*, *16*, 57–83.
- DePaulo, B. M., & Morris, W. L. (2006). The unrecognized stereotyping and discrimination against singles. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *15*(5), 251–254.
- Eby, L. T., Allen, T. D., & Noble, C. L. (2004). Perceptions of singles and single parents: A laboratory experiment. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *34*, 1329–1352.
- Eisenberger, R., Huntington, R., Hutchison, S., & Sowa, D. (1986). Perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *71*, 500–507.
- Etaugh, C., & Malstrom, J. (1981). The effect of marital status on person perception. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *43*, 801–805.
- Flynn, G. (1996). Backlash – Why single employees are angry. *Personnel Journal*, *75*, 9.
- Gerstel, N., & Sarkisian, N. (2006). Marriage; the good, the bad, and the greedy. *Contexts*, *5*, 16–21.
- Grandey, A. (2001). Family friendly policies: Organizational justice perceptions of need based allocations. In R. Cropanzano (Ed.), *Justice in the workplace: From theory to practice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Grandey, A., & Cordeiro, B. (2002). Family-friendly policies and organizational justice. *Sloan Work-Family Encyclopedia*. Online at http://wfnetwork.bc.edu/encyclopedia_template.php?id=231
- Greenberg, J. (1990). Organizational justice: Yesterday, today, tomorrow. *Journal of Management*, *16*, 399–432.
- Greitemeyer, T. (2009). Stereotypes of singles: Are singles what we think? *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *39*, 368–383.
- Grover, S. L. (1991). Predicting the perceived fairness of parental leave policies. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *76*(2), 247–255.
- Grover, S. L., & Crocker, K. J. (1995). Who appreciates family-responsive human resource policies: The impact of family-friendly policies on the organizational attachment of parents and non-parents. *Personnel Psychology*, *48*, 271–288.
- Hamilton, E. A., Gordon, J. R., & Whelan-Berry, K. S. (2006). Understanding the work-life conflict of never-married women without children. *Women in Management Review*, *21*, 393–415.
- Joyce, A. (2006, September 17). Kid-friendly policies don't help singles. *The Washington Post*.
- Kahng, L. (2010). One is the loneliest number: The single taxpayer in a joint return world. *Hastings Law Journal*, *61*, 651–686.
- Kirby, E. L., & Krone, K. J. (2002). “The policy exists but you can't really use it”: Communication and the structuration of work-family policies. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, *30*, 50–77.
- Kornblut, A. E. (2010, April 22). DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano winning over heavyweights with her persona. *Washington Post*, C01.
- Lafayette, L. (1994, October 16). Fair play for the childless worker. *The New York Times*.
- McCafferty, D. (2001). *Singles discrimination: Are unmarried workers fighting an uphill battle?* <http://content.careers.msn.com/WorkingLife/Workplace/gwp1070125.asp>
- Morris, W. L., DePaulo, B. M., Hertel, J., & Taylor, L. C. (2008). Singlism – another problem that has no name: Prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination against singles. In M. A. Morrison & T. G. Morrison (Eds.), *The psychology of modern prejudice* (pp. 165–194). New York: Nova.
- Morris, W. L., Sinclair, S., & DePaulo, B. M. (2007). No shelter for singles: The perceived legitimacy of marital status discrimination. *Group Processes Intergroup Relation*, *10*, 450–470.
- Parker, L., & Allen, T. D. (2001). Work/family benefits: Variables related to employees' fairness perceptions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *58*, 453–468.
- Rhoades, L., & Eisenberger, R. (2002). Perceived organizational support: A review of the literature. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *87*, 698–714.
- Sarkisian, N., & Gerstel, N. (2008). ‘Till marriage do us part: Adult children's relationships with their parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *70*, 360–376.
- Schein, E. H. (1990). Organizational culture. *American Psychologist*, *45*, 109–119.
- Schutz, A., Hertel, J., DePaulo, B. M., Morris, W. L., & Stucke, T. S. (2007). She's single, so what? How are singles perceived compared with people who are in romantic relationships? *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung* [Journal of Family Research], *19*, 139–158.
- Scott, M. P. (2001). Singles out singles: Structuring employee services to accommodate the dating game. *Employee Services Management Association: In the News*. Available on-line at <http://www.esmassn.org/news/indexsingles.htm>
- Short, P. F. (1998). Gaps and transitions in health insurance: What are the concerns of women? *Journal of Women's Health*, *7*, 725–737.

- Thompson, C., Beauvais, L., & Lyness, K. (1999). When work-family benefits are not enough: The influence of work-family culture on benefit utilization, organizational attachment, and work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *54*, 392–415.
- Wells, S. J. (2007, October). Are you too family friendly? *HR Magazine*, *52*(10), 34–39.
- Wilson, R. (2004). Singular mistreatment: Unmarried professors are outsiders in the Ozzie and Harriet world of academe. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *50*(33), A10.
- Young, M. (1996). Career issues for single adults without dependent children. In D. T. Hall (Ed.), *The career is dead – Long live the career: A relational approach to careers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Young, M. (1999). Work-family backlash: Begging the question, what's fair? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *562*, 32–46.

Part IV
Ethics at Work II: Organizational
Sources of Dilemmas

Chapter 13

Perceptions of Justice in Employee Benefits

Chester S. Spell and Katerina Bezrukova

According to a *New York Times* story (Salzman, 2004), former Connecticut governor John G. Rowland, who resigned during a federal investigation into gifts he received while in office, will receive \$50,000 a year from the state when he turns 55, even if found guilty of crimes (he was subsequently convicted and sent to prison). Mr. Rowland's deputy chief of staff, Lawrence Alibozek, was also convicted of accepting bribes (among them gold he buried in his yard) and will receive \$10,188 a year in retirement and full health benefits. Joseph P. Ganim, the former mayor of Bridgeport, Connecticut, was convicted of extortion and accepting bribes, decided to take his retirement early, so the city began paying a \$11,096 a year pension (while he is in prison). There was considerable public outcry and media attention over the above cases, widely seen as unfair. These examples illustrate that while we think most people focus on issues like the size of their paycheck when assessing how fairly they are treated at work, benefits are indeed a salient issue with employees, especially when they appear to be distributed or managed unfairly.

Beyond benefits, management research has shown that employee assessments of how fairly they are being treated by their employer have important implications for many business-related outcomes. For instance, perceptions of unfairness have been linked to decreased productivity and satisfaction (Greenberg, 1990; Mayer, Nishii, Schnieder, & Goldstein, 2007), diminished mental health (Tepper, 2001; Tepper, Duffy, Henle, & Lambert, 2006), and increased conflict (Cropanzano & Baron, 1991; Cropanzano, Bowen, & Gilliland, 2007). Many, if not all, of these outcomes result in a lower quality of life for employees as well as a detriment to business performance. While only a subset of this research has focused on the perceptions of justice that are related to employee benefits specifically, some research has found that benefits, like other forms of compensation and rewards, are quite relevant in the equity assessments of employees (Arnold & Spell, 2006; Davis & Ward, 1995; Martin & Bennett, 1996; Tremblay, Sire, & Balkin, 2000; Tremblay, Sire, & Pelchet, 1998; Williams, Malos, & Palmer, 2002). We consider employee benefits as comprising any compensation beyond wages or salary, including employer-sponsored insurance (health, dental, life, and disability), vacation and time off (paid and unpaid), retirement, daycare, sick leave, and other aspects of overall working conditions. We further discuss three dilemmas associated with justice and benefits.

C.S. Spell (✉)

School of Business, Camden, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901, USA
e-mail: cspell@camden.rutgers.edu

K. Bezrukova

Department of Psychology, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA 95053, USA

Dilemmas

The first benefits-injustice dilemma for organizations is that while benefits represent a significant business cost for employers, the costs of diminishing or minimizing benefits may be even more costly since this is seen as unfair by employees. For example, employees may react to employers cutting benefits by feeling distressed and anxious over losing valued aspects of what they consider a contract with their employer. So, we next consider the costs of felt injustice with respect to benefits, then turn our attention to the somewhat inconsistent findings in research on employees' satisfaction with their benefits and injustice, and finally review the role of group-level processes in how employees view benefits, since this is an area that is just beginning to get research attention.

Dilemma #1: Why Does Injustice Matter? It Costs Employers a Lot!

While our focus is on the outcomes of perceived unfairness surrounding employee benefits, we first recognize that there are different types of injustice that have been identified in the literature (Colquitt, 2004) that may be associated with employee benefits. These forms of injustice may be differentially associated with how benefits are distributed among employees, how information on benefits is communicated to employees, how employee claims for benefits are processed, and other aspects of the way they are managed. Turning to justice itself, current research has identified four distinct dimensions of fairness (Colquitt, 2001). Consistent with these models, in this chapter, we focus on employee perceptions of injustice along these dimensions: distributive injustice (perceived fairness of outcome distributions, Greenberg, 2006), procedural injustice (perceived fairness of decision-making processes, Tepper et al., 2006), interpersonal injustice (perceived fairness in treating individuals with dignity, respect, and politeness by authorities, Greenberg, 1993; Judge, Scott, & Ilies, 2006), and informational injustice (perceived fairness in providing an adequate and honest explanation for the company's decisions, Colquitt, 2001; Greenberg, 1993). Some researchers (Fox, Spector, & Miles, 2001; Hamilton, 2000) combine the informational and interpersonal dimensions into a dimension generally called interactional justice to yield a three-component model of justice. In general, the multidimensional model of justice has gained favor in part because different aspects of perceived fairness are related to different workplace outcomes and employee attitudes (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001).

Perceived workplace injustice is important because employees who feel they are being treated unfairly are widely believed to be less motivated, productive, and otherwise represent economic losses for the employer. In the last few years, one important outcome of injustice that has recently attracted attention is psychological distress, (Tepper, 2001; Tepper et al., 2006) defined as symptoms related to depression, anxiety, irritability, exhaustion, social disengagement, and cognitive problems (Rousseau, Chiochio, Boudrias, Aube, & Morin, 2008). In other words, employees feeling they are on the receiving end of an injustice are also more likely to feel depressed, anxious, or otherwise distressed and, in turn, less productive. The intensity of this distress, depending on the nature of the injustice, can range from mild displeasure to profound threats to the individual's health. For a recent example of the latter, see the cases of numerous employee suicides reported at the Foxconn electronics assembly plants (for iPhones, Dell computers, and other electronics) when employees felt they were being overworked under very stressful conditions (Barboza, 2010). Yet, how injustice may lead to diminished psychological well-being and lower quality of life remains relatively understudied. This is surprising given that mental health is a significant business expense. Employee anxiety, depression, and related issues are estimated to cost US businesses \$193 billion annually (National Mental Health Association, 2007).

In any case, even with relatively little attention to this issue, some research indicates the justice/well-being connection is an important relationship (Bezrukova, Spell, & Perry, 2010; Tepper, 2001;

Tepper et al., 2006). In a study of 467 hospital nurses, Greenberg (2006) found that insomnia was related to lower pay (some of the nurses were subject to an unfavorable change in pay policy) yet the level of insomnia was lower among nurses when supervisors were trained in interactional justice. Another outcome associated with fairness regards the emotional and others costs of layoffs; how fairly these unpleasant and stressful actions are managed appears to have significant effects on employees. Hamilton (2000), in a quasi-experiment, found that interactional justice (respect shown to Russian officers departing the military) helped to moderate the level of stress as part of the downsizing process.

Another outcome of justice with potentially costly effect of workplace functioning is employee retaliation. For example, Skarlicki, Folger, and Tesluk (1999) found that all types of justice were related to retaliation (e.g., frequency with which respondents observed other employees damaging equipment or stealing supplies). Related to retaliation is the area of counterproductive work behaviors, another outcome that has been linked to felt injustice by employees. There are well-documented examples of retaliation and other adverse employee reactions to what are perceived as inadequate or minimal working benefits or conditions. In another case from the Foxconn facilities, employees burnt down a company warehouse after being subjected to forced overtime (VanHemert, 2010). In addition to this case of extreme counterproductivity in the form of arson, counterproductive behaviors can include those such as putting in for more hours than that actually worked, refusing to help a coworker, and initiating conflicts with workers (Fox & Spector, 1999; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). Fox et al. (2001) developed a model where counterproductive work behaviors are a response to job-related strain and perceived injustice is a source of stress leading to this strain. Based on a sample of almost 300 employees across a variety of industries, their empirical results generally supported this main effect relationship.

Some of the relevant research on ethics and justice also considers the factors that contribute to unethical behavior (or, make it more likely to happen in some work settings than others). For example, one might predict that personality traits would predict likelihood of committing unethical acts (“that person stole because they are dishonest to the core”) yet other factors may be at play, such as working within a business culture that accepts, or even promotes, unethical behavior. For example, Knottnerus, Ulsperger, Cummins, and Osteen (2006) analyzed the case of the Enron accounting scandal with respect to structural ritualization theory. They argued that ritualized symbolic practices extensively influenced Enron employees, which led to the normalization and reproduction of deviant behavior. Specifically, the authors collected media representations that showed how behaviors such as openly joking about the unethical behavior within the firm made individuals think that such behavior was legitimate.

In summary, prior research has linked a wide variety of organizational outcomes to organization justice perceptions. To a varying extent, most of these outcomes have some impact on business costs. Some of the outcomes of felt injustice, like turnover, impact normal business functioning, while others, like likelihood counterproductive work behaviors (e.g., deviant acts or unethical behavior), are undesirable incidents that incur business expenses (e.g., costs of legal action in stolen equipment/supplies cases). The point is that there is substantial and compelling evidence that employee feelings regarding fairness in their workplace have major implications for the costs of doing business.

Dilemma #2: Justice, Benefits, and Equivocal Results

While we have shown that injustice is an important aspect of workplace functioning and has been examined in numerous contexts, its relevance with respect to employee benefits is less clear. Employee benefits constitute, on average, 30–40% of compensation in US workplaces yet frequently are overlooked in the management literature. This relative lack of attention is somewhat surprising

given that the cost of many benefits, particularly those related to health care, is expected to rise substantially in the near future and can be anticipated to become an even more critical element for an employee's evaluation of his/her total compensation package (Geisel, 2002). Further, Gomez-Mejia and Balkin (1992) find that while benefits tend to reflect industry patterns, the mix of benefits and methods of their distribution are more a function of the firm. As such, while firms may, overall, have similar benefits compensation levels, the mix and methods of rewards may differ even within an organization, suggesting the investigation of fairness relative to benefits would be an important area of study. Finally, employee attitudes toward the benefits packages they are offered are potentially an important correlate of other attitudes regarding their workplace. For example, Lambert (2000) showed that perceived usefulness of benefits was related positively to employee attitudes about overall organizational support. Yet, little is known about how the level of employee benefits provided to employees, as a component of compensation, would affect employees' overall satisfaction with benefits and thus their assessment of how they are being treated (fairness).

While there are many different dimensions of justice, as we pointed above, most research in the benefits area has focused on the two key dimensions – distributive and procedural justice. As we have defined it earlier, distributive justice can take the form of equity, equality, or need, and it relates to how employees view the relative allocation of benefits among individual employees (Deutsch, 1985). Distributive justice examines equity as employee *perceptions* of a ratio of outcomes-to-inputs relative to a referent other (Walster, Berscheid, & Walster, 1973). An individual perceives equity when his/her outcomes and the outcomes of a referent are proportional to their respective inputs. When the outcomes-to-inputs ratios are unequal, either positive or negative inequity exists (Walster et al.). An individual perceives negative inequity if his/her outcomes-to-inputs ratio is less than that of the referent; positive inequity results if his/her own ratio exceeds that of the referent (Scheer, Kumar, & Steenkamp, 2003). Procedural justice, on the other hand, represents the extent to which employees view the means of benefit administration as being fair. Procedural justice, in congruence with our earlier definition, is concerned with the means by which ends are accomplished (Tyler & Lind, 1992). The operationalization of procedural justice in previous benefits satisfaction research has remained consistent, with researchers measuring the multiple, highly correlated components of procedural justice as a combined measure (e.g., Martin & Bennett, 1996; Williams et al., 2002). These components include such things as impartiality, refutability, accuracy, and explanation (Moorman, 1991).

The investigation of these key justice variables in relation to benefits satisfaction has produced mixed results. For example, recent research finds that while distributive justice is related to pay satisfaction, procedural justice is a better predictor of satisfaction with benefits (Tremblay et al., 1998, 2000). Other studies find, however, that both procedural and distributive justice can have important effects upon facet-specific items such as pay or benefits satisfaction, but that only procedural justice affects global evaluations such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Martin & Bennett, 1996). Similar to Martin and Bennett (1996), and contradictory to Tremblay and colleagues (1998, 2000), Davis and Ward (1995) find distributive, not procedural, justice to be an important predictor of satisfaction with benefits. Finally, Williams et al. (2002) find elements of both procedural and distributive justice to relate to benefits satisfaction. Thus, the dilemma is that conflicting conclusions exist among the few studies that have been devoted specifically to benefits satisfaction and justice.

One potential reason for equivocal results is that, within benefits related research, distributive justice is most often measured without treating positive or negative deviations from equity in a distinct empirical manner. Although seminal work in the justice literature would suggest that *any* deviation from fairness should have a negative effect upon one's overall perception of justice (Adams, 1965), it is logical to presume that positive versus negative deviations would have the potential to drive relationships to outcome variables in different manners (i.e., Scheer et al., 2003).

Thus, measuring both positive and negative deviations from equity allows a more comprehensive analysis of the effects of (in)equity. Secondly, discrepant measurement of benefits satisfaction could be partly to blame for inconsistent results from study to study. Although much of the previous research has relied upon an aggregate benefits satisfaction measure (e.g., Martin & Bennett, 1996; Williams, 1995), it is not uncommon to use a combined measure of both benefits cost and quality (e.g., Tremblay et al., 2000) that was first introduced by Lust and Danehower (1992). Interestingly, though, Williams et al. (2002) argue the logic of breaking benefits satisfaction into two distinct components (i.e., benefit system versus benefit level satisfaction) and successfully demonstrate that different antecedent conditions exhibit distinct relationships to different elements of benefits satisfaction.

One more potential reason for such equivocal results is that previous research in this area has relied exclusively upon main effect tests (e.g., Tremblay et al., 2000; Williams et al., 2002) to the exclusion of potential moderating factors. Indeed, recent justice research has clearly demonstrated the importance of investigating moderating variables when studying the effects of distributive and procedural justice (Ambrose & Schminke, 2003; Scheer et al., 2003). In an attempt to help more fully explain the relationship between justice and benefits satisfaction, Arnold and Spell (2006) considered the role of organizational context in the justice-benefits satisfaction link. According to Johns (2001), context encourages or impedes behavior and attitudes in organizational settings. For example, context is often viewed as a broad concept that describes strong versus weak situations in terms of situational opportunities and constraints that affect behavior (e.g., Johns, 2006). We first, therefore, focus on organizational culture as one of the features of the contextual environment in an organization.

Culture as a Moderator of the Justice-Benefits Satisfaction Link

Although several organizational factors could play a role in generating the mixed results relating justice to benefits satisfaction, one important area that has been shown to exhibit strong effects in shaping attitude and behavior is culture (Barkema & Vermeulen, 1997; Scheer et al., 2003). Organizational culture is defined as a set of norms and values that are widely shared and strongly held by a group of people (Chatman & Barsade, 1995; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1996). Indeed, previous conceptual work in the organizational literature has stressed the potentially strong effects of culture as a moderator of the effects of justice (Folger & Cropanzano, 1998). Specifically, the extent to which a culture is closed versus open has been previously discussed as a key moderator variable in organizational research (cf. Gebert & Boerner, 1999; Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayy, & Sanders, 1990). In addition, it is likely that the extent to which a culture is open versus closed would impact the flow of information among employees and between employees and management (Hofstede et al., 1990). As such, this cultural variable would be very likely to impact the salience of different forms of justice. For these reasons, the closed/open cultural variable was selected as the focal variable for this research.

In defining closed versus open organizational cultures, a closed system is a secretive environment where relations among employees and between employees and management are guarded (Hofstede et al., 1990). In such a culture, independent work roles are emphasized, and individualism is not, with conformity and clearly defined work behaviors being important from a managerial perspective (Gebert & Boerner, 1999). An open culture is treated theoretically and operationally as the opposite of a closed culture (Gebert & Boerner, 1999; Hofstede et al., 1990). Gebert and Boerner (1999) assert, "In reality, so we assume, there are normally mixes or combinations of the open and closed patterns" (p. 342). As such, the measurement of closed versus open is simply a continuum, as opposed to a bidimensional construction of each element. This being the case, an open culture represents an environment where employees feel welcome and "at home" relatively

quickly (Hofstede et al.). In such a culture, management emphasizes the importance of a pleasing work environment and the individuality and freedom in thought and behavior of employees, as well as the free exchange of ideas and information (Gebert & Boerner, 1999).

The predominance of either environment could have important implications on employee attitudes. For example, in environments where closed system thought dominates, the value of organizational benefits that are offered could be dramatically affected, thus impacting perceptions of justice (Deutsch, 1985). For example, employees may be offered benefits such as flexible time to accommodate personal or family needs. However, such benefits may be little used in a closed organizational system where taking advantage of flextime is unofficially viewed as a sign of less than total commitment to the organization's goals (Hofstede et al., 1990). Such an environment could impact employee judgments of treatment at the hands of the organization (procedural justice), as well as what an employee views to be a valuable outcome given his/her contribution to the organization (equity). Additionally, in such a closed system, employees who take advantage of such benefits may feel they are in danger of being passed over for promotion or other reward opportunities, and may feel the resentment of other employees who acquiesce to the work environment and do not take advantage of their full range of benefits. Such perceptions would further affect judgments of procedural justice and equity. In their study of 237 employees in two manufacturing organizations, Arnold and Spell (2006) found that organizational culture may explain some of the unexplained differences in prior research. For employees in an open culture, distributive justice was a significant predictor of benefits satisfaction, especially in relation to satisfaction with benefits cost. Overall, their results indicate that it is important to consider culture's role in determining the importance of procedural or distributive justice in relation to benefits satisfaction.

Further, a normative behavior perspective suggests that employee reactions to their unethical behavior will be shaped by whether the behavior itself is acceptable within the organization's culture. Earlier we discussed how perceived injustice over benefits or other workplace issues may cause employees increased psychological distress. However, recent research suggests that under some conditions, felt injustice may lead to a different outcome. In the context of an unjust work environment, employees engaging in unethical behavior may actually experience improved psychological well-being if the deviant (unethical) behavior is seen as an effort to reduce felt inequity (and hence alleviate tension) arising from the injustice. In other words, employees may feel better after deviant behavior because they think they are "getting even" with an unfair workplace culture. As such, unethical behavior by employees may lead to increased psychological well-being under the equity perspective, or it may reduce well-being if it is in opposition to cultural norms under the normative behavior perspective. In another study with implications for ethical work culture, Weber, Kurke, and Pentico (2003) surveyed employees at two firms in the health-care industry. Auditors had discovered employee theft at one of the companies. The study found that the company experiencing theft had a significantly different ethical work climate. The finding that there is an association between employee theft and the organization's work climate is important with respect to understanding the role of context in employee ethical behavior. In light of the fact that employees who feel they have been unfairly treated may try to "get even" through deviant behavior, it also suggests that workplace culture can shape such proclivities.

Other Moderators of the Justice-Benefits Satisfaction Link

Past research also suggests that the type of strategy (e.g., growth-oriented strategies, stability-oriented strategies, and customer-oriented strategies, Delery & Doty, 1996; Miles & Snow, 1978; Richard, 2000) defines the amount of emphasis and resources devoted to various organizational tasks and, therefore, can be viewed as an important contextual factor for workgroups (Delery &

Doty, 1996; Doty, Glick, & Huber, 1993; Ruekert & Walker, 1987). Supposedly, the type of strategy chosen can influence the relationship between justice and benefits. For instance, a typical management approach to benefits is to offer a flexible benefits plan as part of a strategy to give employees more choice in their compensation. The role of flexibility in pay plans has been found to be significant as a determinant of satisfaction in prior research (Tremblay et al., 1998).

Another potential contextual moderator that should be explored is human resource practices. Many human resource (HR) practices are motivated by efforts to create competitive advantage through better trained employees, promoting diversity and a broader vision, being open to new ideas, and supporting employee involvement and commitment (Becker & Huselid, 1998; Ichniowski, Shaw, & Prenushi, 1997; Kochan & Osterman, 1994; MacDuffie, 1995). In this study, we focus on two types of HR practices: training-oriented and diversity-oriented. Both types of practices refer to a set of activities offered by the division or department to its employees to promote understanding of its values or practices, maintain positive relationships, and improve productivity (adapted from Enz & Siguaw, 2000; Richard & Johnson, 2001). Training-oriented practices accomplish this indirectly by honing employee job-related skills within the context of the department's values toward diversity, whereas diversity-oriented practices directly attempt to impart on employees the department's values regarding diversity.

Dilemma #3: Multilevel Perspective on Perceptions of Justice and Benefits

If you haven't seen it, I suggest you watch *The Caine Mutiny*. Basically, one guy takes apart the ship. He was unhappy.

-From the You're the Boss blog,
The Secret to Having Happy Employees,
The New York Times, June 1, 2010

As a famous example of a sometimes tyrannical boss who got his comeuppance due to an uprising of subordinates, *The Caine Mutiny*'s story of Captain Queeg, in many ways also shows the power of a group of subordinates to effect change (in this case the mutiny). It also can be seen as a cautionary tale for managers who do not pay attention to subordinates who are distressed about working conditions or perceived unfair treatment from their supervisor. This illustrates the third dilemma we consider: even as organizations use teams to get work done in an increasingly diverse workforce, we do not have a full understanding of the role of group dynamics that may work in concert with justice perceptions. Under various conditions, these relationships may either diminish quality of work life or enhance it.

Earlier we discussed how one important outcome of employees feeling that their benefits were unfairly managed was decreased psychological well-being. This means that benefits levels may be related to justice assessments which, ultimately, may affect psychological distress. While some research has examined the process by which individuals assess the level of benefits and how that might affect fairness perceptions, most of it has been done by considering individual level reactions. Recent literature, however, has considered the role of the group in forming fairness perceptions which might be critical in understanding the process by which employees form fairness assessments is related to benefits levels. In fact, group-level perceptions of justice, or justice climate, has been found to be a powerful predictor of individual level psychological well-being (Spell & Arnold, 2007). A key goal of this line of research is to identify which conditions would lead to improvements in attitudes (in our case, the attitudes of interest would be those connected with benefits) and which would lead to unfavorable attitudes or outcomes.

Inasmuch as distress (whether due to unfairness perceptions or otherwise) is a problem, social connections and group-level constructs have long been thought to be one of the most important

boundary conditions for psychological distress (e.g., Heaphy, 2007). Empirical research on organizational injustice has, however, neglected to examine group composition as a potential mechanism for coping with injustice. As Levine and Moreland (1992, p. 150) state, “any serious effort to understand mental health must consider the psychological benefits and risks associated with group membership.” Although some research has looked at group-level constructs (e.g., team climate), other has examined demographic characteristics such as gender (Kausto, Elo, Lipponen, & Elovainio, 2005), yet no one, to our knowledge, has brought these two lines of research together. Our focus, therefore, is to understand how overall group demographic composition may shape the relationship between injustice and psychological distress.

Faultline Approach

Group demographic composition has been thought of as a key determinant of various process and performance outcomes (cf. Harrison & Klein, 2007; Williams & O’Reilly, 1998). Yet, research has recently emerged to understand how group composition (in terms of occupational demography) may moderate attitudes and behaviors in diverse groups. For instance, Joshi, Liao, and Jackson (2006) examined how work group composition may play a role in influencing perceived pay inequalities. One way of understanding the effects of group effects that has received attention involves demographic fault lines. Fault lines form when multiple group member characteristics (e.g., age, gender, tenure, education) come into alignment and create “rifts” in diverse groups. These divisions have been generally thought of as violent splits that lead group members to differentiate themselves and fracture into subgroups (Lau & Murnighan, 1998). Prior research has typically focused on how fault lines may create an environment of distrust, conflict, and other problems (e.g., Li & Hambrick, 2005; Polzer, Crisp, Jarvenpaa, & Kim, 2006).

Implicit in the fault line perspective is the idea of alignment, which suggests that the compositional dynamics of multiple demographic attributes has a greater impact on behavior than one characteristic acting alone (e.g., Lau & Murnighan, 1998; Thatcher, Jehn, & Zanutto, 2003). “Aligned” members share similar demographic attributes that reinforce one another and differentiate members into respective fault line subgroups (Jehn, Bezrukova, & Thatcher, 2008). As strong (aligned on multiple attributes) fault line subgroups develop across a divide, they create a separate independent type of identity, different from a larger group. Research suggests that different types of identities may result in different attitudinal and behavioral outcomes (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995). These dual identities (group and subgroup) may find their manifestation in how we think about fault lines; while groups with fault lines may suffer from divisive processes (Homan et al., 2008; Li & Hambrick, 2005), members of fault line subgroups may personally benefit from a collaborative subgroup environment (Nishii & Goncalo, 2008).

In contrast to the research just discussed, other recent research has indicated fault lines, in interaction with justice perceptions, may, through serving as a social support mechanism, alleviate employee distress and improve psychological well-being, thus having a positive effect on quality of life (Bezrukova et al., 2010). Bezrukova et al. found that group fault lines weakened the positive relationship between perceived interpersonal injustice and psychological distress. Based on two studies of 57 and 36 work groups, they also found that cooperative behaviors within subgroups mediated the interactive effect of fault lines and injustice with psychological distress. Specifically, they concluded that members of subgroups formed by a fault line may cope with injustice through cooperating with each other. This reflects prior research that finds homogenous groups (e.g., a fault line subgroup with members aligned on several characteristics would be homogenous) or subgroups based on social categories exhibit more cooperative behavior (Chatman & Flynn, 2001; Wit & Wilke, 1992).

For instance, an uncooperative supervisor who treats employees with disrespect would likely cause psychological distress for group members. Yet, if there are strong fault lines, group members know they can count on their fellow subgroup members to cooperate and may feel less concerned about the uncooperative supervisor. Members of groups with fault lines can thus retreat back to their fault line subgroup to assure their actions are backed up or at least to protect their ego (Earley & Mosakowski, 2000). But if fault lines are weak, the relationship between interpersonal injustice and psychological distress will remain strong. This is because in groups with weak fault lines, the distinction between ingroups and outgroups may not be easily apparent, making subgroup categorization less likely (Eurich-Fulcer & Schofield, 1995). Such reduced salience of subgroups makes it harder for members to merge the self with the subgroup and obtain positive feelings of self-worth to cope with demeaning and disrespectful interpersonal treatment from a supervisor (Blader & Tyler, 2009).

Recommendations: Alleviating Detrimental Effects of Injustice

This chapter has identified some of the many reasons that employees might feel they are on the receiving end of a workplace injustice and why that is important for understanding the role of employee benefits in organizations. Our review of the research on this issue has led to several conclusions. First, workplace justice itself is a multifaceted construct. Beyond being dissatisfied with a benefits package (a distributive injustice), employees can feel they are being unfairly treated due to a host of reasons, from poor treatment by their supervisor when they use benefits like personal leave days (interpersonal injustice) to not getting enough information about how to access benefits (informational injustice) to feeling the process by which people get time off benefits is applied unevenly (procedural injustice). All these justice dimensions have implications for business outcomes and can be costly if poorly managed.

Secondly, our example in the preceding paragraph indicates that all forms of injustice have implications for how pleased employees are with benefits, yet only two dimensions, distributive and procedural justice, have received most attention to date. For instance, past research has found evidence that both issues with fair distribution of benefits and fairness in procedures may be related to employee satisfaction with benefits. Another issue is that most of the justice-benefits satisfaction research focuses on direct links and not on how contextual factors, like the culture of a workplace (or business strategy, human resources practices), may moderate the connection of perceived fairness with benefits satisfaction. Further, a conclusion we make, also concerning culture, is that a felt injustice may lead to deviant behavior (e.g., getting even) in some cases. Thus, feelings of resentment over poor or unjustly managed benefits may be one source of unethical or deviant behavior (slowing down work purposely, stealing office supplies, etc.). The research we have examined here suggests that the workplace culture may be a significant factor in determining whether employees feeling unjustly treated will actually engage in deviant behavior. Thus, more focus on contextual factors can explain some of the equivocal results found in research on justice and benefits.

A third conclusion is (following on the theme that workplace context is a moderator) that groups research may be drawn upon to help us understand how perceptions of unfairness may form in organizations. Recent research on justice climate has shown how individual perceptions of injustice not alone but rather their aggregate at the group level are associated with how their immediate coworkers feel about an issue (Arnold & Spell, 2006). This means that organizations should be especially aware of how opinions and assessments of employee benefits spread (presumably, either positive or negative assessments) among groups or teams as a type of social contagion where if, say, one group member feels poorly treated, potentially others in the group

will eventually share this perception. Also, recent research using the group fault line approach (Bezrukova et al., 2010) has shown how demographic splits in groups lead to subgroups that may offer social and other support to group members. This support may serve as a coping mechanism for dealing with the effects of felt injustice (say, one feels they have been unjustly treated in terms of getting time off to deal with a family emergency). Overall, the group-level studies tell us that to understand how individual justice perceptions form, one needs to consider processes beyond individual level traits or perceptions and consider the role of the group.

After considering the previous set of research issues and the questions that still remain, there is one final point that we raise as *a type of dilemma for practitioners* concerned with how to manage benefits and other indirect compensation for employees so that they will be seen as fair. So, what is a manager to do? Based on what we have synthesized from the existing research, the following recommendations can be made:

1. Know your employees and what they are thinking with respect to benefits. For instance, what policies and practices are most closely connected to justice perceptions? What do employees value about the compensation and/or reward system at the company? Apart from policies and programs, interpersonal treatment from supervisors has been shown to be the source of the most intense feelings of injustice (Bies, 2001). These questions should cause managers to focus on not only on formal “listening to employees” through questionnaires and opinion surveys, but on keeping track of employee fairness assessments an ongoing aspect of management culture.
2. Realize that associations between benefits policies, justice perceptions, and well-being do not happen as just an individual level phenomenon. Group-level social interactions have been shown to be important factors in shaping reactions to management practices and policies, including benefits.
3. Formal interventions such as diversity training, stress management, and benefits education can be considered in terms of how they contribute to improved employee well-being. While evaluating such programs and their effectiveness is beyond the scope of this chapter, they may be beneficial since one of the ultimate outcomes of injustice perceptions is diminished psychological distress. As we have argued in this chapter, felt injustices over benefits can lead to distress, which has been shown to have detrimental effects on productivity and other outcomes related to business costs. In this chapter, we have focused on the “front end,” or what might cause distress (e.g., unfairness over how they are managed). So, in assessing what managers can do, one should be careful not to count on such programs to simply “relieve the symptoms” or attempt to treat stress directly, but rather to consider the root causes of the distress.

References

- Adams, J. S. (1965). Inequity in social exchange. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*. New York: Academic.
- Ambrose, M. L., & Schminke, M. (2003). Organization Structure as a moderator of the relationship between procedural justice, interactional justice, perceived organizational support, and supervisory trust. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88, 295–305.
- Arnold, T., & Spell, C. (2006). The relationship between justice and benefits satisfaction. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 20, 599–620.
- Barboza, D. (2010). After Foxconn suicides, scrutiny for Chinese plants. *The New York Times*.
- Barkema, H. G., & Vermeulen, F. (1997). What differences in the cultural backgrounds of partners are detrimental for international joint ventures? *Journal of International Business Studies*, 28, 845–864.
- Becker, B. E., & Huselid, M. A. (1998). High performance work systems and firm performance: A synthesis of research and managerial implications. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 16, 53–101.

- Bezrukova, K., Spell, C., & Perry, J. (2010). Violent splits or healthy divides? Coping with injustice through fault lines. *Personnel Psychology*, *63*, 727–759.
- Bies, R. J. (2001). Interactional (in)justice: The sacred and the profane. In J. Greenberg & R. Cropanzano (Eds.), *Advances in organizational justice* (pp. 89–118). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Blader, S., & Tyler, T. (2009). Testing and extending the group engagement model: Linkages between social identity, procedural justice, economic outcomes, and extra role behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *94*, 445–464.
- Chatman, J. A., & Barsade, S. G. (1995). Personality, organizational culture and cooperation: Evidence from a business simulation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *40*, 423–443.
- Chatman, J. A., & Flynn, F. J. (2001). The influence of demographic heterogeneity on the emergence and consequences of cooperative norms in work teams. *Academy of Management Journal*, *44*(5), 956–974.
- Cohen-Charash, Y., & Spector, P. E. (2001). The role of justice in organizations: A meta-analysis. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *86*, 278–321.
- Colquitt, J. A. (2001). On the dimensionality of organizational justice: A construct validation of a measure. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*, 386–400.
- Colquitt, J. A. (2004). Does the justice of the one interact with the justice of the many? Reactions to procedural justice in teams. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*, 633–646.
- Cropanzano, R., & Baron, R. (1991). Injustice and organizational conflict: The moderating role of power restoration. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, *2*, 5–26.
- Cropanzano, R., Bowen, D. E., & Gilliland, S. W. (2007). The management of organizational justice. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *21*(4), 34–48.
- Davis, E., & Ward, E. (1995). Health benefit satisfaction in the public and private sectors: The role of distributive and procedural justice. *Public Personnel Management*, *24*, 255–271.
- Deaux, K., Reid, A., Mizrahi, K., & Ethier, K. (1995). Parameters of social identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *68*, 280–291.
- Delery, J. E., & Doty, D. H. (1996). Modes of theorizing in strategic human resource management: Tests of universalistic, contingency, and configurational performance predictions. *Academy of Management Journal*, *39*, 802–835.
- Deutsch, M. (1985). *Distributive justice*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
- Doty, D. H., Glick, W. H., & Huber, G. P. (1993). Fit, equifinality, and organizational effectiveness: A test of two configurational theories. *Academy of Management Journal*, *36*, 1196–1250.
- Earley, P. C., & Mosakowski, E. (2000). Creating hybrid team cultures: An empirical test of transnational team functioning. *Academy of Management Journal*, *43*, 26–49.
- Enz, C. A., & Siguaw, J. A. (2000). Best practices in human resources. *The Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, *41*, 48–61.
- Eurich-Fulcer, R., & Schofield, J. W. (1995). Correlated versus uncorrelated social categorizations: The effect on intergroup bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *21*, 149–159.
- Folger, R. C., & Cropanzano, R. (1998). *Organizational justice and human resource management*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publishers.
- Fox, S., & Spector, P. E. (1999). A model of work frustration-aggression. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *20*, 915–931.
- Fox, S., Spector, P. E., & Miles, D. (2001). Counterproductive work behavior (cwb) in response to job stressors and organizational justice: Some mediator and moderator tests for autonomy and emotions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *59*, 291–309.
- Gebert, D., & Boerner, S. (1999). The open and the closed corporation as conflicting forms of organization. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *35*(3), 341–359.
- Geisel, J. (2002). Health care costs rising unabated. *Business Insurance*, *49*, 1–18.
- Gomez-Mejia, L. R., & Balkin, D. B. (1992). Determinants of faculty pay: An agency theory perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, *35*(5), 921–956.
- Greenberg, J. (1990). Organizational justice: Yesterday, today, and tomorrow. *Journal of Management*, *16*, 399–432.
- Greenberg, J. (1993). Stealing in the name of justice: Informational and interpersonal moderators of theft reactions to underpayment inequity. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *54*, 81–103.
- Greenberg, J. (2006). Losing sleep over organizational injustice: Attenuating insomniac reactions to underpayment inequity with supervisory training in interactional justice. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *91*, 58–69.
- Hamilton, V. L. (2000). (In)justice in waiting: Russian officers' organizational commitment and mental distress during downsizing. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *30*, 1995–2027.
- Harrison, D. A., & Klein, K. J. (2007). What's the difference? Diversity constructs as separation, variety, or disparity in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1199–1228.
- Heaphy, E. D. (2007). Bodily insights: Three lenses on positive organizational relationships. In J. E. Dutton & B. R. Ragins (Eds.), *Exploring positive relationships at work: Building a theoretical and research foundation* (pp. 47–71). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Hofstede, G., Neuijen, B., Ohayy, D., & Sanders, G. (1990). Measuring organizational cultures: A qualitative and quantitative study across twenty cases. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35, 286–316.
- Homan, A. C., Hollenbeck, J. R., Humphrey, S. E., van Knippenberg, D., Ilgen, D. R., & Van Kleef, G. A. (2008). Facing differences with an open mind: Openness to experience, salience of intra-group differences, and performance of diverse work groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, 51(6), 1204–1222.
- Ichniowski, C., Shaw, K., & Prenushi, G. (1997). The effects of human resource management practices on productivity: A study of steel finishing lines. *American Economic Review*, 87, 291–313.
- Jehn, K. A., Bezrukova, K., & Thatcher, S. M. B. (2008). Conflict, diversity, and fault lines in workgroups. In C. K. W. DeDreu & M. J. Gelfand (Eds.), *The psychology of conflict and conflict management in organizations* (pp. 179–210). New York/London: The SIOP Frontiers Series/Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Johns, G. (2001). In praise of context. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 22, 31–42.
- Johns, G. (2006). The essential impact of context on organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Review*, 31(2), 386–408.
- Joshi, A., Liao, H., & Jackson, S. E. (2006). Cross-level effects of workplace diversity on sales performance and pay. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(3), 459–481.
- Judge, T. A., Scott, B. A., & Ilies, R. (2006). Hostility, job attitudes, and workplace deviance: Test of a multilevel model. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91, 126–138.
- Kausto, J., Elo, A.-L., Lipponen, J., & Elovainio, M. (2005). Moderating effects of job insecurity in the relationships between procedural justice and employee well-being: Gender differences. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 14(4), 431–452.
- Knottnerus, J. D., Ulsperger, J. S., Cummings, S., & Osteen, E. (2006). Exposing Enron: Media representations of ritualized deviance in corporate culture. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 2, 177–195.
- Kochan, T. A., & Osterman, P. (1994). *The mutual gains enterprise*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Lambert, S. (2000). Added benefits: The link between work-life benefits and organizational citizenship behavior. *Academy of Management Journal*, 43, 801–815.
- Lau, D., & Murnighan, J. K. (1998). Demographic diversity and fault lines: The compositional dynamics of organizational groups. *Academy of Management Review*, 23, 325–340.
- Levine, J. M., & Moreland, R. L. (1992). Small groups and mental health. In D. N. Ruble, P. R. Costanzo, & M. Oliveri (Eds.), *The social psychology of mental health: Basic mechanisms and applications* (pp. 126–165). New York: Guilford Press.
- Li, J., & Hambrick, D. C. (2005). Factional groups: A new vantage on demographic fault lines, conflict, and disintegration in work teams. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48, 794–813.
- Lust, J., & Danehower, C. (1992). *The dimensionality of employee benefit satisfaction*. Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the Academy of Management, Las Vegas, NV.
- MacDuffie, J. P. (1995). Human resource bundles and manufacturing performance: Organizational logic and flexible production systems in the world auto industry. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review*, 48, 197–221.
- Martin, C. L., & Bennett, N. (1996). The role of justice judgments in explaining the relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment. *Group & Organization Management*, 21, 84–104.
- Mayer, D., Nishii, L., Schnieder, B., & Goldstein, H. (2007). The precursors and products of justice climates: Group leader antecedents and employee attitudinal consequences. *Personnel Psychology*, 60, 929–964.
- Miles, R., & Snow, C. (1978). *Organizational strategy, structure, and process*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Moorman, R. (1991). Relationship between organizational justice and organizational citizenship behaviors: Do justice perceptions influence employee citizenship? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76, 845–855.
- National Mental Health Association. (2007). *Gaining a competitive edge through mental health: The business case for employers*.
- Nishii, L. H., & Goncalo, J. A. (2008). Demographic fault lines and creativity in diverse groups. In K. W. Phillips, E. A. Mannix, & M. A. Neale (Eds.), *Research on managing groups and teams* (Vol. 11, pp. 1–26). Bradford, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- O'Reilly, C. A., & Chatman, J. A. (1996). Culture as social control: Corporations, culture, and commitment. In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 18, pp. 157–200). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Polzer, J. T., Crisp, C. B., Jarvenpaa, S. L., & Kim, J. W. (2006). Extending the fault line model to geographically dispersed teams: How collocated subgroups can impair group functioning. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49, 679–692.
- Richard, O. C. (2000). Racial diversity, business strategy, and firm performance: A resource-based view. *Academy of Management Journal*, 43(2), 164–177.
- Richard, O. C., & Johnson, N. B. (2001). Understanding the impact of human resource diversity practices on firm performance. *Journal of Management Issues*, 13, 177–195.
- Rousseau, V., Chioocchio, F., Boudrias, J., Aube, C., & Morin, E. (2008). Social interactions at work and psychological health: The role of leader-member exchange and work group integration. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 38, 1755–1777.

- Ruekert, R. W., & Walker, O. C. (1987). Interactions between marketing and R&D departments in implementing different business strategies. *Strategic Management Journal*, 8, 233–248.
- Salzman, A. (2004). Out of a Job, but Paychecks Keep on Coming. *The New York Times*, pCT1-CT2.
- Scheer, L., Kumar, N., & Steenkamp, J. B. (2003). Divergent reactions of U.S. and Dutch dealers to perceived inequity in channel relationships. *Academy of Management Journal*, 46(3), 303–316.
- Skarlicki, D. P., & Folger, R. (1997). Retaliation in the workforce: The roles of distributive, procedural, and interactional justice. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82, 434–443.
- Skarlicki, D. P., Folger, R., & Tesluk, P. (1999). Personality as a moderator in the relationship between fairness and retaliation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 42, 100–108.
- Spell, C. S., & Arnold, T. J. (2007). A multilevel analysis of organizational justice climate, structure, and employee mental health. *Journal of Management*, 33, 724–751.
- Tepper, B. J. (2001). Health consequences of organizational injustice: Tests of main and interactive effects. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 86, 197–215.
- Tepper, B. J., Duffy, M. K., Henle, C. A., & Lambert, L. S. (2006). Procedural injustice, victim precipitation, and abusive supervision. *Personnel Psychology*, 59, 101–123.
- Thatcher, S. M. B., Jehn, K. A., & Zanutto, E. (2003). Cracks in diversity research: The effects of fault lines on conflict and performance. *Group Decision and Negotiation*, 12, 217–241.
- Tremblay, M., Sire, B., & Balkin, D. (2000). The role of organizational justice in pay and employee benefit satisfaction, and its effects on work attitudes. *Group & Organization Management*, 25, 269–290.
- Tremblay, M., Sire, B., & Pelchet, A. (1998). A study of the determinants and of the impact of flexibility on employee benefit satisfaction. *Human Relations*, 51, 667–688.
- Tyler, T., & Lind, E. (1992). A relational model of authority in groups. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 25, 115–194.
- VanHemert, K. (2010). *Foxconn workers don't get mad, they get even (By burning their factory down)*. Retrieved June 6, 2010, from <http://gizmodo.com/5476446/foxconn-workers-dont-get-mad-they-get-even-by-burning-their-factory-down>
- Walster, E., Berscheid, E., & Walster, G. (1973). New directions in equity research. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 151–176.
- Weber, J., Kurke, L. B., & Pentio, D. W. (2003). Why do employees steal? Assessing differences in ethical and unethical employee behavior. *Business & Society*, 42, 359–380.
- Williams, K., & O'Reilly, C. A. (1998). Demography and diversity: A review of 40 years of research. In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 20, pp. 77–140). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Williams, M., Malos, S., & Palmer, D. (2002). Benefit system and benefit level satisfaction: An expanded model of antecedents and consequences. *Journal of Management*, 28, 195–215.
- Williams, M. L. (1995). Antecedents of employee benefit level satisfaction: A test of a model. *Journal of Management*, 21, 1097–1029.
- Wit, A. P., & Wilke, H. A. M. (1992). The effect of social categorization on cooperation in three types of social dilemmas. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 13, 135–151.

Chapter 14

Telecommuting and Flexible Work Hours: Alternative Work Arrangements that Can Improve the Quality of Work Life

James A. Breaugh and Angela M. Farabee

How Work Can Interfere with Nonwork Responsibilities: A Case Scenario

Erin Parner is a single mother of a 9-year-old son. She works as an accountant for a hospital in Hartford, Connecticut. Until 1 month ago, her work schedule was Monday–Friday from 8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Given her 30-minute commute to work and her need to drop her son off at a before-school childcare program, Erin generally left her apartment at 7:45 in the morning. She typically returned home with her son around 6:15 p.m. One month ago, Erin's supervisor informed her that, given her department's increased workload, she would have to start working past 5:30 on days when he needed her. Since then, she has worked until at least 6:30 on six occasions. On most of these occasions, Erin was not told by her supervisor of having to work late until the afternoon of that day. Having longer and less predictable work hours has created problems for Erin. For example, her son's after-school childcare program closes at 6:30. When Erin cannot get there by then, she has to scramble to find a friend to pick him up. Her new hours also have affected her home life (e.g., she has less time to spend with her son; fast food increasingly substitutes for a home-cooked meal) and her well-being (e.g., Erin increasingly is skipping her evening jog; she feels under greater stress).

A week ago, Erin asked her supervisor whether she could change her normal work hours to 7:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Starting at 7:30 would allow her to avoid some rush hour traffic. It also would mean that during busy periods, she could work an extra hour (until 5:30) and still get to the childcare center before it closed. As a way to reduce commuting and childcare costs, Erin also asked whether she could begin working from home 1 day a week. Erin did not think this request to work from home was unreasonable given she knew of a number of accountants at other hospitals who were allowed to telecommute a couple of days per week. Her manager was not supportive of Erin's requests, but he forwarded them to the human resources department which quickly rejected both of them.

Having reflected on her situation, Erin feels in an ethical quandary. She is committed to her job, the hospital, and especially to some of her coworkers. However, she also has important

J.A. Breaugh, Ph.D. (✉)

College of Business Administration, University of Missouri – St. Louis, St. Louis, MO 63121, USA

e-mail: jbreugh@umsl.edu

A.M. Farabee

Psychology Department, University of Missouri – St. Louis, St. Louis, MO 63121, USA

responsibilities outside of work. After having considered her situation, Erin has decided to look for a new job, one with a work schedule that does not cause her to compromise her values of being a good mother and of having a balanced life. Although Erin's decision to leave her job is primarily due to the unwillingness of the hospital to modify her schedule, it also reflects her frustration with the way things had unfolded. In particular, Erin felt disappointed that her supervisor did not discuss with her beforehand the change he was considering making in her schedule (given she had been a dedicated employee, she felt she deserved that). She also was disappointed that she had received no explanation from her supervisor or from the human resources department of why her request for a change of hours and her request to be able to work 1 day a week from home were turned down.

An Overview of This Chapter

In recent years, most employers have been under increasing pressure to improve productivity. For example, businesses have shareholders who expect a good return on their investments and customers who expect sensitivity to their needs (e.g., quick turnaround on orders). Similarly, not-for-profit organizations (e.g., hospitals, schools) have experienced pressure from the public to do more (e.g., handle more indigent patients, teach more students) even though their budgets have not kept pace with these increasing demands. In order to increase productivity while containing costs, as reflected in the case scenario, organizations often expect their employees to work longer hours and to be flexible with regard to working late with little notice. At the same time, employees have nonwork responsibilities. Given the increasing number of dual-career couples, single-parent homes, and workers with eldercare responsibilities (Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007), it is not surprising that work and nonwork responsibilities frequently come into conflict. Nor is it surprising that such conflict can have adverse effects for an employer and an employee. As evidence of such conflict, 75% of the employees surveyed by the Families and Work Institute (2009) reported not having enough time with their children. Given the economic realities many organizations face today, longer and less predictable hours sometimes cannot be avoided. However, some of the harmful effects of these new schedules can be lessened if employees have a voice in the decisions being made (e.g., when a shift starts) or at least are respected enough to be informed of why the changes made are needed.

In the next section of this chapter, we address the issue of work → nonwork conflict (the arrow represents the hypothesized causal direction of work demands interfering with nonwork obligations), causes of it, and the consequences of such conflict. In the remainder of this chapter, we address two alternative work arrangements (i.e., telecommuting and flexible work hours) that employers can use to reduce work → nonwork conflict. These two arrangements also are shown to have direct benefits for employers (e.g., employee retention) and employees (e.g., job satisfaction), even if work → nonwork conflict is not a major issue.

Work → Nonwork Conflict: What Is It? What Causes It? Why Is It Important?

The Evolution of Research on Work → Nonwork Conflict

Since the publication of a seminal article by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) which focused on work-family conflict, research investigating how work can interfere with carrying out nonwork obligations has increased dramatically. This research also has become more nuanced.

For example, many of the early studies in this domain focused on work-family conflict. However, more recent research (e.g., Fisher, Bulger, & Smith, 2009) has broadened the focus from work solely affecting family obligations in general to work influencing a range of nonwork roles. Among these roles are spouse, childcare provider, student, eldercare provider, community volunteer, friend, and church member. A nonwork role with which work commonly interferes is one that is self-focused (Hilbrecht, Shaw, Johnson, & Andrey, 2008). A self-oriented role encompasses activities focused on personal well-being (getting adequate sleep, having time for exercise, etc.).

A second way in which research dealing with conflict between the work and nonwork domains has evolved is greater attention being given to the forms of conflict. For example, Carlson, Kacmar, and Williams (2000) distinguished three forms of work-based conflict. Time-based conflict refers to a situation in which time devoted to work roles interferes with carrying out nonwork roles (e.g., having to work until 6:00 p.m. does not allow a parent to attend a child's after-school events). Behavior-based conflict occurs when work-related behaviors are incompatible with behaviors called for in a nonwork role (e.g., assertive behavior that is appropriate in the work setting is inconsistent with the desires of a spouse). Strain-based conflict refers to a situation in which work-related strain interferes with behavior in a nonwork role (e.g., stress at work makes a person irritable when interacting with friends). Carlson et al. also discussed how these three forms of conflict could be family-based (e.g., time committed to childcare could interfere with working late). However, given the focus of this chapter, we discuss these three forms of conflict primarily in the context of work interfering with nonwork responsibilities. Furthermore, due to space constraints, we do not distinguish types of work-based conflict unless such distinctions are particularly important.

A Model of the Causes of Work → Nonwork Conflict

In attempting to understand why work → nonwork conflict occurs, researchers have investigated numerous likely causes. Figure 14.1 portrays several of the most commonly discussed ones. This model, which is based upon empirical research, theorizing, and employer reports of their experiences, is drawn upon later in this chapter to explicate the benefits of an employer's allowing workers to telecommute and/or have flexible work hours.

Not surprisingly, variables related to time away from home have been linked to work → nonwork conflict. In particular, the more hours an individual works and the greater the amount of time spent commuting (i.e., the more hours that work-related demands make unavailable for nonwork roles), the greater the amount of work → nonwork conflict (Taylor, Delcampo, & Blancero, 2009). Such positive relationships are reflected by the positive signs attached to arrows in Fig. 14.1. Job stress is also likely to result in work → nonwork conflict (Ford et al., 2007) because stress can carry over from the work place into nonwork place interactions. Not all work-related variables are likely to increase work → nonwork conflict. For example, as reflected in Fig. 14.1, being able to work from home and having a flexible work schedule may allow an employee to accommodate nonwork responsibilities (e.g., taking a child to the doctor) which should, in turn, reduce work → nonwork conflict (Breaugh & Frye, 2008).

Experiencing work → nonwork conflict is not solely due to work-related variables. To the extent that an employee has nonwork responsibilities that require a greater commitment of time, such conflict is more likely to occur. In this regard, two family-related variables are likely to be important. First, employees who are married (or have a "significant other") are more likely to experience work → nonwork conflict (Kelly & Moen, 2007). Workers who are responsible for dependent children (especially younger ones) or others (e.g., elderly parents) are also likely to find work negatively impacting the fulfillment of these roles (Lu, Liu, Spector, & Shi, 2009). Although the antecedents of work → nonwork conflict discussed to this point involve work-related

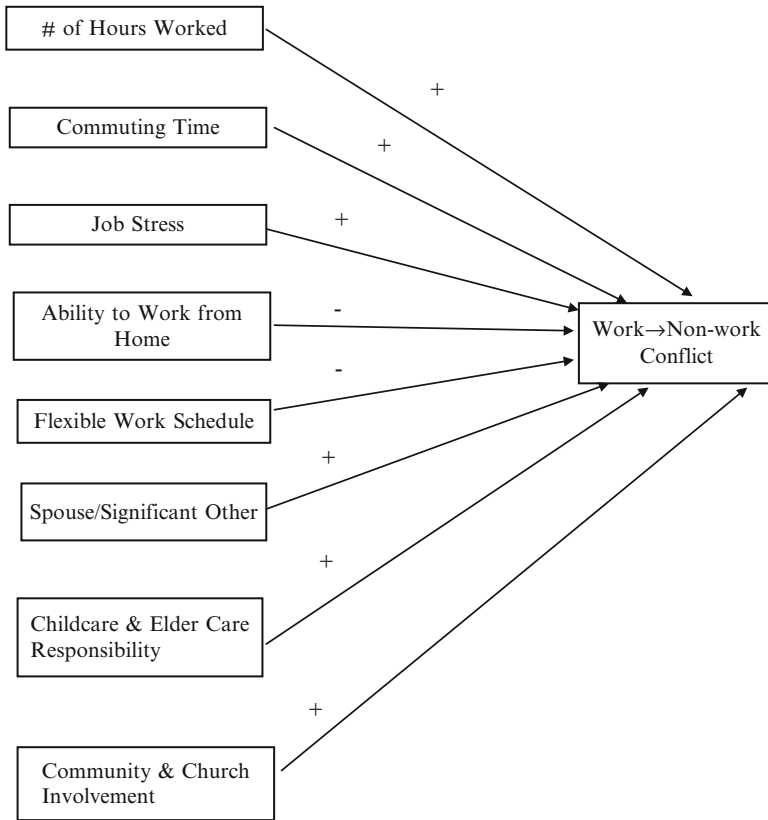


Fig. 14.1 Hypothesized causes of work → nonwork conflict

and family-related variables, this is not to suggest that responsibilities outside of these two domains are not important. For example, as reflected in Fig. 14.1, the greater the extent an individual is involved in community and/or church activities, the greater the chance that work will interfere with such activities (Byron, 2005).

A Model of the Consequences of Work → Nonwork Conflict

Researchers have focused considerable attention on possible consequences of work → nonwork conflict. Although space does not permit an extensive discussion of these outcomes, a selective discussion of such consequences is needed in order to appreciate the importance both to employers and employees of organizations taking actions (e.g., allowing workers to telecommute, providing flexible work hours) to alleviate such conflict.

Work → nonwork conflict has been hypothesized to affect several work-related variables. Four of the most important ones (i.e., job dissatisfaction, employee turnover, worker absenteeism, and job performance) are included in Fig. 14.2. As portrayed in the case scenario which introduced this chapter, work → nonwork conflict can result in an individual becoming dissatisfied with his/her job (Byron, 2005). Such dissatisfaction can result in an individual deciding to quit a job (Grzywacz & Butler, 2008). Alternatively, if long work hours and/or an inflexible work

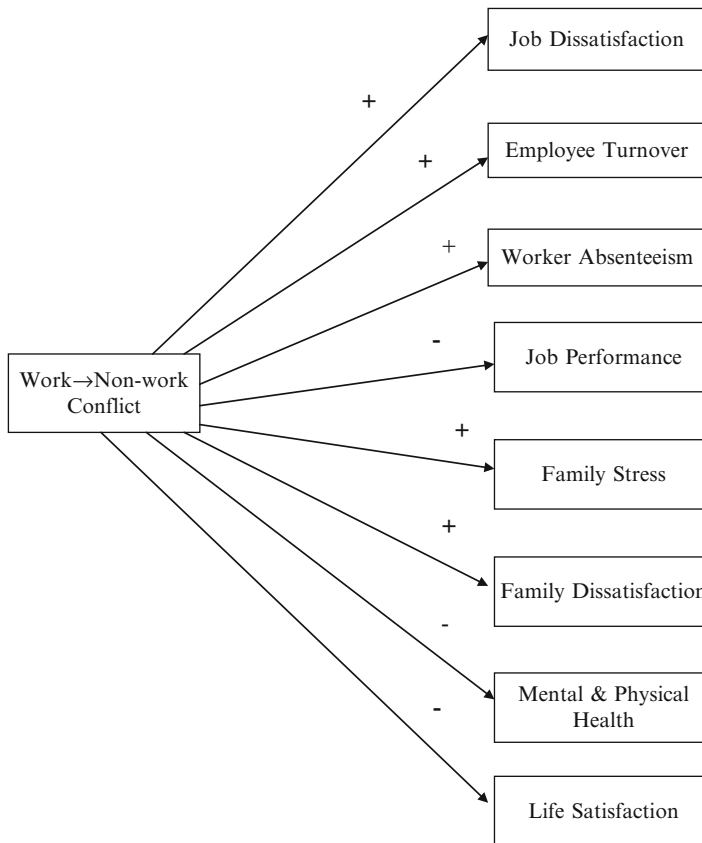


Fig. 14.2 Hypothesized consequences of work → nonwork conflict

schedule do not allow an employee to attend to nonwork responsibilities, a person may be absent in order to fulfill them. Such absenteeism generally would affect one's job performance (Kelly et al., 2008).

Researchers also have investigated several nonwork consequences of work → nonwork conflict. Four important ones are presented in Fig. 14.2. Not surprisingly, work → nonwork conflict has been shown to result in family stress and family dissatisfaction (Byron, 2005). It also has been linked to health problems (Greenhaus, Allen, & Spector, 2006). Given work → nonwork conflict encompasses responsibilities beyond the family domain; researchers have examined its impact on life satisfaction. As expected, such conflict has been negatively linked to happiness with one's life circumstances (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005).

Final Comments

From our review of the potential consequences of work → nonwork conflict, it should be apparent why employers should be interested in reducing it. From our discussion of the variables that can cause work → nonwork conflict, it should be evident that allowing workers to telecommute or have flexible work schedules may help reduce such conflict. Before addressing these two alternative work arrangements, we reiterate that our treatment of work → nonwork conflict provides only a

summary of the existing research. For example, the causes portrayed in Fig. 14.1 are direct relationships (e.g., having childcare responsibility increases conflict). Yet in reality, some of the causes discussed can interact. For example, the results of a study by Byron (2005) suggest the effect of having childcare responsibility is greater when it is combined with having a spouse who is employed. In a similar vein, evidence suggests that some of the relationships discussed (e.g., childcare responsibility and work → nonwork conflict) are stronger for female employees (likely due to females typically having greater responsibility for childcare).

Telecommuting

According to Bailey and Kurland (2002), telecommuting “came into vogue in the 1970s as an oil crisis gave rise to concerns over gasoline consumption, long work commutes, and traffic congestion in major metropolitan areas” (p. 387). Contributing to the increase in telecommuting were advances in computer-related technology, employers trying to cut real-estate costs, and their desire to reduce work → nonwork conflict in hopes that reducing such conflict would improve employee retention (Pearce, 2008). Given these factors, it is not surprising that the results of several studies (e.g., Society for Human Resource Management, 2009; WorldatWork, 2009) suggest the practice of workers telecommuting is now widespread.

In this section on telecommuting, we address (a) potential advantages and disadvantages of an employer’s allowing workers to telecommute, (b) contingency factors that affect the outcomes of such an alternative work arrangement, (c) specific employer experiences with the use of telecommuting, and (d) how an organization should implement such a program in order to maximize its effectiveness. However, before addressing these issues, it is important to define what we mean by the term telecommuting.

What Is Telecommuting?

Gajendran and Harrison (2007) defined *telecommuting* as “an alternative work arrangement in which employees perform tasks elsewhere that are normally done in a primary or central workplace, for at least some portion of their work schedule, using electronic media to interact with others inside and outside the organization” (p. 1525). This definition has two components that merit attention. The first is that telecommuting involves “at least some portion” of the work schedule. That is, telecommuting can vary in its intensity (i.e., include employees who work entirely away from the central workplace and employees who only work at a remote location some of the time). The second aspect of this definition that merits attention is the use of “electronic media to interact with others inside and outside the organization.” In contrast to this definition, other definitions of telecommuting do not require the use of electronic media or interactions with people outside the organization (e.g., United States General Accounting Office, 2001).

A review of the literature makes apparent that some authors have used the terms *telecommuting* and *telework* interchangeably while others distinguish between them. For example, Bailey and Kurland (2002) defined telework as “working outside the conventional workplace and communicating with it by way of telecommunications or computer-based technology” (p. 384). This definition is very similar to how telecommuting has been defined. In contrast, as defined in a report by WorldatWork (2009), telework involves performing “all of one’s work either from home or another remote location, either for an employer or through self-employment” (p. 4). According to this definition, telework involves an individual performing “all” work at a remote location

Table 14.1 Potential employer benefits of telecommuting

Benefit	Explanation	Key contingency factor(s)
<i>Facility cost saving</i>		
Less office space	Fewer employees at a corporate office should reduce the square footage required	Greater savings if employees work from home rather than a satellite site the employer owns or leases Employees who only partially telecommute do not have own office space at main corporate facility (e.g., share cubicles)
Less furniture	Fewer employees at a corporate office should reduce the furniture required	Employees who only partially telecommute do not have own office space at main corporate facility
<i>Employee-related</i>		
Recruitment	Ability to telecommute can make an organization more attractive	Greater attractiveness if ability to work from home rather than a satellite work site or customer's place of business
Retention	Ability to telecommute can positively affect job satisfaction	Higher level of job satisfaction if ability to work from home
Performance	Freedom from distractions and interruptions. Lack of commute leaves more time for work	Greater impact if employees work from home rather than a satellite work site
Attendance	Better able to accommodate own illness or that of a child	Is work–family conflict an issue?
<i>Other benefits</i>		
Ability to operate	Dispersed workforce lessens likelihood that natural disaster (e.g., flood), building emergency (e.g., fire), or health issue (e.g., flu pandemic) will disrupt business	Geographic location and design of office facility
Environment	Less commuting reduces pollution	Length of commute
Social good	Ability to telecommute allows some individuals (e.g., persons with certain disabilities) to work who otherwise would not be able to	Type of job could otherwise be handled by the individual

(telecommuting can involve some work being done at the employer's main location), and it includes persons who are self-employed (telecommuting generally is seen as involving working for an employer).

As we use the term, telecommuting refers to a work arrangement in which employees perform tasks at a remote location either periodically or regularly. Our definition covers employees who only work part-time from a remote location (this location could be a person's home, a satellite work site the employer has established, a customer's location, etc.) and situations in which the use of communications technology is not involved (although it typically is). Our definition does not cover individuals who are self-employed. We should also note that we see the terms telecommuting and telework as being synonymous.

Telecommuting: Potential Benefits for an Employer

Researchers (e.g., Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Kossek, Lautsch, & Eaton, 2006; Major, Virive, & Joice, 2008) have highlighted numerous potential benefits for an employer of its employees telecommuting. Several of these are listed in Table 14.1. Given the reasons telecommuting is linked to most of the benefits listed are somewhat obvious (e.g., not surprisingly, many individuals view a

job that allows for at least some work being done from home as desirable; therefore, it follows that telecommuting should have a positive influence on recruitment and retention) and given we have provided some explanation in Table 14.1, we will not discuss each of the benefits. Rather, we only present selective information that exemplifies the potential benefits of telecommuting.

A number of employers have found that telecommuting was linked to decreased operating costs. For example, Pearce (2008) discussed how AT&T reduced its office space requirements by 20–30% resulting in estimated savings of \$60 million in the first year. He reported that Northern Telecom estimated annual savings in operating expenses and rent at \$2,000 per telecommuter.

Employee performance also has been linked to the use of telecommuting. For example, Pearce (2008) reported that American Express Co. found that telecommuters handled 26% more calls and produced 43% more business than “their fixed-office counterparts” (p. 17). He also reported that Hewlett-Packard found the revenue produced by its salespeople doubled when they were converted to telecommuting.

Another potential benefit of telecommuting is it may allow an employer to continue operations during and/or immediately following a fire or flood that affected the home office or even after a natural disaster such as a hurricane or an earthquake (Pearce, 2008). Although such an event may seem unlikely, it can be devastating for a business even if it is unable to operate for only a few weeks.

Telecommuting also can have a positive impact on the environment. For example, when 150 employees at Georgia Power became telecommuters, they were able to reduce their annual commuting mileage by 993,000 miles and their auto admissions by 35,000 lb (Pearce, 2008). The US Government found that 20,000 federal employees telecommuting just 1 day per week saved 102,000 gal of gasoline, reduced driving to work by two million miles, and reduced emissions of carbon dioxide by 81,600 lbs each week (Pearce).

Telecommuting: Potential Negative Outcomes for an Employer

There are also potential disadvantages of workers telecommuting (ways to minimize some of these negative outcomes will be discussed later in the chapter). Table 14.2 lists five of the most commonly discussed employer disadvantages (Bailey & Kurland, 2002; Major et al., 2008).

One drawback of implementing a telecommuting work arrangement for an employer is start-up costs. For example, an employer may need to purchase equipment for a home or a satellite work site. For many jobs, an employer will need to change its standard operating procedures (e.g., redesign job duties so that workers are less interdependent). Depending upon the type of jobs involved, other start-up issues may need to be addressed (e.g., modifying a computer firewall so that workers at remote locations can get access to data).

Past research (e.g., Nord, Fox, Phoenix, & Viano, 2002) has found that resistance from supervisors can be a major downside of allowing employees to telecommute (the supervisor’s lack of support described in the case scenario may reflect such resistance). This resistance may be due to supervisors perceiving that their jobs will be made more difficult. For example, a supervisor may be comfortable with closely supervising his/her employees and not want to change his/her style (e.g., communicate via phone or email). Resistance can also occur because of a concern about the ability to adequately monitor employee performance. As discussed by Lautsch, Kossek, and Eaton (2009), typically the effective supervision of telecommuters requires that the jobs allow for the measurement of important objective indicators of job performance.

A third problem that can occur with telecommuting is dissatisfaction involving coworkers who are not able to make use of this alternative work arrangement (Golden, 2007). Two factors are primary causes of such dissatisfaction. Coworkers may feel jealousy if they do not understand

Table 14.2 Potential employer disadvantages of telecommuting

Disadvantage	Explanation	Key contingency factor(s)
<i>Start-up costs</i>		
Equipment purchases	Additional equipment or new kinds of equipment may be needed	Depends on job (e.g., can office computer be used from remote site?)
New operating procedures	Current office procedures may not be effective for remote work site	Degree to which employees work independently
Training	May need to train individuals to facilitate telecommuting	Does new equipment need to be used or are new procedures involved?
<i>Supervisor resistance</i>		
Need for less hands-on supervisory style	Supervisor may feel that his/her job has been made more difficult Supervisor must be skilled at planning assignments, communicating via email, etc.	Less resistance if employer has explained benefits of telecommuting Less resistance if supervisors are trained how to adapt
Ability to monitor worker performance	Lack of telecommuter's presence can require a focus on objective indicators of performance	Are there meaningful objective indicators to capture telecommuter's performance?
<i>Coworker dissatisfaction</i>		
Jealousy	Those who are not allowed to telecommute may feel resentful	Depends on why the person is not allowed to telecommute
Job difficulty	Those who are not allowed to telecommute may feel their jobs have been made more difficult	Degree to which jobs are interdependent (e.g., frequent sharing of information)
<i>Security of information</i>	Removal of documents from the central work office or accessing data from a remote site can result in security problems	Does telecommuting job involve access to confidential information?
<i>Legal issues</i>		
Safety issues	Degree of concern depends on applicable laws If injured at home, employee may be covered by worker's compensation law	Some countries, states, provinces, etc., have different laws that apply Difficulty in determining if injury is job-related
Compensation	Keeping track of hours worked is important for hourly workers	Does working from remote site make recordkeeping of hours difficult?

why they are not allowed to telecommute or if they do not see the reason given as being legitimate. Coworker dissatisfaction also can arise if others being allowed to telecommute is perceived as making the nontelecommuter's job more difficult. For example, those at a main office may perceive that they need to make an extra effort to communicate with those off-site or that they are more likely to be asked to work late. Such coworker backlash has been discussed by Kossek, Lewis, and Hammer (2010) and Nord et al. (2002).

In comparison to work being done in a central location, the lack of the security of information is another potential disadvantage of telecommuting. A prudent organization will take steps to secure access to sensitive company information through such things as a sophisticated sign-in procedure for accessing computerized data from off-site and/or requiring that certain documents not leave headquarters (i.e., telecommuters will need to come in to get access).

The final potential disadvantage of telecommuting listed in Table 14.2 involves legal issues. We have noted two potential concerns. The first of these involves a telecommuter being injured while working. In the United States and some other countries, a work-related injury entitles an individual to worker's compensation insurance that will pay for medical treatment and at least partially compensate for time missed from work. This coverage applies to telecommuters.

However, in contrast to an employee at a centralized workplace, an employer may be less certain whether an injury reported by a telecommuter was work-related. A second legal concern involves keeping track of time worked by nonexempt (i.e., hourly) employees for compensation purposes. Unlike a traditional work setting, working from a remote site, especially from home, can make it difficult to keep track of hours worked.

Contingency Factors that Moderate the Effects of Telecommuting on Employer Outcomes

In introducing many of the potential positive and negative employer outcomes of telecommuting, we noted several contingency factors (see Tables 14.1 and 14.2) that may increase or decrease the effects of working off-site. From our discussion, it should be apparent that two key contingency factors are whether a telecommuter works from home versus a satellite work site and whether the telecommuting is full-time versus part-time. As has been previously noted, allowing telecommuting from home and full-time telecommuting offer several advantages to the employer especially with regard to saving on facilities (e.g., there is no need to lease office space at a satellite location). Given these two variations of telecommuting also offer significant benefits for an employee, they will be addressed but from a different perspective in the next section. A key contingency factor is supervisor support for the telecommuting arrangement (Lautsch et al., 2009). For example, an effective telecommuting program generally involves a supervisor carefully planning work assignments, communicating periodically on work projects, and providing feedback on performance from a distance. If a supervisor does not support employees working off-site, these activities may not be done well. Ways to increase supervisor support will be addressed in our discussion of the implementation of a telecommuting program.

Telecommuting: Potential Benefits for an Employee

From our discussion of work → nonwork conflict, a number of ways an employee may benefit from telecommuting should be apparent. For example, it has the potential to reduce such conflict which may, in turn, influence an individual's health. In this section, we discuss key benefits of this work arrangement and when these benefits are most likely to be realized by employees. Some of these benefits (see Table 14.3) may be linked directly to telecommuting regardless of whether an individual is experiencing work → nonwork conflict.

One clear benefit of telecommuting is reduced commuting cost and time (Major et al., 2008). As described in Table 14.3, two key contingency factors are whether the employee works from home or a satellite work site and the intensity of the telecommuting arrangement. More specifically, the commuting benefits will be greater when a worker does not need to drive to a satellite location and when a greater number of days are worked from home. Another potential employee benefit is a sense of job autonomy (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). A third benefit that can be derived from telecommuting is reduced work → nonwork conflict (Major et al.). As described in Table 14.3, this benefit is most likely to be realized by individuals with childcare responsibility (e.g., the single mother described in the case scenario) and if the telecommuting arrangement involves working from home. A fourth potential benefit is increased job satisfaction which results from a telecommuter feeling a greater sense of autonomy and from the employee being better able to handle nonwork obligations. A fifth potential benefit of telecommuting, especially from home, is employees may encounter fewer distractions and interruptions which

Table 14.3 Potential employee benefits of telecommuting

Benefit	Explanation	Key contingency factor(s)
<i>Commuting cost and time</i>	Being able to work from home or at a satellite site that is close to home saves money and time	Greater savings if work is done at home and telecommuting is more intense (i.e., involves more days per week away from main office)
<i>Autonomy</i>	Results from working without close supervision	Depends on how closely monitored work is (e.g., computer monitoring of length of phone calls with customers) and whether employee is allowed to choose work hours
<i>Reduced work → nonwork conflict</i>	Better able to juggle nonwork responsibilities such as childcare	Only applies if work is done at home rather than at a satellite office or a customer's place of business
<i>Job satisfaction</i>	Results from having greater job autonomy and being better able to deal with nonwork responsibilities	Can be affected by whether employee had choice about whether to telecommute
<i>Fewer distractions and interruptions</i>	Results from being away from supervisor and coworkers	Benefit is more likely if individual works from home rather than a satellite site and has the self-discipline needed to avoid home-related distractions such as access to television
<i>Other benefits</i>		
Accommodates persons with certain disabilities	Certain home-bound individuals may be able to do job if not required to commute	May only apply if work is done at home
Savings on lunch and clothing	May not feel the need to go out for lunch and dress as formally	Greater savings if work is done at home and telecommuting is more intense (i.e., involves more days per week)

can harm their performance (Bailey & Kurland, 2002). Two final potential benefits for an employee are that telecommuting can allow otherwise qualified individuals (e.g., individuals with disabilities) who are not able to commute to a central work site to be hired (Tahmincioglu, 2003) and that it can result in savings on such things as work clothes and going out for meals with coworkers.

Telecommuting: Potential Negative Outcomes for an Employee

Although telecommuting is generally viewed favorably by employees, a few potential disadvantages of such a work arrangement have been noted (Bailey & Kurland, 2002). A frequently cited disadvantage is social isolation from one's supervisor and coworkers. As described in Table 14.4, such isolation is less likely to occur if telecommuters work one or more days a week in the central office. Career stagnation due to a lack of face time with important others also has been cited as a potential drawback of working off-site (Hill, Ferris, & Martinson, 2003). A third potential disadvantage is a blurring of the work/nonwork boundary (Hilbrecht et al., 2008). This can occur if a telecommuter is unable to control contacts from work (e.g., frequent text messages) and the time frame in which he/she is expected to respond (e.g., some telecommuters have reported they feel on-call during waking hours). The final potential negative outcome we would note is a backlash from coworkers (Wells, 2007). If a telecommuter rarely comes into the office and/or coworkers who are not allowed to telecommute are resentful of this, a telecommuter may experience a lack of cooperation from coworkers.

Table 14.4 Potential employee disadvantages of telecommuting

Disadvantage	Explanation	Key contingency factor(s)
<i>Social isolation</i>	Being removed from the central office location, especially working from home, can result in a lack of professional and social interaction	Intensity of telecommuting arrangement (less isolation if not a full-time telecommuter)
<i>Career stagnation</i>	Lack of close interaction with one's supervisor and others may result in a lack of career advancement	Intensity of telecommuting arrangement (less stagnation likely if not full-time)
<i>Blurring of the work/nonwork boundary</i>	Especially if a telecommuter has flexible work hours, he or she may be contacted via phone, email, and text message at all hours	Can employee control work–family boundary?
<i>Backlash from coworkers</i>	Discussed as a negative outcome for employer; can also be a negative for an employee (e.g., lack of cooperation)	Intensity of telecommuting arrangement (less backlash if not full-time)

Contingency Factors that Moderate the Effects of Telecommuting on Employee Outcomes

In addressing potential positive and negative employee outcomes of telecommuting, we noted several contingency factors (see Tables 14.3 and 14.4) that may increase or decrease the effects of working off-site. From our discussion, it should be obvious that two key contingency factors are whether a telecommuter works from home (most do) versus a satellite work site (e.g., commuting costs and time are greater if a telecommuter needs to travel to a satellite work site) and the intensity level of the telecommuting (e.g., social isolation and career stagnation are likely to be greater if an employer rarely commutes to the central business office). For completeness, we should also note that, with regard to distractions and interruptions, a key moderating factor for a home-based telecommuter is self-discipline. Without it, an individual can become distracted by access to television, children, meal preparation, etc.

Examples of Organizations that Have Used Telecommuting

At this point, it is instructive to provide an overview of the experiences of three organizations. Merrill Lynch instituted a telecommuting program in 1996 (Wells, 2001). However, before doing so, it spent 4 years considering how to best implement this work arrangement. The result of this planning process was the development of a 21-page guide for managers. In addition, Merrill Lynch developed a workshop in which employees that were going to telecommute and their managers could discuss potentially problematic issues before the telecommuting started. As part of this discussion, they agreed on ways to assess employee productivity and how the telecommuter would communicate with coworkers. Also addressed were concerns about career stagnation. In addition to these preparatory steps, a simulation lab was created on-site in which those individuals who were about to begin telecommuting practiced working alone. For example, this simulation lab only allowed workers to communicate with their managers by email or telephone and required them to develop skills for dealing with equipment problems that might occur once they were telecommuting. With regard to results, during the first year of the program, managers reported productivity increases of 15–20%, a 6% reduction in turnover, and a decline in absenteeism of 3.5 days.

JetBlue Airways uses home-based employees in the Salt Lake City region to fill its reservation agent positions (Frase-Blunt, 2007). This telecommuting arrangement has reduced office costs, is attractive to a segment of the population who otherwise might not have applied for a position (70% are stay-at-home moms), and has resulted in an annual retention rate of 96%. Not only has JetBlue reported that the program is a success, its agents feel similarly. Among the advantages they reported are avoiding a commute, being able to wear informal clothes, and being able to stay home with their children. Before telecommuting, an agent receives 5 weeks of training. The first 2 weeks involve classroom learning about the airline industry, JetBlue and its culture, and how to operate the technology. The next 3 weeks involve taking calls under supervision. In order to reduce the social isolation that agents might feel, they meet monthly with their supervisors and attend social events that are held several times a year.

Putnam Investments experimented with a telecommuting program as a way to reduce recruitment costs, improve its recruitment yield, and cut real-estate expenses (Wells, 2001). Initially, Putnam allowed those in jobs in customer service and financial services systems to work from home. In order to facilitate the transition to telecommuting, it offered training. In order to deal with feelings of social isolation, Putnam hosted frequent online chats and distributed regular electronic newsletters. The results of its pilot test were impressive. For example, Putnam generated many more applicants as the ability to telecommute became known, it found the attrition rate for telecommuters was 10% of that for in-office workers, and the productivity of the telecommuters was so high that Putnam planned on expanding the program.

Steps for Implementing an Effective Telecommuting Program

Implementing an effective telecommuting program is not a simple task. From our introduction of the topic, it should be apparent that several decisions need to be made (e.g., How to overcome resistance from managers?). Although a detailed discussion of the steps an employer should take to maximize the likelihood that a telecommuting program will be successful is beyond the scope of this chapter (interested readers should refer to Frase-Blunt, 2007; Nord et al., 2002; Pearce, 2008), in this section, we highlight a number of key steps. However, before addressing program implementation, for completeness, we briefly address preliminary research that an organization should conduct.

Before concerning itself with how best to implement a telecommuting program, an employer should investigate the perceived need for such an arrangement. In making such an assessment, an organization could ask employees directly (e.g., How would you like to have the ability to work from home? If you were allowed to do so, would you like to work from home full-time or part-time?) or make such an assessment in a more indirect fashion (e.g., in a corporate survey ask employees – How often do your responsibilities at work interfere with your home life? Are you unhappy with the amount of time you spend commuting?). An employer should also consider how managers who will be affected react to the idea of a telecommuting program (e.g., Do managers believe instituting a telecommuting program will make it harder for them to manage? Do they perceive that such a program will make it easier for them to hire and retain employees?). Finally, an organization should consider the benefits that it would garner from a telecommuting relationship (e.g., Is the organization concerned about the cost of renting office space? Is it committed to reducing auto pollution?). The answers to these and other questions (e.g., If a group of employees who would be eligible to telecommute are represented by a union, does the union need to support the new work arrangement?) should be considered before an organization decides to go ahead with a telecommuting arrangement.

An essential first step for implementing a successful telecommuting program is a systematic planning process. As an example, Capital One spent 18 months planning how to introduce its telecommuting program (Pomeroy, 2007). Although such a long time frame may seem excessive, numerous issues need to be addressed. For example, as part of the planning process, an employer needs to decide on its objectives. In this regard, if an employer's major objective is to cut office space expenses, it may make more sense to have employees work full-time from home instead of a satellite work site which the employer would need to lease. Alternatively, if its major objective is to improve employee retention, a less intensive arrangement in which individuals work at the central work site 1 or 2 days a week may make more sense (i.e., employees experience less sense of professional isolation).

Having decided on its goal(s), an employer needs to decide what jobs will qualify for the telecommuting program. Among the factors that should be considered are worker independence (i.e., little need for regular interaction with others in performing job duties), whether the security of information is an issue, and the cost of setting up a work site at a remote location. An additional key decision is whether the telecommuting arrangement will be voluntary or mandatory for an employee. Typically, voluntary programs are more beneficial both for employers and employees.

In making planning decisions, it is critical to get input from knowledgeable sources. Given those charged with implementing a telecommuting program want support from top management, managers who will be supervising telecommuters, and those who may telecommute, these groups should provide input with regard to designing an off-site work arrangement. For example, Arnold (2006) suggested that an open meeting be held with managers so that they can discuss their concerns and offer recommendations. An employer also would be wise to research the experiences of other employers that have instituted telecommuting. Such research may help an employer avoid mistakes others have made and may provide evidence of the benefits of allowing telecommuting which may reduce managerial resistance.

Having taken the aforementioned planning steps, an employer can intelligently design a telecommuting program. Among the design steps that should be considered are developing a procedures manual, deciding whether an employee must meet certain criteria in order to be able to telecommute (e.g., have attained a certain level of performance), and designing training for telecommuters and their managers. For telecommuters, as described earlier, such training could involve a simulation lab such as that used by Merrill Lynch. With regard to managers, it could involve instruction with regard to how to manage distance workers.

Once a telecommuting program has been designed, it should be formally rolled out. We recommend that this roll out involves four steps. First, the program needs to be introduced to those who will be telecommuting and their managers. This introduction should cite the successes of other firms, address problems that may occur, etc. Next, both telecommuters and managers should be trained (as described above). Third, the program should be pilot-tested. Such pilot testing could involve a small number of individuals whose jobs are most suitable for telecommuting and whose managers are most supportive. At the end of the pilot test, the program should be formally evaluated (Wells, 2001). Typically, such an evaluation will involve gathering data from the managers of telecommuters on their views (e.g., How has performance been affected?) as well as an assessment of hard data (e.g., Were real-estate costs reduced? Did turnover decline?). In evaluating a program, it is important that the views of the telecommuters not be ignored (e.g., Are employees better able to handle family responsibilities? Do they have a better balance between work and nonwork?). Having conducted such an evaluation, an employer can make an informed decision about whether a telecommuting program: (a) should be ended, (b) continued as is, (c) modified in some way, or (d) expanded to other jobs.

In summary, if planned and implemented correctly, research suggests that a telecommuting program can have several positive outcomes for both employers and employees. Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons (e.g., jobs are not amenable to telecommuting; managerial resistance

against such a program is unlikely to be overcome; employees expressed a strong preference against working off-site), allowing employees to work off-site sometimes is not possible. If such is the case, a second alternative work arrangement, flexible work hours, may make sense.

Flexible Work Hours

Several organizations (e.g., Best Buy, KPMG) have formal policies that allow their employees to work flexible hours (Anonymous, 2010). In other organizations, the ability to work flexible hours is an informal arrangement between an employee and his/her supervisor. Given such informal arrangements, it is difficult to estimate how many employees have flexible hours. In this section of the chapter, we address (a) potential advantages and disadvantages of an employer's allowing employees to work flexible hours, (b) key factors that can influence the outcomes of having a flexible schedule, (c) specific employer experiences with the use of flextime, and (d) how an employer should implement such a program. Before addressing these issues, it is important to define what we mean by the term flexible work hours.

What Is a Flexible Work Schedule?

In reviewing the literature on *flexible work hours* (alternatively, *flexible work schedule*), it is important not to confuse this term with the term *flexible work arrangement*. The latter term sometimes is used to encompass flexible work hours, telecommuting, compressed work weeks (e.g., four 10-hr days), and job sharing arrangements. Further confusing matters, some authors use the term *flexible schedule* to include work arrangements that involve flexible work hours, compressed work schedules, and employees reducing their work hours when desirable. In order to avoid such confusion, the term *flextime* is sometimes used instead of flexible work hours by authors. A definition offered by Baltes, Briggs, Huff, Wright, and Neuman (1999) conveys what most authors mean by the term flextime: "employees exercise a decision regarding the time of day they will arrive at and leave from work. The employer creates a band of core time where each employee must be present" (p. 497). We adopt Baltes et al.'s definition in this chapter. We use the terms flexible work hours, flexible work schedule, and flextime interchangeably. Our use of the term flextime does not include a compressed work schedule or a part-time schedule.

Flextime: Potential Benefits for an Employer

The potential benefits for an employer of flexible work schedules are similar to those that result from telecommuting (see Table 14.5). Among these benefits are (a) more effective employee recruitment (Thompson & Aspinwall, 2009), (b) improved employee retention (WorldatWork, 2009), (c) enhanced job performance (Baltes et al., 1999), (d) improved attendance (Dalton & Mesch, 1990), (e) environmental benefits (Aratani, 2008), and (f) social good (Podlas, 2001).

The fact that telecommuting and flextime are likely to have similar benefits for an employer is not surprising. For example, in terms of recruitment, as with telecommuting, the ability to work a flexible schedule is likely to make a job more attractive (e.g., flextime makes it easier to manage nonwork responsibilities; flextime allows a worker to commute before or after rush hour which can save time and money). As exemplified in the case scenario, this job attractiveness also

Table 14.5 Potential employer benefits of flextime

Benefit	Explanation	Key contingency factor(s)
<i>Employee-related</i>		
Recruitment	Ability to work flexible hours can make an organization more attractive to job seekers	Greater attractiveness if the band of core hours one is required to work is small and the work schedule can be changed regularly
Retention	Ability to work flexible hours can positively affect job satisfaction	Greater attractiveness if the band of core hours one is required to be present is small and hours can be changed regularly
Performance	People working different hours can diminish interruptions. Being able to come to work at less busy traffic times can result in more time for work	Are interruptions an issue? Is traffic a consideration?
Attendance	Employees are better able to accommodate nonwork commitments such as a doctor's appointment	Greater impact (i.e., less absenteeism) if employee has dependent care or other nonwork responsibilities
<i>Other benefits</i>		
Environment	Commuting at less busy traffic times can result in reduced pollution	Geographic location (distance of commute, amount of traffic, access to public transportation, etc.)
Social good	Ability to work flexible hours allows some individuals (e.g., persons with certain disabilities) to work who otherwise would not be able to	Job duties could otherwise be handled by the individual
Extended business hours	Some workers will prefer to start work early in the day; others will prefer to start later. Therefore, service to customers is available for more hours	Is having extended hours a net benefit for the organization (e.g., trade-offs with such things as building security, supervisors being required to work longer hours)

should influence employee retention. Given many of the reasons underlying the linkages between having a flexible work schedule and the potential benefits derived from such a schedule are somewhat obvious and given we provide some explanation in Table 14.5 for these connections, we will not further explain the logic underlying each flextime-benefit relationship portrayed in Table 14.5. However, one important potential employer benefit merits attention. Past experience with flextime has shown that some workers prefer to start work earlier in the day while others prefer to start later (Golden, 2009). Such preferences mean that an employer typically can provide customers with access to its business for longer than a typical work day which may lead to enhanced business (e.g., a retail customer does need to take off work during his/her work day). Having employees staffing a work location for extended hours can be particularly advantageous if its customers are in different time zones.

Flextime: Potential Negative Outcomes for an Employer

An organization that is considering a flextime arrangement for its employees should be aware of potential disadvantages of such a schedule. Three major disadvantages (i.e., start-up costs, supervisor resistance, and coworker dissatisfaction) parallel those raised with regard to telecommuting. As with any new arrangement, there are likely to be start-up costs involved in introducing flextime. For example, supervisors may need to be trained with regard to how to manage those with flextime schedules. As described in Table 14.6, supervisor resistance can occur for several reasons. One reason is that supervisors perceive their jobs will be made more difficult. For example, they may perceive they will have to work longer hours so they are present when subordinates

Table 14.6 Potential employer disadvantages of flextime

Disadvantage	Explanation	Key contingency factor(s)
<i>Start-up costs</i>		
New operating procedures	Current office procedures (e.g., face-to-face communication) may not be effective for employees with flexible hours	Degree to which employees work independently
Training	May need to train supervisors how to manage those working flexible schedules	Do employees need much supervision?
<i>Supervisor resistance</i>		
Perception he/she has to work longer hours	Supervisor may feel that his/her job will be made more difficult	Less resistance if the benefits of flextime have been explained, the core band of required hours is larger, and the schedule cannot be modified frequently
	Supervisor believes he/she needs to be physically present when subordinates are working	Does nature of work require physical presence?
Need for a new, less hands-on supervisory style	Supervisor must be skilled at planning assignments, communicating via email, etc.	Less resistance if supervisors are trained how to adapt
Ability to monitor worker performance	Lack of flextime workers' presence can require a focus on objective performance indicators	Are there meaningful objective indicators to capture performance?
<i>Coworker dissatisfaction</i>		
Jealousy	Those who are not allowed to have flexible hours may feel resentful	Depends on why the person is not allowed to work flextime
Job difficulty	Those who are not allowed to have flexible hours may feel their jobs have been made more difficult	Degree to which jobs are interdependent (e.g., frequent sharing of information)

who select an early arrival time to start work and those who choose to work later in the day are working. A key issue in reducing such resistance is supervisors recognizing that flextime does not need to make their jobs more challenging. In this regard, resistance is likely to be lessened if supervisors do not need to be physically present when their employees are. Supervisory training that addresses how to manage flextime workers and the existence of objective performance indicators for subordinates also can lessen supervisor resistance. Dissatisfaction on the part of coworkers who are not allowed to telecommute is a third potential disadvantage of flextime. One way to address this concern is for an organization to explain why a flexible schedule for them is not feasible (e.g., their current performance suggests the need for close supervision). Alternatively, an employer may consider whether more jobs should be considered for a flextime arrangement. For example, it is possible that jobs can be redesigned (e.g., made less interdependent) so that a flextime arrangement is viable for more workers.

Contingency Factors that May Moderate the Effects of Flextime on Employer Outcomes

Several contingency factors may affect whether flexible hours result in one or more of the potential employer outcomes discussed. We will highlight four such factors (Lewis, 2003; Ryan & Kossek, 2008; discuss these and other factors). The first factor is supervisor supportiveness of the

Table 14.7 Potential employee benefits of flextime

Benefit	Explanation	Key contingency factor(s)
<i>Commuting cost and time</i>	Being able to avoid rush hour traffic can save an employee both money and time	Greater savings the greater the distance to work and the greater the traffic. Assumes employee drives a car rather than walks, takes public transportation, etc.
<i>Autonomy</i>	Results from having a choice of work hours; may also result from employee not being as closely supervised	Depends on the width of band of core hours (less autonomy if most hours are prescribed) and whether flextime results in being less closely supervised (if supervisor works longer hours so he/she is physically present, autonomy may not be affected)
<i>Reduced work → nonwork conflict</i>	Better able to juggle nonwork responsibilities such as childcare	Contingent upon extent of nonwork responsibilities and extent of control over work hours
<i>Job satisfaction</i>	Results from having greater autonomy and being better able to handle nonwork obligations	Depends on extent of freedom to choose hours and closeness of supervision with flextime
<i>Other benefits</i>		
Accommodates persons with certain disabilities	Certain individuals with impairments may be able to work if allowed to work flexible hours	Depends on type of impairment

work arrangement. Supervisor support is important for two reasons. First, in many organizations, an employee needs his/her supervisor's permission in order to work a flexible schedule. Furthermore, even in organizations with a formal policy mandating flextime, a supervisor can make life difficult for an employee (e.g., call meetings when an employee is not scheduled to work) if the supervisor does not support the program. A second important contingency factor is the size of the core band of time an employee is required to work. The larger this band (e.g., 6 hr vs. 4 hr), the greater the amount of time when everyone is at work. This means that a supervisor may have an easier time managing given he/she is more likely to be physically present. Thus, with a larger band of core hours, less supervisor resistance may be encountered. A third moderating factor, the frequency with which employees are able to modify their work schedules, also can influence supervisor resistance. For example, if schedules are modified the first day of the month, less planning and coordination is required than if schedules can be modified weekly or with 24 hr notice. The final contingency factor concerns the nature of the jobs involved and the type of individuals who hold them. To the extent that the jobs involved do not require much coordination and to the extent that the employees in them do not require close supervision, there are likely to be fewer start-up costs, less need for training, and less supervisor resistance.

Flextime: Potential Benefits for an Employee

From our earlier discussion including the case scenario, it should be apparent that having flexible hours should reduce work → nonwork conflict. Table 14.7 lists four additional benefits that may accrue to flextime employees. The value attached to these benefits clearly will differ for different employees. For example, if an employee walks to work, commuting cost and time may not be a big issue. However, even for employees who do not anticipate benefitting immediately, the potential to work flexible hours may still have a positive effect. For example, an individual who

Table 14.8 Potential employee disadvantages of flextime

Disadvantage	Explanation	Key contingency factor(s)
<i>Career impact</i> –Less likelihood of being promoted –Greater likelihood of being laid off	Anecdotal evidence suggests that working flexible hours is seen by supervisors as reflecting less career motivation and less interest in career advancement	Impact may be reduced if supervisor supports use of flextime program, a sizable percentage of the workforce works flexible hours, and the core band of hours is large
<i>Extra effort to coordinate with others</i>	Given the work schedule only overlaps partially with that of coworkers (and potentially that of the supervisor), extra effort to coordinate work may be required	Amount of effort will depend on degree of worker interaction, size of core band of work hours, and how frequently the work schedule changes
<i>Additional pressure to be responsible for nonwork obligations</i>	Having access to a flexible work schedule may put pressure on employee to take on additional nonwork obligations	Degree of added pressure may depend on whether a person has a working spouse

currently has few nonwork demands on his/her time may anticipate increasing demands in the future (e.g., with the birth of a child). In summary, by offering flexible work schedules to its employees, an employer is likely to increase the quality of both their work life and their nonwork life. Employees also are likely to perceive that the employer is concerned about them as individuals (not just as employees) and respects the importance of their fulfilling nonwork responsibilities.

Flextime: Potential Negative Outcomes for an Employee

With regard to flextime, most of the attention has been given to the potential benefits for an employer and an employee. However, three potential negative outcomes for employees should be noted (see Table 14.8). The first of these is a negative effect on a worker's career. In this regard, there is some evidence (Rogier & Padgett, 2004) that employees who work flexible hours are perceived by their supervisors as less interested in their careers and less motivated to advance within the organization. Such perceptions could result in career stagnation or even an employee losing his/her job (Kossek & Michel, 2011). A second potential disadvantage is that flextime can require additional effort on the part of the employee to coordinate his/her work with that of others. If such a coordination effort is not made, the flextime worker could experience a negative backlash (e.g., coworkers failing to pass along important information). A third potential negative outcome is that an employee may be expected to take on nonwork obligations (e.g., a child's visit to the dentist) that he or she otherwise would not be expected to handle. Whether this is viewed as a negative outcome depends on whether an individual welcomes the opportunity to take on such obligations or would prefer that others (e.g., relatives) take responsibility for them.

Contingency Factors that May Moderate the Effects of Flextime on Employee Outcomes

A number of contingency factors can moderate the effects of flextime on employee outcomes. We will highlight two of them. As should be apparent from the discussion of contingency factors in Tables 14.7 and 14.8, the size of the core band of hours an employee is required to work and the frequency with which he/she can modify his/her schedule can moderate the effects of flextime. For example, the larger the core band, the less flexibility an employee has to address nonwork

obligations but also the less effort that is needed to coordinate with coworkers. With regard to how frequently a worker can change his/her schedule, less frequent changes minimize the beneficial effect of flextime on work → nonwork conflict (e.g., the person is not able to deal with an unexpected doctor's appointment).

Examples of Organizations that Have Used Flextime

The Chubb Corporation (a multibillion dollar insurance company) experimented with a flextime program (Chubb, 2005). In terms of benefits for the organization, Chubb was quite pleased with the results of its pilot program. For example, for its casualty claims adjuster team, it found an 18% increase in the number of claim files that were handled by the flextime workers with no decrease in quality. Its Operation Services Division work group also reported positive outcomes (e.g., 4% more claims paid within 24 hr). Across all employees who were involved in its pilot test program, Chubb reported a 50% reduction in absenteeism.

Gannett Company experimented with a flexible hours program in its Facilities Services Department (Gannett, 2005). One of the reasons this department was selected was because its managers were open to the use of flextime. Among the positive results Gannett reported were work orders were handled faster, the work backlog was reduced, and employee morale improved as a function of their being better able to handle nonwork responsibilities.

The reports of the successful outcomes of flextime programs at Chubb Corporation and Gannett Company were based on corporate documents. A study by Welch and Gordon (1980), which examined the effects of instituting flextime in the claims processing department at an unnamed insurance company, provides a more academic evaluation of a flextime program. Based upon interviews they conducted, Welch and Gordon concluded that one effect of the flextime program was workers feeling a greater sense of autonomy. Company data showed that productivity (i.e., claims processed per hour) increased and absenteeism decreased. Welch and Gordon offered two recommendations for employers that are considering instituting a flextime program. The first was that supervisors also be allowed to have flexible hours (i.e., this can make them more willing to be supportive of employees who have flexible hours). Their second recommendation was that workers, especially those in smaller departments, be cross-trained so that needed expertise is present at all times.

Steps for Implementing an Effective Flexible Work Hours Program

Given the steps for implementing a flexible work hours program parallel those for instituting a telecommuting program, we will only highlight a few issues concerning flextime implementation. A key planning step is for an employer to decide on its objectives for the program. For example, if the focus is primarily to help employees manage nonwork demands so as to reduce turnover, the employer should consider a program with a small core band of required hours and one that allows an employee to modify a work schedule with little notice. Alternatively, if an employer's primary concern is to being able to advertise the availability of flextime as a selling point in recruiting while minimizing resistance from supervisors, it may consider a less flexible flextime arrangement (e.g., a larger core band of hours).

Many of the remaining issues raised for telecommuting also apply to planning a flextime program (e.g., deciding who will be allowed to work a flexible schedule, gathering input from knowledgeable sources, developing a procedures manual, preparing necessary training).

Similarly, the same steps should be involved in rolling out the flextime program (e.g., cite successes elsewhere, address supervisors' concerns, provide training, conduct a pilot test, formally evaluate the pilot program). By following the implementation steps outlined, an employer should increase the likelihood that a flextime program will be successful.

Combining Telecommuting and Flextime: Increasing the Benefits for Employers and Employees

From our review of the topics of telecommuting and flextime, the potential value of combining their positive features should be apparent. For example, with regard to a telecommuting arrangement, it is more likely to reduce work → nonwork conflict if it allows for flexible hours (e.g., a mother working from home can arrange her hours so that she can see her children off to school before logging on to a computer to work). Next, we describe the experiences of two companies that offered programs combining telecommuting and flextime.

Sun Microsystems offers many of its employees a chance to participate in its “Open Work” program in which they have the opportunity to work from home and have flexible hours (Jossi, 2007). According to Ann Bamsberger, the vice president in charge of the program, participating employees had a 34% gain in productivity and saved on average 2 hr in commuting time (60% of which they gave back to the company). The company also reported saving 67.8 million dollars in real-estate costs as a result of its Open Work program.

Beginning in 2003 with a pilot test group, Best Buy has offered its 4,000 corporate employees the opportunity to participate in its Results-Only Work Environment (ROWE) program (Jossi, 2007). This program allows employees to select where they work and what hours they work. Under ROWE, all the company cares about is results. To date, Best Buy has found this program to be quite successful. For example, it estimates that in units implementing ROWE, productivity has increased over 35% and voluntary turnover has dropped over 36%. In terms of employees, they report higher job satisfaction and greater job autonomy. In implementing ROWE, Best Buy encountered some resistance from managers. However, it appears to have diminished given the company is planning to roll out a variation of ROWE to its stores.

Some Remaining Issues to Address

In concluding our treatment of telecommuting and flextime, we need to briefly address three important issues. The first of these concerns the potential of a positive bias in the organizational examples we provided. From our review of the experiences of employers (e.g., Merrill Lynch, Best Buy), it may appear that telecommuting, flextime, and combination approaches universally have positive outcomes for employers and their employees. We would be hesitant to draw such a conclusion. Rather, it is likely that only those employers that have positive results are likely to publicize their experiences. That having been said, we have tried to showcase employers that can serve as exemplars of how an organization should go about instituting an alternative work arrangement (e.g., careful planning, pilot testing).

The second issue that merits attention concerns methodological weaknesses in studies we cited. As noted by Kossek and Michel (2011) and others (e.g., Eby et al., 2005), few studies of work-family conflict, telecommuting, and flextime have involved an experimental design. Therefore, most studies do not allow for drawing causal inferences. However, despite this limitation, given the results of academic studies, the reports of employer experiences, and theory/logic support

the relationships discussed in this chapter, it is likely that more rigorously designed studies will demonstrate the benefits of telecommuting and flextime.

The third issue of note concerns the need for future research that enables a better understanding of why telecommuting and flextime and particularly variations thereof (e.g., part-time versus full-time telecommuting) have the effects they do. To date, Gajendran and Harrison (2007) and Kossek and Michel (2011) have provided the most informative discussions of why telecommuting and flextime may “work.” Among the psychological factors they discussed are improved feelings of psychological control/autonomy (e.g., being able to decide when and where to work), facilitation of fulfilling nonwork responsibilities (e.g., being better able to manage childcare), and detrimental effects on work relationships (e.g., backlash from coworkers). Although rarely discussed, telecommuting and flextime also may have beneficial outcomes because such programs signal to recruits and job holders that an organization is concerned about their welfare as human beings not simply as employees. In the future, it is important for researchers to measure hypothesized explanatory variables for alternative work arrangement effects and assess whether they have the relationships predicted. Particularly valuable would be studies that were able to assess the potential moderating effects of such variables as whether telecommuting was voluntary versus involuntary (e.g., some telecommuters may prefer to work on-site) and full-time versus part-time (e.g., high intensity telecommuting may have a stronger positive effect on work-family conflict but a stronger negative effect on social isolation). Also important are studies that consider variation of flextime arrangements (e.g., being able to quickly change a flextime schedule should have beneficial effects on reducing work → nonwork conflict but negative effects on managerial acceptance of a program due to increased planning of work being necessary). Research that teases out such nuanced relationships should provide a better understanding of why telecommuting and flextime arrangements have the effects they do.

Concluding Remarks

In recent years, employers have been under pressure to increase their productivity. Some of the actions organizations have taken to address this pressure (e.g., having employees work longer hours) have resulted in employees experiencing increased work → nonwork conflict which can have undesirable effects for employers (e.g., employee turnover) and employees (e.g., poor health). In this chapter, we examined the issue of work → nonwork conflict, its causes, and its consequences. We also introduced two alternative work arrangements (i.e., telecommuting and flextime) that can reduce the incidence of work → nonwork conflict. In addition, we discussed how that telecommuting and flextime can have positive outcomes for employers (e.g., reduced real-estate costs) and employees (e.g., reduce commuting time and expense) even if work → nonwork conflict is not a concern.

From our coverage of telecommuting and flextime including the company examples provided and our treatment of program implementation, it should be apparent that these arrangements are not quick fixes. Rather, we stressed that there are several contingency factors (e.g., supervisor support, coworker interdependence, the intensity of a telecommuting program, the core band of hours for flextime) that need to be considered by an employer given they influence the likely success of these nontraditional work arrangements.

Given the tone of this chapter, it should be obvious that we believe that if implemented correctly (e.g., employees have a voice in how programs are designed), telecommuting and flextime work arrangements should be strongly considered by many employers. Even if an employer is not concerned about work → nonwork conflict, they offer numerous potential benefits for the organization. That having been said, even when no employer benefits may be expected,

we believe telecommuting and flextime should be strongly considered simply for the benefits that can accrue to program participants. As exemplified by the case scenario at the beginning of this chapter, an alternative work arrangement can allow an employee to effectively resolve the common ethical quandary of the need to fulfill work responsibilities and the need to meet nonwork obligations. By facilitating the balance between work life and nonwork life, an employer shows respect for its employees and provides an ethical work place.

References

- Anonymous. (2010). Flexible hours in the ranks. *HR Magazine. SHRM 2010 HR Trend Book*, 16–17.
- Aratani, L. (2008, August 23). Flextime has green appeal and lures younger workers. *Washington Post*, p. A1
- Arnold, J. T. (2006). Making the leap. *HR Magazine*, 51(May), 80–86.
- Bailey, D. E., & Kurland, N. B. (2002). A review of telework research: Findings, new directions, and lessons for the study of modern work. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23, 383–400.
- Baltes, B. B., Briggs, T. E., Huff, J. W., Wright, J. A., & Neuman, G. A. (1999). Flexible and compressed workweek schedules: A meta-analysis of their effects on work-related criteria. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 84, 496–513.
- Breaugh, J. A., & Frye, N. K. (2008). Work-family conflict: The importance of family friendly employment practices and family supportive supervisors. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 22, 345–353.
- Byron, K. (2005). A meta-analytic review of work-family conflict and its antecedents. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 67, 169–198.
- Carlson, D. S., Kacmar, K. M., & Williams, L. J. (2000). Construction and initial validation of a multidimensional measure of work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 56, 249–276.
- Chubb Corporation. (2005, July 18). *Chubb workplace flexibility initiative boosts employee productivity*. www.chubb.com/corporate/chubb3897.html
- Dalton, D. R., & Mesch, D. (1990). The impact of flexible scheduling on employee attendance and turnover. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35, 370–387.
- Eby, L. T., Casper, W. J., Lockwood, A., Bordeaux, C., & Brinley, A. (2005). Work and family research in IO/OB: Content analysis and review of the literature (1998–2002). *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 66, 124–197.
- Families and Work Institute. (2009). *Guide to bold new ideas for making work work*. New York: Families and Work Institute.
- Fisher, G. G., Bulger, C. A., & Smith, C. S. (2009). Beyond work and family: A measure of work/nonwork interference and facilitation. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 14, 441–456.
- Ford, M. T., Heinen, B. A., & Langkamer, K. L. (2007). Work and family satisfaction and conflict: A meta-analysis of cross-domain relations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 57–80.
- Frase-Blunt, M. (2007). Call centers come home. *HR Magazine*, 52(January), 84–89.
- Gajendran, R. S., & Harrison, D. A. (2007). The good, the bad, and the unknown about telecommuting: Meta-analysis of psychological mediators and individual consequences. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 1524–1541.
- Gannett. (2005, July 18). *Gannett announces results of a pilot program for the BOLD initiative*. www.gannett.com/news/pressrelease/2005/pr071805.htm
- Golden, L. (2009). Flexible daily work schedules in U.S. jobs: Formal introductions needed? *Industrial Relations*, 48, 27–54.
- Golden, T. D. (2007). Co-workers who telework and the impact of those in the office: Understanding the implications of virtual work for coworkers' satisfaction and turnover intentions. *Human Relations*, 60, 1641–1667.
- Greenhaus, J. H., Allen, T. D., & Spector, P. E. (2006). Health consequences of work-family conflict: The dark side of the work-family interface. In P. L. Perrewe & D. C. Ganster (Eds.), *Research in occupational stress and well-being* (Vol. 6, pp. 171–211). Amsterdam: JAI Press.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of Management Review*, 10, 76–88.
- Grzywacz, J. G., & Butler, A. B. (2008). Work-family conflict. In J. Barling & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *The handbook of organizational behavior* (pp. 451–468). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hilbrecht, M., Shaw, S. M., Johnson, L. C., & Andrey, J. (2008). 'I'm home for the kids': Contradictory implications for work-life balance of teleworking mothers. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 15, 454–476.
- Hill, E. J., Ferris, M., & Martinson, V. (2003). Does it matter where you work? A comparison of how three work venues (traditional office, virtual office, and home office) influence aspects of work and personal/family life. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 63, 220–241.
- Jossi, F. (2007). Clocking out. *HR Magazine*, 52, 47–50.

- Kelly, E. L., Kossek, E. E., Hammer, L. B., Durham, M., Bray, J., Chermack, K., et al. (2008). Getting there from here: Research on the effects of work-family initiatives on work-family conflict and business outcomes. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 2, 305–349.
- Kelly, E. L., & Moen, P. (2007). Rethinking the clockwork of work: Why schedule control may pay off at work and home. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11, 487–506.
- Kossek, E. E., Lautsch, B. A., & Eaton, S. C. (2006). Telecommuting, control, and boundary management: Correlates of policy use and practice, job control, and work-family effectiveness. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 68, 347–367.
- Kossek, E. E., Lewis, S., & Hammer, L. B. (2010). Work-life initiatives and organizational change: Overcoming mixed messages to move from margin to mainstream. *Human Relations*, 63, 3–19.
- Kossek, E. E., & Michel, J. S. (2011). Flexible work schedules. In S. Zedeck (Ed.), *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 535–572). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Lautsch, B. A., Kossek, E. E., & Eaton, S. C. (2009). Supervisory approaches and paradoxes in managing telecommuting implementation. *Human Relations*, 62, 795–827.
- Lewis, S. (2003). Flexible working arrangements: Implementation, outcomes, and management. In C. L. Cooper & I. T. Roberson (Eds.), *International review of industrial and organizational psychology* (Vol. 18, pp. 1–28). Chichester, UK/Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Lu, J., Liu, O., Spector, P. E., & Shi, K. (2009). Antecedents and outcomes of a fourfold taxonomy of work-family balance in Chinese employed parents. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 14, 182–192.
- Major, D. A., Virive, J. M., & Joice, W. (2008). Telework as a dependent care solution: Examining current practice to improve telework management strategies. *The Psychologist-Manager Journal*, 11, 65–91.
- Nord, W. R., Fox, S., Phoenix, A., & Viano, K. (2002). Real-world reactions to work-life balance programs: Lessons for effective implementation. *Organizational Dynamics*, 30, 223–238.
- Pearce, J. A. (2008). Successful corporate telecommuting with technology considerations for late adopters. *Organizational Dynamics*, 38, 16–25.
- Podlas, K. (2001). Reasonable accommodation or special privilege? Flex-time, telecommuting, and the ADA. *Business Horizons*, 44, 61–64.
- Pomeroy, A. (2007). The future is now. *HR Magazine*, 52, 46–51.
- Rogier, S. A., & Padgett, M. Y. (2004). The impact of utilizing a flexible work schedule on the perceived career advancement potential of women. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 15, 89–106.
- Ryan, A. M., & Kossek, E. E. (2008). Work-life policy implementation: Breaking down or creating barriers to inclusion. *Human Resource Management*, 47, 295–310.
- Society for Human Resource Management. (2009, July). *Workplace flexibility in the 21st century*. Alexandria, Virginia.
- Tahmincioglu, E. (2003, July 20). By telecommuting, the disabled get a key to the office, and a job. *New York Times*, p. 1 (L).
- Taylor, B. L., Delcampo, R. G., & Blancero, D. M. (2009). Work-family conflict/facilitation and the role of workplace supports for U.S. Hispanic professionals. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 30, 643–664.
- Thompson, L. F., & Aspinwall, K. R. (2009). The recruitment value of work/life benefits. *Personnel Review*, 38, 195–210.
- United States General Accounting Office. (July, 2001). *Potential barriers employers may face when establishing telecommuting programs*.
- Welch, J. L., & Gordon, D. (1980). Assessing the impact of flextime on productivity. *Business Horizons*, 23, 61–65.
- Wells, S. J. (2001). Making telecommuting work. *HR Magazine*, 46(October), 34–46.
- Wells, S. J. (2007). Are you too family friendly. *HR Magazine*, 52(October), 34–39.
- WorldatWork. (2009, February). *WorldatWork 2009 telework trendlines*.

Chapter 15

Remote Working and Work-Life Balance

Cath Sullivan

This chapter examines remote working in relation to work-life balance, job performance, and the gendered division of household labor from the perspective of organizational ethics and quality of working life. Ethical organizations protect their employees' rights, well-being, and quality of working life and must balance this against organizational performance. Quality of working life is affected by work-life balance, and therefore, to meet legal and ethical obligations to protect the welfare of employees, organizations must take this seriously. Remote forms of working (most commonly telework and working at home) are frequently included in lists of "family-friendly policies," thereby conceptualizing them as a way for organizations to help employees achieve work-life balance. The facilitation of work-life balance is often viewed as important not only for the welfare and needs of employees but in relation to organizational effectiveness. Concerns have been raised about whether claims about increases in efficiency and productivity arising from remote working can actually be realized. It is therefore also important, in terms of the need for organizations to balance the consideration of employee rights and welfare against other organizational aims, to examine evidence of the links between remote working and productivity. Another key component of quality of working life, and therefore organizational ethics, is gender equity. The fundamentally gendered nature of the division of paid work and domestic work has given rise to a particular focus upon gender in the study of work-life balance, and the relationship of remote working to this division of labor has also received attention. Some view remote working as having the capacity to challenge the gendered division of labor and to allow new opportunities for role sharing, increased male participation in domestic work, and equal parenting, and it is important to consider these claims in relation to empirical evidence.

This chapter will critically evaluate claims that remote working can provide an effective way to meet the ethical dilemmas that arise from the family demands of employees. Firstly, I will examine arguments for and against the conceptualization of remote working as "family friendly" and review relevant evidence of the circumstances under which these practices may be useful in helping people to achieve work-life balance. Secondly, I will consider the evidence relating to the impact of remote working on job performance. Thirdly, I will consider competing claims for

C. Sullivan (✉)

School of Psychology, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, Lancashire, UK
e-mail: csullivan@uclan.ac.uk

the impact of remote working on gender equity in terms of the gendered division of domestic labor and childcare in relation to the available evidence. Finally, some key challenges and future directions for remote working will be noted, and conclusions drawn. Initially I will review evidence of the nature and scope of remote working.

Nature and Extent of Remote Working

There are a number of debates about conceptualizing and measuring different forms of remote work (see Sullivan, 2003). Remote working includes practices such as working at home, working at local satellite offices or telecenters, mobile or nomadic working, and teleworking, which is “remote work ... that involves the use of information and communication technologies” (Sullivan, p. 159). Remote working may be done as a whole or a proportion of people’s working time, but the evidence suggests that it is more common for people to work at home occasionally, or use home as a base for working at other locations, than to work at home all of the time (Gareis, 2003). A number of factors relating to organizations, public policy, or individual orientations may drive the growth of remote working. These include technological advances, the environmental and time savings associated with the reduction of travel, increased public discourse and legislative changes relating to work-life balance, and the recent economic crisis which might make remote working attractive to organizations as a way of reducing overheads such as office space (e.g., Budd & Mumford, 2006; Ory & Mokhtarian, 2007; Shumate & Fulk, 2004; Sullivan & Lewis, 2006).

Analysis of labor force data from the United States and various countries in the European Union has suggested that remote workers may constitute up to 25% of workers (Gareis, 2003). A detailed analysis of UK data suggests that in certain sectors of the workforce, as much as 50% of the workforce engages in remote work at least occasionally (Haddon & Brynin, 2005). Much of the labor force data that can be used to try and address the nature and extent of remote working (e.g., the UK Labour Force Survey) focuses upon those people who work in their homes. Australian labor data suggests that in 2000, 8% of workers were working at home at least some of the time (Kelley, Kelley, Evans, & Kelley, 2009). Recent evidence from the US suggests that the extent of work at home may be less than it was in the 1990s (Golden, 2008), while evidence from the UK Labour Force Survey suggests that working at home, or using home as a base for work, is a growing trend, having risen from 4% of the workforce in 1997 to 8% in 2005. However, surveys and detailed analyses of labor force data have revealed that the likelihood of engaging in work at home is influenced by factors such as gender, parenthood, and occupation, and it is likely that this is the case for other forms of remote working as well.

Data from the US suggest that those working at home are particularly likely to be well-educated, highly paid and to work in professional, executive, or skilled occupations (Golden, 2008; Wight & Raley, 2009). Australian data suggests that those working at home are more likely to be professional workers and not significantly likely to have lower wages or poorer terms and conditions than those working on-site (Kelley et al., 2009). UK data presents a similar pattern in that those who work at home are more likely to be in nonmanual occupations and are not, on average, paid any less than those who work on-site (although this does vary slightly between manual and nonmanual workers and between men and women) (Felstead, Jewson, Phizacklea, & Walters, 2000). Working at home may also be more common among the self-employed – for example, in the UK in 2005, only 4% of employees did any work at home, whereas 41% of the self-employed were doing some of their work at home.

Family characteristics have also been shown to influence the likelihood of engaging in remote work. Analysis of US data reveals that having preschool children is associated with work at home (Golden, 2008), but it has also been found that this is the case for men and not for women (Wight & Raley, 2009). Again, there is some evidence of a different pattern in the UK, where analysis of the UK Labour Force Survey found that parenthood significantly increases women's likelihood of working at home, while significantly decreasing men's likelihood (Felstead et al., 2000). It is difficult to determine whether this actually represents a cross-national difference because of the time that has elapsed between these surveys (and also because of the usual difficulties of comparing survey work that uses slightly different definitions and methodological techniques).

While some US data suggests that there are no gender differences in the tendency to work at home (Wight & Raley, 2009), other research has found that it is more likely among women in the US than men (Golden, 2008). In contrast, analysis of UK labor data from 2005 revealed that 66% of those working at home were men. A more detailed analysis of earlier Labour Force Survey data, however, suggests that gender ratios may differ between different types of remote workers. When the UK gender ratio was considered across different types of remote workers, it was found that although there were more men than women working at home occasionally, women outnumbered men among those people working mainly at home (Felstead et al., 2000). Unfortunately, this very detailed analysis of UK Labour Force Survey data has not been replicated in recent years.

In many ways, these patterns suggest that the traditional idea of remote workers as predominantly poorly paid and exploited female homeworkers does not accurately reflect recent and current patterns of remote working (although this group of exploited homeworkers does still exist in many countries). However, it is important to remember that inequalities have been revealed when labor data is analyzed in greater detail than it often is – for example, detailed analysis of the UK Labour Force Survey in 2000 revealed that 91% of poorly paid workers working mainly at home were women (Felstead et al., 2000).

It is clear that those people engaging in remote working are a relatively diverse group, and while some factors do seem to increase the likelihood of certain practices in fairly consistent ways (e.g., professional work is often found to be significantly associated with working at home), we also must acknowledge that there is a complex picture here with some contradictory findings. It is possible that other contextual and demographic factors (e.g., social welfare policies, patterns of male and female employment in the workforce in general) could explain contradictory findings, but there are also issues of definition and methodology that affects the comparability of survey results across time and contexts. It is clear from this mixed picture that two things will be important in future work that attempts to give an accurate picture of the extent and nature of remote working: First, it is important that surveys are done cross-nationally so that we can be more certain that the findings are comparable between different countries. Secondly, it is important that analysis be detailed, as it has been demonstrated in the past that employee characteristics (e.g., gender ratios, pay, and conditions) can vary greatly between different sectors and different forms of remote work.

Remote Working and Organizational Ethics

In order to be ethical, employers need to take steps to protect the quality of their employees' working lives, their legal rights, and their well-being. Quality of working life (QWL) is defined and conceptualized in a number of ways. The European Commission, which is responsible for the proposal and implementation of legislation within the European Union, sees QWL in

relation to ten key dimensions, which are job quality, skills and learning, gender equality, health and safety, flexibility, inclusion and access to jobs, work-life balance, worker involvement, nondiscriminatory practices, and overall work performance (Royuela, López-Tamayo, & Suriñach, 2008). Ethical organizational practice also involves recognizing and protecting rights that are enshrined in law, and this can include rights that are related to work-life balance. In the UK, for example, certain employees (mainly those with a dependent child aged 16 or under, although this was extended to guardians of children under 18 in April 2011) have the legal right to request flexible working and to have this request considered seriously (Cooper, 2009; DirectGov, 2010). In this chapter, I will consider three key areas where organizational ethics, QWL, and remote working intersect.

First, work-life balance is important for employee well-being and has been shown to be positively related to job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and quality of life (Gröpel & Kuhl, 2009). Poor work-life balance resulting from long working hours is a major contributor to workplace stress in the UK, which in turn brings large social and economic costs (Cooper, 2009). As poor work-life balance can be a threat to employee QWL and employee well-being, organizations need to implement and monitor practices and initiatives that enhance employees' work-life balance in order to meet ethical standards. Increasingly, remote working practices such as telework and work at home are seen by governments, policy makers, and those within organizations as a potential route to work-life balance (Budd & Mumford, 2006; DirectGov, 2010; Peters & van der Lippe, 2007), and the academic literature on family-friendly policies often now includes remote working in lists of such policies (e.g., Budd & Mumford, 2004). Furthermore, Hylmö (2006) found that notions of achieving "work-life" balance are important in the process of legitimization of remote working within organizations. The characterization of remote working as "family friendly" in this way is based upon assertions that it will increase time for nonwork responsibilities, improve people's ability to manage work and nonwork demands, and improve the quality of family relationships and family roles (Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). It is therefore important to consider whether work-life balance can be enhanced by the implementation of remote working practices.

Secondly, however, ethical standards in work and organizations are about balancing the protection of employees' rights and their QWL with employees' obligations to meet the expectations and demands of their job role, and so it is important that measures put in place to promote work-life balance do not interfere with organizational performance. It is therefore also important to consider whether the implementation of practices to enhance work-life balance has any impact upon organizational outcomes such as job performance.

Thirdly, a key issue in ethical organizational practice is the management of diversity, fairness, and equality. One aspect of this is gender equity, and this has also been a key issue that has been considered in relation to remote working, work-life balance, and the gendered division of paid and unpaid work. Gender equity is also clearly identified as a component of QWL by the European Commission (Royuela et al., 2008). The clear links between gender-related norms and ideologies and the allocation and distribution of paid work and family responsibilities mean that work-life balance is often examined with a particular focus on gender. Furthermore, research suggests that gender is a key variable in shaping the experience of remote working (Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). Kossek, Lautsch, and Eaton (2006), for example, found that the relationship between use of teleworking and depression varied by gender and parental status (with women with children experiencing a negative relationship while in the sample as a whole, the relationship was positive). Furthermore, some commentators have viewed remote working as having the potential to facilitate the breakdown of traditional gendered roles and promote a more equal division of labor (see Sullivan & Lewis, 2001; Sullivan & Smithson, 2007). This suggests that it may be particularly important to consider gender equity when studying remote work, particularly in the context of organizational ethics.

Remote Working and Work-Life Balance

Managing the Work-Family Interface

Studies of the impact of remote working on work-life balance have produced mixed results, suggesting that remote working can have positive and negative outcomes (Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). There is some evidence to suggest that remote workers experience blurred boundaries between work and family (Dimitrova, 2003; Musson & Tietze, 2004; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). This tends to be experienced in a variety of ways – for example, in some families where there is remote working, blurred boundaries have been found to be seen as negative in some ways and positive in others (Ammons & Markham, 2004; Peters, den Dulk, & van der Lippe, 2009; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001; Towers, Duxbury, Higgins, & Thomas, 2006; Whitehouse, Diamond, & Lafferty, 2002).

Those who engage in remote work often perceive it as facilitating work-life balance (e.g., Ammons & Markham, 2004; Golden, 2006; Perrons, 2003) although other findings suggest that patterns of work-family conflict among remote workers may be similar to those among on-site workers (Breugh & Frye, 2007, 2008; Hartig, Kylin, & Johansson, 2007; Hayman, 2009; Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). Furthermore, some studies of remote working suggest a greater potential for work and family to be in conflict with one another (e.g., Jurik, 1998; Lapierre & Allen, 2006; Russell, O’Connell, & McGinnity, 2009; Venkatesh & Vitalari, 1992). In general, the pattern is one of mixed results. Golden, Veiga, and Simsek (2006), for example, found that while work-family conflict was lower among US workers who worked at home more extensively, family-work conflict was higher among this group. A similar UK study, however, found that those employees who worked a greater proportion of their hours at home experienced less family-work conflict, but that there was no significant relationship between hours worked at home and work-family conflict (Redman, Snape, & Ashurst, 2009). The mixed pattern of findings, both within and between studies, suggests that the effects of remote working vary depending upon other circumstances and that various mediating and moderating forces have a role. For example, the positive effects of remote working on work-life balance have been shown to be greater for those who have been working in this way for longer (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007), those whose managers adopt an information-sharing style of supervision (Lautsch, Kossek, & Eaton, 2009), and those with more extensive family responsibilities (Shockley & Allen, 2007).

There is evidence that remote working influences job and life satisfaction indirectly through its effects upon work-family conflict (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007; Golden, 2006; Hornung & Glaser, 2009) and that those working a higher proportion of their hours at home report higher levels of satisfaction with their employer’s “family friendliness” (Redman et al., 2009). Findings like these are important because they suggest not only that remote working can enhance work-life balance under certain circumstances but that, when it does have this effect, this may also have knock-on benefits for more global measures of well-being and satisfaction in both work and nonwork domains.

Drawing conclusions in this area is made difficult by the relative scarcity of systematic comparisons of remote workers and their on-site equivalents. It is important to be cautious about drawing comparative conclusions from studies that do not do this (in spite of other strengths such studies might have). Some comparisons between remote workers and those working entirely on-site do provide fairly strong evidence of improvements (small in some cases) in relation to work-life balance and work-family conflict among those working at home (e.g., Hill, Ferris, & Mårtinson, 2003; Hornung & Glaser, 2009; Madsen, 2003). A recent meta-analysis found that certain forms of telework reduce the work-family and family-work conflict of employees and that this was particularly the case for those who had been teleworking for longer (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007).

It is important to remember that this analysis excluded many studies of remote working and work at home (e.g., all qualitative research), yet it still provides an important indicator that remote working has the potential to facilitate work-life balance under some circumstances.

Childcare and Domestic Labor

One of the mechanisms by which remote working may facilitate work-life balance is through easing the management and performance of tasks relating to the care of children, household work, and household management.

In the context of expensive and relatively scarce childcare services, remote working may be the only feasible option for some parents (Bryant, 1999; Fothergill, 1994). Research has suggested that many people perceive working at home as facilitating arrangements for childcare and household work (Ammons & Markham, 2004; Crosbie & Moore, 2004; Hill, Hawkins, & Miller, 1996; Hillbrecht, Shaw, Johnson, & Andrey, 2008; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001; Whitehouse et al., 2002). One Canadian study found that working at home was especially attractive to parents because it was seen as facilitating the combination of childcare and paid work (Tremblay, 2003), although later analysis of a large national sample suggested that employer demands constituted a greater overall drive for homeworking than the desire to balance work and family (Tremblay, Paquet, & Najem, 2006).

Research with coresidents of remote workers suggests that they may appreciate the ways in which having a remote worker in the household can facilitate the management of domestic work in a way that benefits everyone who lives there. For example, living with somebody who works at home can be helpful because while you are out at work, there is somebody else there to take delivery of parcels or deal with callers to the house (Sullivan, 2001). Some research suggests that arrangements like this can lead to those working at home being expected to take on extra domestic work, simply because they are at home more often, and this can lead to tensions and the need for negotiation (Ammons & Markham, 2004; Holloway, 2007; Sullivan, 2001).

It has also been pointed out that attempting to perform childcare and work at home simultaneously can be problematic. For example, an in-depth UK study revealed that women working at home felt that childcare was facilitated but that attempting to work with young children in the house meant they were unlikely to have uninterrupted work time (Crosbie & Moore, 2004). It is important, therefore, to remember that remote working is not an alternative to childcare in many cases (Pyöriä, 2003). Some research has examined the attempts of women working at home to combine this with childcare and has found that these women often fit work around their children's timetables, for example, working only when children are asleep or at school (Haddon & Silverstone, 1993; Hillbrecht et al., 2008; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). This highlights the fact that the relationship between remote working, domestic work, and childcare is not a gender neutral one (this is discussed further below).

Family Functioning

Conceptualizations and predictions of the implications of remote working for satisfaction and well-being, in relation to family life, are also mixed. It has been suggested that remote working will bring flexibility that facilitates more family time and that this will benefit children and make family life more harmonious and satisfying (see Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). However, there are also concerns that, because remote working is sometimes associated with more negative forms

of flexibility (from the employees' perspective) and can lead to overworking and irregular working hours, the overall effects on family functioning may be more negative (Ellison, 1999; Sullivan & Lewis, 2006).

Research suggests that while there may be some potential for some remote working practices to increase family time, this is not always the case. For example, some studies have found that while some remote workers report greater time with families, others do not (e.g., Hill et al., 1996). Parents may be able to use breaks in their working day to spend time with children or partners (if they are at home) (Crosbie & Moore, 2004; Sullivan, 2001; Wikström, Lindén, & Michelson, 1997). Yet perceived increases in family time may not be as great as those that people anticipate when they begin remote working (Sullivan). Increasing the length of time spent with children during the day may be beneficial for facilitating childcare but may necessitate working in the evening and so reduce time with other family members such as partners (Wikström et al.).

It is also important to remember that when people are working at home, they may not be any more available to their families than when they are working on-site (except in their breaks from work), and this could be confusing for children who fail to understand why their parent is unable to give them attention despite being present at home (Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). However, research that examines children's perspectives on work at home is very rare, and this is an area where more research is urgently needed if the effects on the family are to be fully understood.

In terms of family satisfaction and conflict, findings are mixed. For example, Silver (1993) found no significant differences between on-site workers and homeworkers with regard to satisfaction with marriage and family. Other studies, however, have found that remote working can lead to conflict within the family (e.g., Pitt-Catsoupes & Marchetta, 1991). There is some evidence that the families of people who work at home can experience dissatisfaction about the presence of work in the home or the presence of work-related visitors and that this can lead to conflict (Baines & Gelder, 2003; Sullivan, 2000; Wikström et al., 1997). Many of the interviewees in Crosbie and Moore's (2004) study reported that they worked long hours due to working at home and that this had caused conflict with partners. This study is consistent with evidence that there is a negative relationship between the amount of time employees spend working at home and their partners' life satisfaction (e.g., Vittersø et al., 2003), but other research suggests that coresidents are unlikely to perceive work at home as reducing their satisfaction with family life (Sullivan, 2001).

More research is needed to tease out exactly under what circumstances positive and negative consequences for family functioning might occur and to discover those variables (e.g., work hours, work patterns) that might moderate the effects of remote working on family functioning.

Flexibility

The view that remote working has the potential to assist with work-life balance tends to be based, either implicitly or explicitly, on the idea that remote working provides greater flexibility (Sullivan & Lewis, 2006), that is, on the assumption that employees can alter the timing, locating, or amount of paid work in order to accommodate personal preferences (Lewis & Cooper, 1995). Testing whether remote working is more flexible than equivalent on-site work is not an easy task, but research has offered some insight into this question.

Some research has shown that those working at home and their families do view this as a more flexible option (Gillespie, Richardson, & Cornford, 1995; Sullivan & Smithson, 2007; Whitehouse et al., 2002). Also, there have been some systematic comparisons of flexibility levels between homeworkers and on-site equivalents although they have provided mixed results. While one US study found that homeworkers did not report significantly more flexibility than their on-site

equivalents (Vittersø et al., 2003), other studies have found that those working at home do report more flexibility (Hill et al., 1996; Hornung, Rousseau, & Glaser, 2008).

Although evidence is mixed, it seems reasonable to suggest that remote working may lead to increased levels of flexibility under certain circumstances. Given that evidence from on-site workers generally shows that flexibility has the capacity to improve work-life balance (e.g., Hill et al., 2008) and improve psychological well-being (e.g., Grzywacz, Carlson, & Shulkin, 2008), one might expect that greater flexibility among remote workers would also improve their work-life balance and quality of life. However, there are a number of reasons to think that flexibility may actually not simplistically improve work-life balance among this group (Sullivan & Smithson, 2007). For example, a study of UK homeworkers found no relationship between homeworkers' reports of flexibility and their reports of work-family conflict (Sullivan, 2002). One potential explanation for this is that it is possible for temporal and spatial flexibility to make life more stressful by blurring boundaries in ways that can lead to overworking or problematic overlap of roles (Peters et al., 2009). This is supported by research on homeworking from the US, UK, Canada, and New Zealand, which has found that flexibility can exacerbate overwork (e.g., Dimitrova, 2003; Hill et al., 1996; Tremblay et al., 2006) and increase work's dominance over family (Kompast & Wagner, 1998). Once again, though, the picture is not clear-cut as there is also research that has shown that some homeworkers are better able to negotiate flexible arrangements, which in turn enhances their experience of work-life balance (Hornung et al., 2008). A recent UK study found that among those teleworkers who experienced high levels of temporal flexibility, there were also high levels of satisfaction with work-life balance (Murayama, Hopkinson, & James, 2009). Similarly, those working at home have been found in some studies to be less inclined to overwork and to be able to reduce their total work hours through greater productivity and reduced commuting (e.g., Mirchandani, 1998).

This is related to wider debates about different forms or conceptualizations of flexibility. In this chapter, I use a definition of flexibility that emphasizes control and autonomy for employees, as is common in research on work-life balance. Such forms of flexibility can be seen as "employee friendly" and can be contrasted with "employer friendly" forms, which are focused upon producing forms of flexibility that are beneficial in terms of profits but which may lead to insecure and contingent work and be less positive from an employee's perspective (Fleetwood, 2007). It is possible that the mixed findings in relation to flexibility and work-life balance are a result of these variations in forms and experiences of flexibility. Future research would benefit from a more complex operationalization of flexibility that takes its multifaceted nature into account. Similarly, it is important for future research to try and tease out the conditions under which flexibility has positive effects on work-life balance and under which it has more negative consequences.

Job Performance

Ethical organizations must balance the rights, responsibilities, and needs of a variety of stakeholders. It is therefore important that any enhancement of employee rights and well-being is also balanced against the demands of organizational performance and obligations to other stakeholders such as shareholders, customers, or other members of society. One aspect of this, which has been investigated by researchers, is the relationship between remote working practices and job performance or productivity, and these findings will be considered next.

It has often been suggested that the choices over work location made possible by technological advances are viewed as benefitting employees by increasing their control over working conditions

and employers by enabling them to satisfy the needs of their employees and improve productivity (Lee, 2005). Several studies have found that remote workers perceive their productivity to have been enhanced by remote working. For example, a large-scale survey of home-based teleworkers found that the majority perceived their job performance to be specifically increased by telework (Major, Verive, & Joice, 2008).

In a comprehensive review of telework literature, Bailey and Kurland (2002) concluded that although many studies reveal that teleworkers perceive their productivity to have increased, claims of increased productivity are not supported because much of the evidence comes from self-reported data, studies tend not to show long-term effects, and it is possible that more productive workers have greater opportunities to engage in remote working. Since this review, several studies have been conducted that have attempted to overcome these problems.

Some recent studies have used control groups to allow comparisons to be made between remote workers and on-site workers. Hunton and Norman (2010) examined the impact of a number of remote working options (including working at local satellite offices, at home, or a combination of these) on the organizational commitment and job performance of health-care workers. Their findings revealed that remote working options enhanced affective, continuance, and normative organizational commitment and, in turn, job performance in all forms of remote working except full-time work at home (where levels of commitment and performance were the same as those working on-site full-time). Hunton and Norman's results suggest that employee autonomy in deciding upon work locations is important in achieving performance benefits.

There are also studies that have used measures of performance other than remote workers' own perceptions. Butler, Aasheim, and Williams (2007) studied call center workers' productivity using call-handling records from before teleworking implementation and across several subsequent years and found increases in productivity after telework commencement that endured over time. Furthermore, Butler et al. showed that these productivity increases did not result from more productive workers being selected for teleworking, which is a concern that had previously been raised by Bailey and Kurland (2002). A meta-analysis of various outcomes of teleworking revealed a positive association between job performance as measured either by supervisors' reports or objective measures and job performance, which existed independently of the quality of relationships experienced by teleworkers (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007).

Some studies have evaluated factors (like relationship quality) that might mediate or moderate the effects of remote working on outcomes such as productivity. In a study of professional teleworkers and their managers, Golden, Veiga, and Dino (2008) found that job performance (as rated by managers) was lower in those teleworkers who reported high levels of professional isolation and was particularly low in those who spent more time teleworking and who reported fewer opportunities for face-to-face interactions at work. One important issue that Golden et al. highlight in relation to these findings is that their cross-sectional study does not allow the question of whether teleworking increases professional isolation to be addressed, and analysis of their pilot data, which included nonteleworkers, actually revealed that professional isolation was higher in nonteleworkers. This is consistent with other research that has found that the quality of relationships experienced by teleworkers impacts upon their productivity (Neufeld & Fang, 2005).

This highlights an important point. It is likely that the productivity of remote workers is influenced by a complex interaction between a number of different factors, such as professional isolation and the impact of remote working on relationships within organizations. More research on these potentially complex links with other factors would be particularly useful, as would research that attempts to identify causal mechanisms. Overall, the research findings suggest that remote working does not necessarily lead to problems with productivity and that in the right circumstances, it can lead to enhanced productivity.

Gender Equity and Remote Working

In order to achieve ethical organizational practice specifically in relation to protecting equal rights and promoting gender equity as a component of QWL, it is important to consider the relationship between remote working and gender. In this section, I will review studies that have examined the capacity of remote working to influence the gendered allocation of domestic work and childcare.

Conceptualizations of the potential impact of remote working on the division of labor and the management of childcare and domestic work tend to follow one of two trends. First, it has been suggested that remote working will provide “new opportunities for flexibility” by allowing employees to more easily accomplish tasks related to family roles, cope more easily with family crises (e.g., a sick child), and gain access to employment in situations where family responsibilities might preclude conventional on-site work (see Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). Some proponents of this view treat work and family as gender neutral, but others argue that these effects will also bring about a challenge to gendered patterns of domestic work and increase men’s participation (see Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). In contrast to this view, an “exploitation model” has also been suggested, which sees remote working as perpetuating women’s dual burden of paid and unpaid work and confirming an unequal gendered division of household labor and childcare (see Sullivan & Smithson, 2007).

In spite of considerable changes in gender roles, identities, and behaviors, responsibility for the management and performance of domestic work and childcare continues to be unequally allocated within US and European households (Brannen, 2000; Smock & Noonan, 2005). The evidence shows that, in general, women perform a greater proportion of housework than men (Smock & Noonan) and that men and women still tend to perform different patterns of family tasks, with men being more likely to perform tasks that are preplanned and pleasurable rather than dealing with childcare emergencies or day-to-day tasks (Smock & Noonan, 2005; Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). Although men’s participation has risen, especially in relation to childcare, it has been noted that the increase in women’s participation in the labor market has not been matched by an equivalent increase in men’s participation in domestic work (Smock & Noonan). Furthermore, there is a tendency for women to retain responsibility for domestic work and childcare, even when a proportion of it is performed by men, and for men’s family work to be constructed as “help” (Dempsey, 2000; Sullivan & Smithson, 2007).

There is some evidence that women are particularly likely to favor homeworking as a way of facilitating work-life balance, especially in terms of parenting commitments (Salmi, 1997; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). This may be because women are more likely to use the additional flexibility that is gained by such arrangements for accommodating work and family demands, while men may be more likely to use such flexibility to accomplish additional paid work (Kompast & Wagner, 1998; Sullivan & Smithson, 2007). In contrast, a UK survey found that a preference for homeworking was more likely among men, and it was suggested by the authors that this may be because men are more likely than women to be free from interruptions when working at home (Hogarth, Hasluck, Pierre, Winterbotham, & Vivian, 2000). Furthermore, some evidence suggests that homeworking may exacerbate gender inequity in work and family responsibilities (Osnowitz, 2005; Perrons, 2003). Although remote working may enhance flexibility, there is evidence to suggest that when this flexibility is understood in traditionally gendered ways (as it often is), this does little to promote gender equity (Sullivan & Smithson).

Some studies have found that men working at home may undertake increased domestic work (Huws et al., 1996), although it is important to remember that this may simply be a reflection of a general rise in men’s participation (Burgess, 1997). In contrast to this, however, other research has found that remote working may reinforce traditional ideas and practices in relation to

domestic work (Ammons & Markham, 2004; Gunnarsson, 1997; Osnowitz, 2005; Wight & Raley, 2009) and that the domestic labor of homeworking men is still constructed as “help” rather than as the fulfillment of a primary role (Jurik, 1998; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001; Sullivan & Smithson, 2007). Generally, the evidence suggests that the distribution of domestic work that existed before the commencement of remote working, whether equitable or not, tends to continue (Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). Research suggests that gender-related values and ideologies have a greater capacity to influence the division of labor than remote working practices. Evidence reveals that men and women with a specific commitment to equal role sharing and gender equity can sometimes use remote working to help them achieve this goal (Marsh & Musson, 2008), but that in the absence of such a commitment, an unequal division of labor is likely to prevail (Hillbrecht et al., 2008; Sullivan & Smithson, 2007).

As has been noted elsewhere (Sullivan & Lewis, 2006), there is little evidence to support the assertion that work at home will simplistically increase gender equity when there is no explicit commitment to this within the household. Clearly, this casts doubt on conceptualizations of remote working as providing “new opportunities for flexibility.” In terms of ethical organizational practices and QWL, this is problematic because even if the introduction of remote working enhances work-life balance, if it reduces gender equity, then any overall impact on QWL is seriously undermined. However, the view of remote work as inherently exploitative also seems not to be supported by the available evidence, which indicates that remote workers do tend to see remote work as useful in helping to provide work-life balance and manage childcare. Clearly, future research needs to use more sophisticated theorizing to further develop understanding of the relationships between remote working, the gendered division of labor, and the management of domestic work and childcare.

Challenges for Remote Working

Although there is some evidence that remote working is a reality for a proportion of workers (Gareis, 2003; Haddon & Brynin, 2005), and there are some reasons to think that there is a growing trend toward remote work (Riaz & Walling, 2005), there are also potential barriers to its growth and to its successful use in increasing work-life balance. For example, studies have highlighted challenges such as managers’ attitudes, lack of space at home, health and safety issues, resistance from families, employees’ reluctance to use remote working due to perceived threats to career prospects, and aspects of organizational culture that reduce people’s likelihood to utilize such family-friendly policies when they are available (Bacik & Drew, 2006; Budd & Mumford, 2006; Dikkers et al., 2007).

As has also been noted elsewhere (e.g., Hornung & Glaser, 2009; Sullivan & Lewis, 2006), research evidence suggests a great deal of diversity in the experience and effects of remote working. Qualitative studies in particular (e.g., Ammons & Markham, 2004; Crosbie & Moore, 2004; Hillbrecht et al., 2008) highlight the mixed feelings that many remote workers have about their situation. This provides a challenge in terms of implementation, training, and guidance for remote working. It is clear that simple, overgeneralized guidance will not work. It may be that employees, families, and organizations will have to produce flexible and fairly individualized approaches in order to ensure that the benefits of remote working are maximized and the potential negative impacts guarded against.

The potential for remote working to enhance work-life balance is usually thought to be a function of greater flexibility, but while flexibility can provide more time for family and facilitate family role performance, it can also enable paid work to encroach more into family time and space. Like all work-family policies, remote working must be carefully managed at a number of

different levels (Lautsch et al., 2009). It needs to be managed by workers themselves, by families, and also by line managers who need a high level of trust when employees are not visible in the workplace, and to focus on outputs rather than input of time (Felstead, Jewson, & Walters, 2003). It is also worth noting that recent evidence suggests that any positive effects of remote working on quality of life are likely to be contingent on it actually being experienced as beneficial in terms of work-life balance (Hornung & Glaser, 2009). Furthermore, evidence suggests that for remote working arrangements to have impact upon work-life balance and well-being, they must be not only available in theory but be experienced as accessible in practice (Hayman, 2009) and as actually increasing perceived flexibility (Grzywacz et al., 2008; Kossek et al., 2006).

It has been argued that the career prospects of those working remotely may suffer due to reduced workplace presence (Huws, Korte, & Robinson, 1990). However, research from the US suggests that this negative impact may not occur in organizations where work at home is well-established and generally accepted (Hill et al., 2003). However, for those not fortunate enough to be employed in such organizations, remote working may be a mixed blessing.

Future Directions

One of the most striking features of the research on remote working that has been conducted since the late 1980s is the diversity of experience that it highlights. Studies done in different contexts (e.g., in different countries or organizational settings) often produce different results, and this suggests strongly that there are moderating forces at work that need to be examined in greater detail. In the last few years, research has begun to address this with a number of studies usefully investigating the role of moderators such as supervisory practices and the length of time that remote working has been in place. It is important that this trend continues, as such studies are useful in helping to determine the conditions under which remote working practices might be the most useful and when they might be less suitable than other work-life balance initiatives.

Another key way in which research has highlighted the diversity of remote working experiences is by revealing the often double-edged nature of remote working, and this is especially the case if one considers the gendered nature of remote working. Qualitative studies in particular have been useful in revealing how subtle and nuanced effects can be and how people can experience things in positive and negative ways simultaneously. Research in this area is varied in terms of its methodology – there are studies that use discourse analysis while others use observation, meta-analytic techniques, or statistical modeling. This pluralistic nature is useful in addressing a number of different kinds of research questions and providing a broad and varied body of knowledge. As is often the way, longitudinal studies are still less common than cross-sectional research, and it would be useful if this could be rectified. Also, research that investigates the perspectives of family members, children in particular, is still extremely scarce, and it is difficult to see how the full effects of remote working on work-life balance can ever be satisfactorily understood without a big increase in the number of studies that include the perspective of families fully.

Conclusion

Although there are still many unanswered questions in this area, it is clear that there is potential for remote working to provide solutions for work-life balance under certain circumstances. It is also suggested by the evidence to date that remote working is not necessarily detrimental to productivity and may have the capacity to improve it (e.g., in those workers who have high levels of

control over their own work location or those who do not experience professional isolation). However, it is important to remember that it is possible for remote working to reinforce traditional gendered patterns of paid and domestic work, and it therefore may not be beneficial for gender equity unless ways are found to challenge the ideological and structural frameworks that support this division of labor. Work-life balance, effective work, and gender equity are key components of QWL and therefore important for ethical organizational practice. It is important that organizations meet ethical standards in all these areas as failure in one area will undermine any benefits to quality of life and well-being that are achieved in the others. Many of the remaining questions about remote working are about the specific circumstances that might lead to it being experienced as flexible, productive, and gender equitable. The varied nature of remote working means that organizations, families, and policy makers will need to focus on producing flexible solutions to the implementation and practice of remote working if its potential to improve quality of life and meet ethical standards is to be realized.

References

- Ammons, S. K., & Markham, W. T. (2004). Working at home: Experiences of skilled white collar workers. *Sociological Spectrum*, 24, 191–238.
- Bacik, I., & Drew, E. (2006). Struggling with juggling: Gender and work/life balance in the legal professions. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 29, 136–146.
- Bailey, D. E., & Kurland, N. B. (2002). A review of telework research: Findings, new directions, and lessons for the study of modern work. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23, 383–400.
- Baines, S., & Gelder, U. (2003). What is family friendly about the workplace in the home? The case of self-employed parents and their children. *New Technology, Work & Employment*, 18(3), 223–234.
- Brannen, J. (2000). Mothers and fathers in the workplace. In L. L. Haas, P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organisational change and gender equity: International perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 29–42). London: Sage.
- Breaugh, J. A., & Frye, N. K. (2007). An examination of the antecedents and consequences of the use of family-friendly benefits. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, XIX(1), 35–52.
- Breaugh, J. A., & Frye, N. K. (2008). Work-family conflict: The importance of family-friendly employment practices and family-supportive supervisors. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 22, 345–353.
- Bryant, S. (1999). At home on the electronic frontier: Work, gender and the information highway. *New Technology, Work & Employment*, 15(1), 19–33.
- Budd, J. W., & Mumford, K. (2004). Trade unions and family-friendly policies in Britain. *Industrial & Labour Relations Review*, 57(2), 204–222.
- Budd, J. W., & Mumford, K. (2006). Family friendly work practices in Britain: Availability and perceived accessibility. *Human Resource Management*, 45(1), 23–42.
- Burgess, A. (1997). *Fatherhood reclaimed: The making of the modern father*. London: Vermilion.
- Butler, E. S., Aasheim, C., & Williams, S. (2007). Does telecommuting improve productivity? *Communications of the ACM*, 50(4), 101–103.
- Cooper, C. L. (2009). The changing nature of work: Enhancing the mental capital and well-being of the workplace. *21st Century Society*, 4(3), 269–275.
- Crosbie, J., & Moore, M. (2004). Work-life balance and working from home. *Social Policy & Society*, 3(3), 223–233.
- Dempsey, K. C. (2000). Men's share of child care: A rural and urban comparison. *Australian Journal of Marriage & Family*, 6(2), 245–266.
- Dikkers, J. S. E., Geurts, S. A. E., den Dulk, L., Peper, B., Taris, T. W., & Kompier, M. A. J. (2007). Dimensions of work-home culture and their relations with the use of work-home arrangements and work-home interaction. *Work and Stress*, 21(2), 155–172.
- Dimitrova, D. (2003). Controlling teleworkers: Supervision and flexibility revisited. *New Technology, Work & Employment*, 18(3), 181–195.
- DirectGov. (2010). *Who can request flexible working?* http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Employment/Employees/Flexibleworking/DG_10029491. Downloaded 4 Dec 2010.
- Ellison, N. B. (1999). Social impacts: New perspectives on telework. *Social Science Computer Review*, 17(3), 338–356.

- Felstead, A., Jewson, N., Phizacklea, A., & Walters, S. (2000). *A statistical portrait of working at home in the UK: Evidence from the LFS*. Leicester, UK: ESRC.
- Felstead, A., Jewson, N., & Walters, S. (2003). Managerial control of employees working at home. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 41(2), 241–264.
- Fleetwood, S. (2007). Why work-life balance now? *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 18(3), 387–400.
- Fothergill, A. (1994). Telework: Women's experiences and utilisation of information technology in the home. In A. Adam, J. Emms, E. E. Green, & J. Owen (Eds.), *Women, work and computerisation* (pp. 333–347). North Holland, The Netherlands: Elsevier Science.
- Gajendran, R. S., & Harrison, D. A. (2007). The good, the bad and the unknown about telecommuting: Meta-analysis of psychological mediators and individual consequences. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(6), 1524–1541.
- Gareis, K. (2003). *The intensity of telework in 2002 in the EU, Switzerland and the USA*. Bonn, Germany: Empirica.
- Gillespie, A., Richardson, R., & Cornford, J. (1995). *Review of telework in Britain: Implications for public policy*. Report prepared for the Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology. Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Golden, L. (2006). The role of relationships in understanding telecommuter satisfaction. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27, 319–340.
- Golden, L. (2008). Limited access: Disparities in flexible work schedules and work-at-home. *Journal of Family & Economic Issues*, 29, 86–109.
- Golden, T. D., Veiga, J. F., & Dino, R. N. (2008). The impact of professional isolation on teleworker job performance and turnover intentions: Does time spent teleworking, interacting face-to-face, or having access to communication-enhancing technology matter? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(6), 1412–1421.
- Golden, T. D., Veiga, J. F., & Simsek, Z. (2006). Telecommuting's differential impact on work-family conflict: Is there no place like home? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(6), 1340–1350.
- Gröpel, P., & Kuhl, J. (2009). Work-life balance and subjective well-being: The mediating role of need fulfillment. *British Journal of Psychology*, 100, 365–375.
- Grzywacz, J. G., Carlson, D. S., & Shulkin, S. (2008). Schedule flexibility and stress: Linking formal flexible arrangements and perceived flexibility to employee health. *Community, Work & Family*, 11(2), 199–214.
- Gunnarsson, E. (1997). Gendered faces? Teleworking from a Swedish perspective. In E. Gunnarsson & U. Huws (Eds.), *Virtually free? Gender, work and spatial choice* (pp. 57–78). Stockholm: Nutek.
- Haddon, L., & Brynin, M. (2005). The character of telework and the characteristics of teleworkers. *New Technology, Work & Employment*, 20(1), 34–46.
- Haddon, L., & Silverstone, R. (1993). *Teleworking in the 1990s: A view from the home*. SPRU CICT Report No. 10, CICT, SPRU, University of Sussex.
- Hartig, T., Kylin, C., & Johansson, G. (2007). The telework tradeoff: Stress mitigation vs. constrained restoration. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 56(2), 231–253.
- Hayman, J. R. (2009). Flexible work arrangements: Exploring the linkages between perceived usability of flexible work schedules and work/life balance. *Community, Work & Family*, 12(3), 327–338.
- Hill, E. J., Ferris, M., & Martinson, V. (2003). Does it matter where you work? A comparison of how three work venues (traditional office, virtual office, and home office) influence aspects of work and personal/family life. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 63, 220–241.
- Hill, E. J., Hawkins, A. J., & Miller, B. C. (1996). Work and family in the virtual office: Perceived influences of mobile telework. *Family Relations*, 45(3), 293–301.
- Hill, J. E., Jacob, J. I., Shannon, L. L., Brennan, R. T., Blanchard, V. L., & Martinengo, G. (2008). Exploring the relationship of workplace flexibility, gender, and life stage to family-to-work conflict, and stress and burnout. *Community, Work & Family*, 11(2), 165–181.
- Hillbrecht, M., Shaw, S. M., Johnson, L. C., & Andrey, J. (2008). I'm home for the kids': Contradictory implications for work-life balance of teleworking mothers. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 15(5), 454–476.
- Hogarth, T., Hasluck, C., Pierre, G., Winterbotham, M., & Vivian, D. (2000). *Work-life balance 2000: Baseline study of work-life balance practices in Great Britain*. London: DfEE.
- Holloway, D. (2007). Gender, telework and the reconfiguration of the Australian family home. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 21(1), 33–44.
- Hornung, S., & Glaser, J. (2009). Home-based telecommuting and quality of life: Further evidence on an employee-oriented human resource practice. *Psychological Reports*, 104, 395–402.
- Hornung, S., Rousseau, D. M., & Glaser, J. (2008). Creating flexible work arrangements through idiosyncratic deals. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(3), 655–664.
- Hunton, J. E., & Norman, C. S. (2010). The impact of alternative telework arrangements on organizational commitment: Insights from a longitudinal field experiment. *Journal of Information Systems*, 24(1), 67–90.
- Huws, U., Korte, W., & Robinson, S. (1990). *Telework: Towards the elusive office*. Chichester, UK: Wiley.

- Huws, U., Podro, S., Gunnarsson, E., Weijers, T., Arvanitaki, K., & Trova, V. (1996). *Teleworking and gender*. Brighton, UK: Institute of Employment Studies.
- Hylmö, A. (2006). Telecommuting and the contestability of choice. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 19(4), 541–569.
- Jurik, N. C. (1998). Getting away and getting by: The experiences of self-employed homeworkers. *Work and Occupations*, 25(1), 7–35.
- Kelley, S. M. C., Kelley, C. G. E., Evans, M. D. R., & Kelley, J. (2009). Support for mothers' employment at home: Conflict between work and family. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 21(1), 98–110.
- Kompast, M., & Wagner, I. (1998). Telework: Managing spatial, temporal and cultural boundaries. In P. Jackson & J. Van der Wielen (Eds.), *Teleworking: International perspectives from telecommuting to the virtual office* (pp. 95–117). London: Routledge.
- Kossek, E. E., Lautsch, B. A., & Eaton, S. C. (2006). Telecommuting, control, and boundary management: Correlates of policy use and practice, job control, and work-family effectiveness. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 68, 347–367.
- Lapierre, L. M., & Allen, T. D. (2006). Work-supportive family, family-supportive supervision, use of organizational benefits, and problem-focused coping: Implications for work-family conflict and employee well-being. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 11(2), 169–181.
- Lautsch, B. A., Kossek, E. E., & Eaton, S. C. (2009). Supervisory approaches and paradoxes in managing telecommuting implementation. *Human Relations*, 62(6), 795–827.
- Lee, T. M. (2005). Discussion of behavioral self-regulation of telework locations: Interrupting interruptions! *Journal of Information Systems*, 19(2), 141–144.
- Lewis, S., & Cooper, C. L. (1995). Balancing the work/home interface: A European perspective. *Human Resource Management Review*, 5(4), 289–305.
- Madsen, S. R. (2003). The effects of home-based teleworking on work-family conflict. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 14(1), 35–58.
- Major, D. A., Verive, J. M., & Joice, W. (2008). Telework as a dependent care solution: Examining current practice to improve telework management strategies. *The Psychologist-Manager Journal*, 11, 65–91.
- Marsh, K., & Musson, G. (2008). Men at work: Managing emotion in telework. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 15(1), 31–48.
- Mirchandani, K. (1998). No longer a struggle? Teleworkers' reconstruction of the work-non-work boundary. In P. J. Jackson & J. M. Van der Wielen (Eds.), *Teleworking: International perspectives from telecommuting to the virtual organisation* (pp. 118–135). London: Routledge.
- Murayama, T., Hopkinson, P. G., & James, P. W. (2009). A multivariate analysis of work-life balance outcomes from a large-scale telework programme. *New Technology, Work & Employment*, 24(1), 76–88.
- Musson, G., & Tietze, S. (2004). Feelin' groovy: Appropriating time in home-based work. *Culture and Organization*, 10(3), 251–264.
- Neufeld, D. J., & Fang, Y. (2005). Individual, social and situational determinants of telecommuter productivity. *Information Management*, 45, 1037–1049.
- Ory, D. T., & Mokhtarian, P. L. (2007). Does telecommuting really save commute time? Time, distance, and speed evidence from State of California workers. In T. van der Lippe & P. Peters (Eds.), *Competing claims in work and family life* (pp. 249–267). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Osnowitz, D. (2005). Managing time and domestic space: Home-based contractors and household work. *Gender and Society*, 19(1), 83–101.
- Perrons, D. (2003). The new economy and the work-life balance: Conceptual explorations and a case study of new media. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 10(1), 65–93.
- Peters, P., den Dulk, L., & van der Lippe, T. (2009). The effects of time-spatial flexibility and new working conditions on employees' work-life balance: The Dutch case. *Community, Work & Family*, 12(3), 279–297.
- Peters, P., & van der Lippe, T. (2007). Access to home-based telework: A multi-level & multi-actor perspective. In T. van der Lippe & P. Peters (Eds.), *Competing claims in work and family life* (pp. 233–248). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Pitt-Catsoupes, M., & Marchetta, A. (1991). *A coming of age: Telework*. Boston: Boston University, Centre on Work and Family.
- Pyöriä, P. (2003). Knowledge work in distributed environments: Issues and illusions. *New Technology, Work & Employment*, 18(3), 166–180.
- Redman, T., Snape, E., & Ashurst, C. (2009). Location, location, location: Does place of work really matter? *British Journal of Management*, 20, S171–S181.
- Royuela, V., López-Tamayo, J., & Suriñach, J. (2008). The institutional vs. the academic definition of the quality of work life. What is the focus of the European Commission? *Social Indicators Research*, 86, 401–415.
- Russell, H., O'Connell, P. J., & McGinnity, F. (2009). The impact of flexible working arrangements on work-life conflict and work pressure in Ireland. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(1), 73–97.

- Salmi, M. (1997). Home-based work, gender and everyday life. In E. Gunnarson & U. Huws (Eds.), *Virtually free? Gender, work and spatial choice* (pp. 131–150). Stockholm: Nutek.
- Shockley, K. M., & Allen, T. D. (2007). When flexibility helps: Another look at the availability of flexible work arrangements and work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 71*, 479–493.
- Shumate, M., & Fulk, J. (2004). Boundaries and role conflict when work and family are colocated: A communication network and symbolic interaction approach. *Human Relations, 57*(1), 55–74.
- Silver, H. (1993). Homework and domestic work. *Sociological Forum, 8*(2), 181–204.
- Smock, P. J., & Noonan, M. (2005). Gender, work and family well-being in the United States. In S. M. Bianchi, L. M. Casper, & R. Berkiwiz-King (Eds.), *Work, family, health and well-being* (pp. 343–360). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Sullivan, C. (2000). Space and the intersection of work and family in homeworking households. *Community, Work & Family, 3*(2), 185–204.
- Sullivan, C. (2001, May 31). *Living with a homeworker: Female and male partners' experiences of the management of work and family and family satisfaction*. Paper presented at the ESRC Seminar Series 'Impact of a changing labour market on families, children and mental health: building research-user alliances'. University of Aberdeen.
- Sullivan, C. (2002). *Work at home, gender and the intersection of work and family*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Psychology, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Sullivan, C. (2003). What's in a name? Definitions and conceptualisations of teleworking and homeworking. *New Technology, Work & Employment, 18*(3), 158–165.
- Sullivan, C., & Lewis, S. (2001). Home-based telework, gender, and the synchronisation of work and family: Perspectives of teleworkers and their co-residents. *Gender, Work and Organization, 8*(2), 123–145.
- Sullivan, C., & Lewis, S. (2006). Work at home and the work-family interface. In F. Jones, R. J. Burke, & M. Westman (Eds.), *Managing the work-home interface: A psychological perspective* (pp. 143–162). London: Psychology Press.
- Sullivan, C., & Smithson, J. (2007). Perspectives of homeworkers and their partners on working flexibility and gender equity. *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 18*(3), 448–461.
- Towers, I., Duxbury, L., Higgins, C., & Thomas, J. (2006). Time thieves and space invaders: Technology, work and the organization. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 19*(5), 593–618.
- Tremblay, D. G. (2003). Telework: A new mode of gendered segmentation? Results from a study in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 28*, 461–478.
- Tremblay, D. G., Paquet, R., & Najem, E. (2006). Telework: A way to balance work and family or an increase in work-family conflict. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 31*, 715–731.
- Venkatesh, A., & Vitalari, N. (1992). An emerging distributed work arrangement: An investigation of computer-based supplemental work at home. *Management Sciences, 12*, 1687–1706.
- Vittersø, J., Akselsen, S., Evjemo, B., Julsrud, T. E., Yttri, B., & Bergvik, S. (2003). Impacts of home-based telework on quality of life for employees and their partners: Quantitative and qualitative results from a European study. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 4*, 201–233.
- Whitehouse, G., Diamond, C., & Lafferty, G. (2002). Assessing the benefits of telework: Australian case study evidence. *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations, 27*(3), 257–268.
- Wight, V. R., & Raley, S. B. (2009). When home becomes work: Work and family time among workers at home. *Social Indicators Research, 93*, 197–202.
- Wikström, T., Lindén, K. P., & Michelson, W. (1997). *Hub of events or splendid isolation: The home as a context for teleworking*. Lund, Sweden: Lund University School of Architecture.

Chapter 16

Ethical Leadership and Core Job Characteristics: Designing Jobs for Employee Well-Being

Ronald F. Piccolo, Rebecca L. Greenbaum, and Gabi Eissa

An evolution in work ethic and in the meaning of career development has created a view of work that supports employee well-being beyond simple, transactional, economic exchange between an employee and his or her organization. For many members of the modern workplace, work is not simply a means to an economic end, but a legitimate source of well-being and an extension of individual self-identity. Many individuals have come to see work as a source of self-esteem and well-being. These expectations have been bolstered by the highly publicized ethics scandals of the past decade, uncertainty about the world economy, and a near constant threat to national and global security. Individuals both young and old are now seeking employment at organizations in which they can take pride and job assignments that allow them to feel as though work has an impact on the lives of others (Grant, 2007; Parker, Wall, & Cordery, 2001; Wrzesniewski, 2002). Employees join organizations with expectations that policies and leaders will be supportive and fair and that companies will operate in ethical and socially responsible ways (Turban & Greening, 1997). As ethical perceptions influence one's choice of employer and career (Sparks & Johlke, 1996), it is no surprise that Keith, Pettijohn, and Burnett (2003), in an experimental study of organizational preferences, concluded, "[individuals] prefer to work for firms that they perceive as ethical" (p. 252).

This phenomenon presents an extension in the context of work expectations and job design, as employees come to pursue not only economic and social rewards in challenging jobs but also ideological rewards including the experience of meaning and significance in their work. That is, employees in modern organizations have come to expect more than a simple monetary transaction with their employers. In a very real way, employees anticipate that employers will not only provide a means for their financial well-being but their emotional and physical well-being as well. Business schools across the country have responded to this trend, embedding corporate social responsibility and social entrepreneurship as core components of the business school curriculum.

R.F. Piccolo, Ph.D. (✉)

Crummer Graduate School of Business, Rollins College, 1000 Holt Avenue – 2722,
Winter Park, FL 32789, USA
e-mail: rpiccolo@rollins.edu

R.L. Greenbaum, Ph.D. • G. Eissa, Ph.D.

Department of Management, Spears School of Business, Oklahoma State University,
318 Business Building, Stillwater, OK 74075, USA
e-mail: rebecca.greenbaum@okstate.edu; gabi@okstate.edu

In the academic literature, Thompson and Bunderson (2003) addressed the evolution of employee expectations in their assertion that psychological contracts between employee and organization be expanded to include “ideological currency” that includes ethical, principle-, and cause-inspired components. As the authors argued, violations of the psychological contract formed by many employees should include cases when organizational practices and policies fail to meet an employee’s desire to derive meaning in his or her work, or when organizational leaders fail to demonstrate commitment to valued ideals. Further, employees may come to feel as though expectations are missed when leaders engage in behaviors that violate ethical norms or enforce policies that narrow an employee’s work experience to relentless achievement of short-term financial goals.

Despite the mounting evidence that suggests employees want to work for organizations that behave ethically and offer meaningful assignments (Keith et al., 2003; Parker et al., 2001; Sparks & Johlke, 1996; Thompson & Bunderson, 2003; Turban & Greening, 1997; Wrzesniewski, 2002), many organizations tend to ignore aspects of leadership and job design that enhance ethical behavior, meaningfulness, and employee well-being. Rather, under pressure for delivering short-term market-oriented performance (e.g., stock price appreciation), many organizations focus narrowly on one to two key goals that serve the purpose of enhancing organizational profitability. Although this narrow focus could be essential for an organization’s survival, a number of challenging problems emerge when profits, financial performance, and other “bottom-line” outcomes are treated as the *only* objectives worth pursuing (Callahan, 2004; Wolfe, 1988). Further, when an organization’s leaders and systems foster a culture focused exclusively on the “bottom line,” it is at risk of compromising employee well-being and its own long-term viability.

In this chapter, we discuss ethics in leadership and suggest that a bottom-line mentality regarding organizational performance presents an ethical dilemma for leaders. On the one hand, leaders are evaluated and rewarded based primarily on their ability to deliver performance in the form of financial and market-oriented metrics (e.g., return on investment, stock price appreciation). Substantial compensation is often the incentive for leaders to deliver and report better than expected performance. Indeed, failure to deliver results is often grounds for immediate dismissal. On the other hand, the number of stakeholders of modern business organizations of any size has increased in recent years. Corporations are not only expected to make profits, but to achieve those profits in an ethically and socially responsible way (Treviño, Hartman, & Brown, 2000), contribute to the communities in which they exist, and to attend to the well-being and personal development of their employees.

In the sections that follow, we introduce ethical leadership as it has been examined in the academic literature. We then discuss “bottom-line” mentality as a common phenomenon in modern business by highlighting examples of when such a philosophy led to disastrous effects for American businesses, their employees, and society at large. Lastly, we explain how ethical leadership and modern job design can promote employee well-being and quality of work life by providing meaningfulness in one’s work that extends beyond a sole concern with bottom-line outcomes.

Ethical Leadership

Leadership is described and defined in many ways, but a common notion among the varied accounts is that ethics is “at the heart” of leadership (Ciulla, 2004). In the academic literature, ethical leadership captures employees’ perceptions of ethical behavior inferred from the leader’s conduct. More specifically, ethical leadership is defined as “the demonstration of normatively appropriate conduct through personal actions and interpersonal relationships, and the promotion of

such conduct to followers through two-way communication, reinforcement, and decision-making” (Brown, Treviño, & Harrison, 2005; p. 120). To act in a normatively appropriate manner is to act consistently with general expectations regarding how leaders *should* behave in a work context. “Normatively appropriate,” for example, implies that leaders are fair, honest, principled, and trustworthy in taking responsibility for their own actions and use rewards and punishments where appropriate to hold subordinates responsible for their actions. In general, leaders who maintain an ethical focus are keenly aware of their broad responsibilities and less prone to thinking only of the “bottom line”.

Although ethical behavior is reflected in various models of leadership, including transformational (Bass, 1985) and authentic (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, & Walumbwa, 2005), ethical leaders as described by Brown and Treviño (2006) distinguish themselves by exhibiting traits that are consistent with normative ethical principles such as honesty, fairness, and trustworthiness. These leaders make fair and balanced decisions and actively consider the appropriateness of those decisions in terms of their ethical consequences. According to Brown et al. (2005), ethical leaders demonstrate moral management behavior, communicate about ethics, reward employees for ethical compliance, and do not compromise ethical standards in the pursuit of short-term, bottom-line, organizational performance. With an emphasis on moral management through transactional means (e.g., rewards, punishments), ethical leadership is conceptually distinct from similar concepts (e.g., idealized influence, Bass, 1985; interactional justice, Colquitt, 2001) and is likely to reveal itself in the manner in which these leaders shape the work experience in terms of a job’s core characteristics.

Ethical leadership was first conceptualized as having two components (i.e., moral person and moral manager) (Treviño et al., 2000). The *moral person* component of ethical leadership captures a leader’s moral traits. Ethical leaders exhibit high levels of integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness. Ethical leaders also behave ethically by doing the right thing when faced with ethical dilemmas. They tend to be open and honest when communicating with others, and they show a high level of concern for other people. In addition to living their personal lives according to standards of morality, they also uphold their values when making decisions that could affect others. They make decisions that are objective and fair and follow ethical decision-making rules.

The *moral manager* component of ethical leadership more directly captures the aspect of ethical leadership that is unique when compared to other leadership constructs (e.g., interactional justice, idealized influence) (Mayer, Aquino, Greenbaum, & Kuenzi, 2012). A moral manager serves as a role model for subordinates by visibly upholding ethical standards as demonstrated by the manager’s behavior (Treviño et al., 2000). The manager reinforces ethical behavior by rewarding and/or disciplining employees according to ethical standards. The moral manager also communicates the importance of ethics to employees on a regular basis.

Brown et al. (2005) provided a more thorough conceptualization of ethical leadership and specifically defined ethical leadership as “the demonstration of normatively appropriate conduct through personal actions and interpersonal relationships, and the promotion of such conduct to followers through two-way communication, reinforcement, and decision making” (Brown et al.; p. 120). The authors relied on social learning theory (Bandura, 1977, 1986) to provide a theoretical basis for explaining the effectiveness of ethical leadership. By the nature of their assigned role as “boss,” formal leaders within organizations are expected to garner the attention of subordinates concerning organizational expectations. Employees are particularly likely to pay attention to leaders because of their ability to provide employees with rewards, promotions, favorable work assignments, and organizational resources (Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1979). Employees are also more likely to identify with and emulate credible role models—someone who is seen as honest and trustworthy (Brown et al.). Thus, employees should be attracted to ethical leaders as role models.

Accordingly, an employee's level of ethical behavior may be affected by ethical leadership. Employees learn what is expected of them vicariously (Bandura, 1977, 1986). They come to understand ethical expectations within their organizations by watching their leaders (Brown et al., 2005). Ethical expectations are further reinforced by a leader's behavior that includes rewarding and/or disciplining employees according to ethical standards. These leaders also communicate to employees the importance of upholding ethics and considering "what is the right thing to do" when faced with ethical dilemmas.

Beyond being committed to upholding ethical standards, ethical leaders may be more likely to find ways to promote employee well-being and quality of work life. Rather than solely focusing on bottom-line outcomes, extant research suggests that ethical leaders affect the task design of jobs in a way that allows employees to experience autonomy and task significance in their work (Piccolo, Greenbaum, Den Hartog, & Folger, 2010). According to Piccolo et al., as a result of experiencing more meaningfulness in their jobs, employees of ethical leaders exhibit higher levels of effort, which then contributes to higher levels of task performance and organizational citizenship behaviors. Thus, when leaders expand their thinking beyond a sole focus on bottom-line outcomes by attempting to improve employee well-being, they may inadvertently realize higher bottom-line returns because employees are more engaged and ultimately productive.

Leadership scholars have often relied on social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) to explain the effectiveness of ethical leadership in promoting desirable organizational behavior among employees (Brown & Mitchell, 2010; Brown & Treviño, 2006; Mayer, Kuenzi, & Greenbaum, 2011; Mayer, Kuenzi, Greenbaum, Bardes, & Salvador, 2009b). Social exchange theory is based on the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960). According to the theory, people respond to other people's behaviors by repaying them in kind (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). Ethical leaders treat employees well by listening to them, treating them fairly, demonstrating trustworthiness, and thinking about employees' interests when making decisions (Brown et al., 2005). In turn, employees are expected to repay an ethical leader with similarly desirable behaviors.

The Importance of Ethical Leadership

Mounting empirical evidence suggests that ethical leadership is effective in preventing unethical behaviors of employees while at the same time enhancing employee well-being. A number of studies have examined the relationship between ethical leadership and various forms of unethical behavior including employee organizational deviance, employee misconduct, and bullying (Avey, Palanski, & Walumbwa, 2011; Mayer, Kuenzi, Greenbaum, Bardes, et al., 2009b; Mayer et al., 2012; Mayer et al., 2011; Stouten et al., 2011). The results from these studies demonstrate that when leaders conduct themselves in normatively appropriate ways and embed ethics in regular business functioning, employees are more likely to engage at work and less likely to act in unethical, counterproductive ways.

The effectiveness of ethical leadership in preventing unethical behaviors may be realized through the leader's promotion of an ethical climate (Mayer et al., 2011; Neubert, Carlson, Kacmar, Roberts, & Chonko, 2009). Ethical climate refers to employees' collective impressions of the ethical policies, practices, and procedures within an organization (Mayer, Kuenzi, & Greenbaum, 2009a; Victor & Cullen, 1988). Mayer et al. found that leaders have direct influence on employees' perceptions of an ethical climate, which then reduces employee misconduct.

Beyond providing evidence that ethical leadership is effective in preventing unethical organizational behaviors, recent research has also demonstrated that ethical leadership is effective in improving the well-being and quality of work life of employees. Ethical leadership is positively related to employees' satisfaction with their supervisors (Brown et al., 2005; Toor & Ofori, 2009),

trust in management and coworkers (Den Hartog & De Hoogh, 2009; van den Akker, Heres, Lasthuizen, & Six, 2009), optimism about the future of the organization (De Hoogh & Den Hartog, 2008), and job attitudes (viz., job satisfaction, organizational commitment, turnover intentions) (Ruiz et al., 2011; Neubert et al., 2009). Empirical evidence also suggests that ethical leadership may be effective in promoting outcomes that directly benefit the organization, including employees' engagement in organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB) (Mayer et al., 2009a, 2009b) and higher levels of task performance (Piccolo et al., 2010). In sum, leaders, in general, and ethical leaders, in particular, have profound influence on the behavior and well-being of their employees.

The effectiveness of ethical leadership in promoting aspects of an employee's well-being and quality of work life may be realized through various processes that improve an employee's perceptions of the work environment. For example, Walumbwa and Schaubroeck (2009) found that ethical leadership is positively related to employees' perceptions of psychological safety. As a result of ethical leadership, employees are more likely to perceive that it is safe for them to engage in interpersonal risk taking (i.e., they feel psychologically safe; Edmondson, 1999); thus, they are more likely to voice their opinions within the organization. Stouten et al. (2011) found that ethical leaders are capable of improving employees' workload and working conditions, which then makes them less likely to engage in bullying. Piccolo et al. (2010) also demonstrated that employees of ethical leaders are more likely to experience task significance and autonomy in their jobs and thus be more likely to exert effort and achieve higher levels of both task and citizenship performance.

The Role of Ethical Leadership in Preventing Ethical Dilemmas

While we note that ethical leadership tends to limit the occurrence of unethical behaviors, we also believe that ethical leadership may be effective in preventing a nearly exclusive focus on bottom-line outcomes that could lead to specific forms of unethical behavior (e.g., accounting fraud, the release of dangerous products, misrepresenting contract terms). Ethical leaders do indeed pursue financial- and market-oriented outcomes (Brown et al., 2005; Treviño et al., 2000), but they also express care and concern for how outcomes are attained. By disciplining employees who violate ethical standards, discussing business ethics with employees, and setting an example of how to do things the "right way", ethical leaders shape the manner in which employees come to view their own responsibilities.

Prior research has demonstrated that high-pressure situations are related to unethical behavior (Robertson & Rymon, 2001). Leaders may experience pressure to exclusively focus on bottom-line outcomes including profits, performance targets, and stockholder wealth that may lead to unethical behavior. Rubin, Dierdorff, and Brown (2010) argued that ethical leaders may be particularly effective in managing such pressure while also promoting ethical standards. Accordingly, ethical leaders are perhaps better suited for top management positions because they can handle bottom-line pressure while remaining committed to ethical standards (Brown & Mitchell, 2010). Ethical leaders may also be effective in top management positions because they promote ethical standards that "trickle down" to lower-level managers (Mayer et al. 2009a, 2009b; Ruiz et al., 2011). In turn, lower-level managers also embrace ethical leadership, which then affects employees' (un)ethical behaviors (e.g., higher levels of OCB, reduced deviance).

In the sections that follow, we describe modern business leaders who failed to demonstrate the fundamental components of leading in an ethical way. For several of the major accounting and product development scandals of the last decade, we offer examples of when leaders failed to listen to employees, marginalized employees who attempted to reveal the "truth," compromised

integrity in regular business dealings, and rewarded employees for financial results only—not on the manner in which those results were achieved. These are all central aspects of ethical leadership as defined and measured by Brown and Treviño (2005).

A Nearly Exclusive Bottom-Line Focus: Ethical Dilemmas

In the last decade, a number of organizations have garnered the attention of the business community, government regulatory agencies, and the general public because of corporate accounting scandals and other illegal, immoral, or environmentally insensitive behavior (Hemphill & Cullari, 2009). Some of these scandals were egregious in that the misdeeds involved explicit neglect of standard accounting or manufacturing procedures, or intentional fabrication of market, financial, or product development information. As such, the primary determinants of the crises that followed these scandals were related to the blatant disregard of norms and standards for product development and accounting. However, beneath the surface of each of these highly publicized scandals were organizational cultures strongly influenced by implicit expectations of executive leaders whose own behavior often justified, if not encouraged, unethical action. Examples of such cases are revealed in the major scandals in American business on the last decade.

Arguably the largest and most highly publicized accounting scandal occurred between 2000 and 2001 when evidence revealed that the Enron Corporation failed to record millions of dollars in losses on its financial statements during a 5-year period (Sims & Brinkmann, 2003). The explicit fabrication of the firm's financial and accounting statements enabled Enron's stock price to rise beyond that which would have been reasonable given fair market valuation of the company's performance. The corporation, as a consequence, emerged as one of the largest in the United States and the world in terms of market capitalization.

When the truth about Enron's financial misgivings was revealed, the scandal that erupted fostered one of the most severe corporate bankruptcies in American history. In a matter of days, Enron's stock price dropped from \$85 per share to less than \$1 per share. Enron employees lost their jobs and most of their pension fund savings, stockholders lost millions of dollars, and the general public began to lose faith in the integrity of American business. Investigations revealed that top executives at Enron were directly involved in misrepresenting the company's financial health, having withheld important information from internal staff and external auditors, as well as directing staff accountants to exaggerate both revenue projections and cost concerns.

In the weeks after Enron's accounting scandal was made public, top executives in the firm continued to receive billions of dollars in stocks payouts and bonuses. The executives' fraudulent and self-serving behavior provides evidence that these executives were driven by an obsession for short-term economic gains with the goal of maximizing organizational profits and their own personal wealth (Healy & Palepu, 2003; McLean & Elkin, 2003; Rosen, 2003). McClean, Revell, and Helyar (2001), for example, suggested that arrogance and greed were pervasive among the top executives at Enron. A direct report of then CFO Jeffrey Skilling noted, "More than anything else, [executives] talked about how much money they would make." For Enron's top executives, a bottom-line focus with an obsessive desire to maximize profit was perhaps more important than adhering to proper accounting standards and common ethical norms.

Since the Enron scandal, many other organizations have been indicted with similar charges pertaining to accounting fraud. Investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 2008 revealed that the AIG Corporation had over \$1 billion in accounting errors that reduced the company's book value by \$2.7 billion (<http://www.corporatenarc.com/>). In 2003, Xerox Corporation was accused of "cooking the books" to artificially inflate stock prices, and in the early part of 2006, the SEC concluded that Fannie Mae engaged in "extensive financial fraud" by

falsely inflating earnings so that executives could collect hundreds of millions of dollars in bonuses. According to subsequent reports, Fannie Mae executives' were so strongly motivated to meet performance targets that they engaged in fraudulent behavior nearly immune to the economic, political, or ethical consequences. Common among these otherwise extraordinary examples is the executives' single-minded pursuit of bottom-line outcomes (e.g., profits, stock prices, bonuses) to the near exclusion of broader concerns including the ethical norms and responsible practices for how those outcomes were achieved.

Beyond violations of accounting standards, other discretionary decisions in complex organizations, such as product development and delivery, are subject to a manager's attempt to balance conflicting demands of diverse stakeholders. What may be best for shareholders, for example, may not always be best for the consumer. These conflicting demands can create ethical dilemmas that put otherwise complementary expectations at odds. At Pfizer and Merck, two large American pharmaceutical companies, top executives were aware of the dangerous side effects of using several of their drugs such as Bextra and Vioxx (Cavusgil, 2007; <http://www.corporatenarc.com/>). However, because the companies had made substantial investments in the development and distribution of these products, which were expected to yield significant returns to investors, the companies released these products to market without full disclosure of potential risks to human health. The desire to avoid the costs associated with additional testing was at odds with the need to get the product to market ahead of competitive alternatives. Executives at Pfizer, in particular, were so focused on releasing these products, satisfying shareholders, and gathering a positive return on its investments, they chose to discard ethical considerations in the way products were delivered to the public. Managers at Pfizer misrepresented the extent of FDA approval for Bextra, and one regional manager was found guilty of distributing a mislabeled drug.

The Great Recession of 2008 revolved primarily around the collapse of the commercial and residential real estate markets. A number of economic experts, including Joel Stiglitz, proclaim that predatory lending practices were largely to blame. Predatory lending includes the imposition of unfair and excessive loan terms on unsuspecting borrowers or systematically introducing complexity in loan proceedings that inhibit a borrower to understand, let alone defend, against excessive terms. This method of lending was rampant in several mortgage lending institutions such as Countrywide Financial Corp., which ultimately agreed in 2009 to modify nearly 400,000 home mortgage loans and pay \$150 million in foreclosure relief. Stiglitz (2010) argued that corporate executives' unrelenting pursuit of profits compromised a broader view of a company's social responsibility. A bottom-line mentality, according to Stiglitz, was at the heart of economic decline beginning in 2008.

Given that some accounting standards rely on integrity in the allocation of resources and decision-making processes of executives, scandals such as those highlighted above present the opportunity for ethical misdeeds. Of course strict accounting procedures and product design regulations guide the way in which an organization's financial health is captured and communicated, but the efficacy of those procedures depends on a company's reporting processes and policies, as well as the integrity of that company's top managers and staff. The discretion that accompanies many of the most common reporting scenarios presents an ethical dilemma for managers in for-profit organizations. Top managers are, on the one hand, incented to achieve financial results, while on the other hand, dependent on the engagement and well-being of their employees.

In sum, although all executive-level managers are interested in pursuing strategies that enhance shareholder value, the last decade has produced a usually high number of cases in which corporate leaders intentionally compromised the integrity of their businesses in order maximize their own compensation—rather than long-term shareholder value. These circumstances might be born out of reward systems and incentive plans that drive short-sighted behavior, a common concern known as the “principal-agent” problem in which agents of a firm (e.g., CEOs) are expected to

manage in the best interests of the principals (e.g., broad set of stakeholders) rather than in their own interests. Although it would seem that interests among principals and agents are aligned, a number of studies reveal that conflicts of interest often exist, fostering the potential for morally hazardous behavior. However, we argue that these circumstances also reflect the integrity and ethical commitments of an organization's leaders, who set company direction, design and manage performance and reward plans, and act as role models of preferred behavior among employees.

Take, for example, the account scandal at Enron, which has been well documented. Accounts of the events in and around the firm have been portrayed in popular press books (McLean & Elkins, 2003), academic articles (Sims & Brinkmann, 2003), and a documentary film (Cuban et al., 2005). Yet while this and other scandals (e.g., AIG, Xerox, and Countrywide) were shocks to the American financial system, a number of compelling organizational dynamics gave clues to the culture that was pervasive within each of these companies. Like culture at most all organizations, the culture at Enron was fostered by explicit organizational policies directing employee behavior, implicit suggestions for "how things are done around here," and observable behavior on the part of the organization's leaders.

For example, Schwartz (2002) reported that Jeffrey Skilling persistently sought to craft a culture at Enron that encouraged risk taking among decision makers. He did so in ways that are common in the formation and evolution of corporate culture: he told stories of success and failure to the broad employee population, stories that revealed his preferences for how work at Enron should be conducted. One such story featured a vice president named Louise Kitchen, who started the company's Internet-based trading division. Despite Ms. Kitchen's rational and persistent pleas, Mr. Skilling ignored and denied her requests for support to create Enron's online trading platform. She remained undeterred. Ms. Kitchen decided to pursue the initiative without Skilling's direct support, cobbling together a secretive network of internal sponsors who shared and allocated funds from different divisions. Once the division achieved success, Skilling bragged in story about Ms. Kitchen's relentless pursuit of economic gain. A former vice president who heard Skilling's story noted, "The moral of [the] story is, 'you can break the rules, you can cheat, you can lie, but as long as you make money, it's alright'" (Schwartz).

In his glowing account of Ms. Kitchen's actions, Skilling makes clear to employees the methods and outcomes of business that would be encouraged and rewarded. Ms. Kitchen was insubordinate to Mr. Skilling in that she covertly pursued a business opportunity in direct conflict with his recommendations. She was secretive. Yet despite her blatant disregard for Skilling's orders or the norms for ethical behavior in business, he praised her for achieving results and dismissed the manner in which she achieved them. This sent a very strong and clear message to the employee population at Enron.

Similar examples of leaders heralding results and dismissing process can be found at Pfizer and Countrywide. John Kopchinski was a sales representative for Pfizer Inc. who grew weary of the aggressive sales tactics the company pursued in selling the pain-killing drug, Bextra. Kopinski raised his concerns with several managers at Pfizer, who marginalized him and ignored his concerns. Kopinski was fired 2 years before the drug was ultimately pulled from the market. In his formal complaint to investigators about the company and its tactics, he noted, "At Pfizer, I was expected to increase profits at all costs, even when sales meant endangering lives" (McLean et al., 2001)

For Mark Zachary, a mortgage broker at Countrywide, expectations for profit over process were similar to that reported by Kopinski. In an interview with NBC News, Zachary noted, "It was, what do we do to get one more deal done. It doesn't matter how you get there, just how do you get one more deal done" (Myers, 2008). NBC News spoke to six other former Countrywide employees in different parts of the country who described the same culture and many of the same practices. After Mr. Zachary took his concerns about the generous application of credit qualification procedures to senior management and refused to approve unqualified borrowers to make his numbers, he was fired after 10 months on the job (Myers).

An organization's culture is always informed by the criteria it uses to measure and reward performance. Former employees at Enron report that their annual performance reviews and bonuses were based exclusively on "doing deals—the bigger the better" (Zellner, 2002). Under Skilling's leadership, those who "pitched the next deals were heroes"; those who pursued more practical development of solid assets were marginalized (Zellner). A former executive at Enron described Skilling as a leader driven by "the almighty dollar" (Zellner). Indeed, the issues that capture the attention of an organization's leader usually become the sole focus of employees.

These examples highlight leadership that is in conflict with the descriptions offered by Brown and Mitchell (2010) and Brown and Treviño (2006). Executives at Enron, Pfizer, and Countrywide failed to listen sincerely to their employees, marginalized employees who questioned the integrity of business practices, and rewarded results independent of the process used to achieve those results. These managers focused almost exclusively on the bottom line and displayed actions that were inconsistent with leadership that emphasizes ethical considerations in decision making and managerial practice.

To this point in the chapter, we have argued that a narrow focus on bottom-line results presents an ethical dilemma for an organization's leaders. We have also suggested that ethical leaders, through role modeling, decision making, and the use of specific *process*-oriented rewards, attempt to recast employee focus beyond narrow bottom-line outcomes to those that are more reflective of broadly accepted ethical concerns. This phenomenon reveals two important on-going concerns: (1) the role of the leader in shaping the task environment and an employee's experience at work and (2) an extension of existing job design models beyond those that simply focus on task characteristics.

In the remainder of this chapter, we offer a brief history of the job design literature, highlighting the role of the leader in shaping perceived and objective characteristics of work. We then present examples of how models of job design have evolved to address relational, sociological, and ideological concerns. In doing so, we attempt to draw a link between leadership style and job characteristics in general, with a specific focus on the ethics of leadership and job design.

Modern Job Design

The organizational literature has a long history in explaining how job conditions, in general, and job characteristics, in particular, shape the focus, identity, motivation, and commitment of organization members. Building on earlier work by Turner and Lawrence (1965) and Hackman and Lawler (1971), Hackman and Oldham (1976) introduced job characteristics theory to explain conditions in which employees would be intrinsically motivated when performing a job. According to the theory, organizations encourage increased work quality by enhancing jobs along five specific task dimensions: (1) *skill variety*, the extent to which a job requires the use of different skills, abilities, and talents of a person; (2) *task identity*, the extent to which a job requires completion of a "whole" piece of work, such as following a task or assignment from beginning to end with a tangible outcome; (3) *task significance*, the degree to which a job and its assignments have "substantial impact on the lives of people, whether those people are in the immediate organization or in the world at large" (Hackman & Oldham; p. 79); (4) *autonomy*, the degree to which a job allows the freedom, independence, or discretion to schedule work, make decisions, or select the methods used to perform work tasks; and (5) *feedback*, the extent to which a job offers clear information about how one is performing.

Comprehensive summaries of the literature on job characteristics theory have provided support for the original theory. Jobs and tasks regarded as challenging, significant, and autonomous are more intrinsically motivating than those regarded as narrow, simple, and repetitive. Fried and

Ferris (1987) meta-analyzed over 200 studies and reported corrected correlations ranging from .22 to .52 between the five core characteristics and intrinsic motivation. These results have been replicated with advanced regression analyses as conducted by Johns, Xie, and Fang (1992).

Designing Jobs for Employee Well-Being

Based in part on the large body of empirical research that has supported the job characteristics' approach to job design and motivation, employers have made numerous attempts to enhance jobs along the original core characteristics. Many of these interventions reflect similar concepts to those described in ethical forms of leadership. Indeed, leaders have a profound effect on the objective (Piccolo et al., 2010) and subjective (Piccolo & Colquitt, 2006) nature of jobs. Thus, we see a direct connection between the ethical commitments of an organization's leaders and the well-being of those being led.

To increase a job's *skill variety*, for example, organizational leaders attempt to enrich jobs in ways that tap an employee's creativity and broad set of abilities. Google has become renowned for its "20%" rule ("FedEx days"), which allows (and encourages) employees to use up to 1 day per week to pursue their own personal projects of interest. Many great and practical innovations (e.g., Gmail) have been developed as a result of the time and opportunity afforded to Google employees, and this has become a "benefit" that adds to the variety and autonomy experienced at work. Similarly, Darden Restaurants, Inc. regularly rotates professional employees through multiple functional and business units to broaden employee experience and to craft job assignments that offer the opportunity to use varied skills in addressing varied responsibilities.

Organizations have also enhanced the perceived *significance* of work by allowing employees to have direct connections with those who benefit from a company's product or service. Grant (2008) conducted a study in which call center employees tasked with raising money for educational scholarships were randomly split into two groups: one group had the opportunity to meet with scholarship recipients (the beneficiaries of the work); the second group did not. Not surprisingly, those who personally met scholarship recipients made more outbound calls, were more persistent in pursuit of donations, and ultimately raised more money.

Ethical leaders are especially good at fostering job conditions that enhance the experienced meaningfulness of work. For example, unlike the examples presented earlier, ethical leaders give followers an opportunity to express themselves (voice) and offer followers high levels of autonomy and influence over decision making (Brown et al., 2005). Ethical leaders are also more likely to empower employees, providing subordinates more control over their own work and making them less dependent on their leaders (see also Yukl, 2006). An increased sense of control among employees leads to a greater sense of personal responsibility, often revealing itself in greater motivation, effort, job satisfaction, and overall well-being.

Similar to transformational leaders (Piccolo & Colquitt, 2006), ethical leaders stress moral values and purpose in their decision making and clarify to followers how the tasks and efforts of group members contribute to the achievement of important goals. These leaders make salient the purpose, morality, and ethicality of work, likely enhancing the significance of group members' tasks. In this way, ethical leaders give meaning to various work activities. Employees who see their work as meaningful beyond shallow economic transactions report higher levels of engagement and job satisfaction and lower levels of stress, anxiety, and burnout (Humphrey, Nahrgang, & Morgeson, 2007).

Ethical leaders also consider the consequences of organizational decisions and policies in terms of their ethical consequences and specifically embed ethical norms in systems of employee evaluation (contrary to the system used at Enron). Ethical leaders make ethics "an explicit part of

their leadership agenda by communicating an ethics and value message...and by using the reward system (rewards and discipline) to hold followers accountable for ethical conduct” (Brown et al., 2005; p. 597). Ethical leaders are likely to reward employees for the demonstration of ethically normative behaviors and to discipline employees who fail to consider how individual decisions impact the work group, the organization, and society as a whole. By including measures of ethics in their reward systems, these leaders enhance the manner in which followers evaluate the importance of their own behavior and the processes by which organizational results are achieved (i.e., task significance).

In sum, ethical leaders listen to what employees have to say and share power with employees in decision making about policy, process, and strategy. Ethical leaders stress the contribution of tasks to overarching ethical goals and consider the demonstration and impact of an employee’s ethical behavior in an organization’s reward system, embedding significance and job impact into the objective properties of one’s work. Lastly, ethical leaders consider and emphasize how decisions influence the organization and society as a whole, fostering a job’s significance—a central component in job characteristics theory.

That said, although the job characteristics model has provided a valuable framework for the examination of task complexity, it has not kept pace with the changing nature of work (Parker et al., 2001). In particular, the original job characteristics model offered by Hackman and Oldham (1976), which focused primarily on the nature of five specific aspects of observable tasks, does not address the broader set of employee concerns that are relevant in a dynamic work environment. The original model, for example, does not consider the social, ethical, or relational needs of those who view work as an expression of their personal values and as means to form a meaningful self-identity, nor does the original model address broadly applied control systems (e.g., selection, appraisal, and compensation processes) that strongly inform an organization’s culture. As such, a task-oriented approach to evaluating work, as was the purview of the original job characteristics model, is narrow in its reach and implies a “bottom-line,” outcome-based view of work consistent with our description earlier in this chapter.

In recent years, however, several scholars have attempted to address these limitations. Parker et al. (2001), Morgeson and Humphrey (2006), and Humphrey, Nahrgang, and Morgeson (2007) have each introduced extended models of job and work design which recommend, among other things, inclusion of management style and reward systems (Parker et al.), social support (Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006), work/life conflict, and feedback from the job and others (Humphrey et al.). These extended models each recognize the role of an organization’s leader in shaping the nature of work and explicitly note how jobs enhanced along a broad set of characteristics foster motivated effort, commitment, and high performance, as well as employee health and well-being.

Humphrey et al. (2007) conducted a comprehensive assessment of a broad range of task and work context characteristics to estimate their relative influence on objective and subjective measures of performance, motivation, and employee well-being (e.g., stress, anxiety, burnout). Of particular interest, when employees had freedom to carry out their work assignments (i.e., autonomy), they reported lower levels of anxiety, stress, and overload. Similarly, when employees experienced meaningfulness in their work (i.e., task significance), they felt less burned out. Ethical leaders are particularly skilled at translating a sense of meaning at work and encouraging autonomy, two work characteristics that clearly enhance employee well-being. Thus, the results of Humphrey et al.’s study not only extend the traditional models of job design, they support the notion that employees who work with ethical leaders are more satisfied, more engaged, less stressed, and less anxious at work.

Parker et al. (2001) extended the original job characteristics model as well to explicitly list management style as a key antecedent to motivation, learning, group performance, and employee well-being. According to the authors, by setting decision structures and policies, articulating

vision, developing incentive and reward processes, or role modeling preferred behavior, leaders influence the culture, climate, and environment in which employees make decisions. These ideas have enjoyed support from several recent studies that draw a connection between the behavior of an organization's leader, and the meaning and significance ascribed by employees to important events (e.g., Piccolo & Colquitt, 2006; Purvanova, Bono, & Dziewieczynski, 2006). Thus, leaders have direct influence on the way in which employees experience work, including their sense of personal well-being.

These recent conceptualizations of job design have expanded our notion of core characteristics beyond those that focus on minute tasks or general task structures. Modern models are more likely to reflect an employee's desire to have meaningful impact, to develop valuable personal relationships at work, and to have work reflect their own personal values. Grant (2007), for example, introduced the notion of "relational job design," which characterized the work context beyond the nature and configuration of specific tasks. By noting that "employees often care about making a positive difference in other people's lives" (p. 393), Grant described a relational architecture of jobs that specifies the manner in which employees connect and interact with coworkers, supervisors, and beneficiaries.

Emerging research finds support for the notion that relationships with coworkers and beneficiaries provide a host of benefits in the workplace. New employees learn 70% of what they learn from coworkers (Korte, 2010), so it is essential to socialize employees in ways that support ethical values. Further, the strength of ties that are formed among employees in the workplace fosters a sense of loyalty and community. This sense encourages the demonstration of citizenship behaviors, while reducing the likelihood of counterproductive behavior, such as stealing, gossiping, or sabotage (Marcus & Schuler, 2004).

In today's economy, most employees have satisfied Maslow's lowest levels of individual needs (physiological and security) and are now seeking work that provides them "with a sense they are doing something important, that they are fulfilling their destiny" (Murray, 2010). Employees seek work that has meaning beyond the achievement of short-term, economic profit. Further, employees not only see work as a means to some narrow financial end, but as a source of self-identity, self-worth, and well-being. Managers would do well to embed an ethical approach to leadership which (1) broaden an employee's evaluation criteria beyond the "bottom line"; (2) crafting policies, statements, processes, and stories that highlight ethical commitments and foster an ethical culture; (3) role model ethical behavior; (4) publicly celebrate wins that are not exclusively financial in nature; (5) provide employees more autonomy in work and the opportunity to see their work as significant beyond quarterly earnings; and (6) reward employees not only for results but also for the ethical manner in which those results were achieved.

Summary

Most organizations and its leaders are evaluated on specific, objective, and tangible short-term outcomes such as market, financial, and accounting metrics of organizational performance. Although this approach to measuring performance creates an environment that encourages continual innovation and growth, it also fosters a climate that puts pressure on managers at multiple levels to deliver and/or report favorable economic outcomes. The rewards for achieving financial objectives are rich (e.g., lucrative bonus packages, stock option appreciation) while the punishment for failing to achieve can be severe (e.g., dismissal). Such pressure has the potential negative consequence of driving a narrow view of success, creating dilemmas, often of an ethical nature, in terms of how decisions should be made. This is especially problematic in that employees

have come to expect more from work than a narrow focus on bottom-line profits. The ethical nature of leadership has an important influence on the climate in which employees make decisions, as leaders shape the tangible and perceived characteristics of work.

References

- Avey, J. B., Palanski, M. E., & Walumbwa, F. O. (2011). When leadership goes unnoticed: The moderating role of follower self-esteem on the relationship between ethical leadership and follower behavior. *Journal of Business Ethics, 98*, 573–582.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought & action*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bass, B. M. (1985). *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*. New York: Free Press.
- Berscheid, E., Graziano, W., Monson, T., & Dermer, M. (1979). Outcome dependency: Attention, attribution, and attraction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 34*, 978–989.
- Blau, P. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. New York: Wiley.
- Brown, M. E., & Mitchell, M. S. (2010). Ethical and unethical leadership: Exploring new avenues for future research. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 20*, 583–616.
- Brown, M. E., & Treviño, L. K. (2006). Ethical leadership: A review and future directions. *Leadership Quarterly, 17*(6), 595–616.
- Brown, M. E., Treviño, L. K., & Harrison, D. A. (2005). Ethical leadership: A social learning perspective for construct development and testing. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 97*, 117–134.
- Callahan, D. (2004). *The cheating culture: Why more Americans are doing wrong to get ahead*. Orlando, FL: Hartcourt.
- Cavusgil, E. (2007). Merck and Vioxx: An examination of an ethical decision-making model. *Journal of Business Ethics, 76*, 451–461.
- Ciulla, J. B. (2004). *Ethics, the heart of leadership*. Westport, CA: Praeger Publishers.
- Colquitt, J. A. (2001). On the dimensionality of organizational justice: A construct validation of a measure. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(3), 386–400.
- Corporate narc. (n.d.). Retrieved April 14, 2011, from <http://www.corporatenarc.com/>
- Cropanzano, R., & Mitchell, M. S. (2005). Social exchange theory: An interdisciplinary review. *Journal of Management, 31*, 874–900.
- Cuban, M., Wagner, T., Vicente, J., & Gibney, A. (2005). *Enron: The smartest guys in the room*. New York: Magnolia Pictures.
- De Hoogh, A. B., & Den Hartog, D. N. (2008). Ethical and despotic leadership, relationships with leader's social responsibility, top management team effectiveness and subordinates' optimism: A multi-method study. *The Leadership Quarterly, 19*, 297–311.
- Den Hartog, D. N., & De Hoogh, A. B. (2009). Empowering behaviour and leader fairness and integrity: Studying perceptions of ethical leader behaviour from a levels-of-analysis perspective. *European Journal of Work & Organizational Psychology, 18*, 199–230.
- Edmondson, A. C. (1999). Psychological safety and learning behavior in work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 44*, 350–383.
- Fried, Y., & Ferris, G. R. (1987). The validity of the job characteristics model: A review and meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology, 40*(2), 287–322.
- Gardner, W. L., Avolio, B. J., Luthans, F., May, D. R., & Walumbwa, F. (2005). "Can you see the real me?" A self-based model of authentic leader and follower development. *The Leadership Quarterly, 16*, 343–372.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1960). *The psychology of behavioral exchange*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Grant, A. M. (2007). Relational job design and the motivation to make a prosocial difference. *The Academy of Management Review, 32*, 393–417.
- Grant, A. M. (2008). The significance of task significance: Job performance effects, relational mechanisms, and boundary conditions. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*, 108–124.
- Hackman, J. R., & Lawler, E. E. (1971). Employee reactions to job characteristics. *Journal of Applied Psychology Monograph, 60*, 259–286.
- Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. (1976). Motivation through the design of work: Test of a theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 16*, 250–279.
- Healy, P. M., & Palepu, K. G. (2003). The fall of Enron. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 17*, 3–26.
- Hemphill, T., & Cullari, F. (2009). Corporate governance practices: A proposed policy incentive regime to facilitate internal investigations and self-reporting of criminal activities. *Journal of Business Ethics, 87*, 333–351.

- Humphrey, S. E., Nahrgang, J. D., & Morgeson, F. P. (2007). Integrating motivational, social, and contextual work design features: A meta-analytic summary and theoretical extension of the work design literature. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 1332–1356.
- Johns, G., Jia Lin, X., & Yongqing, F. (1992). Mediating and moderating effects in job design. *Journal of Management, 18*(4), 657.
- Keith, N. K., Pettijohn, C. E., & Burnett, M. S. (2003). An empirical evaluation of the effect of peer and managerial ethical behaviors and the ethical predispositions of prospective advertising employees. *Journal of Business Ethics, 48*, 251–265.
- Korte, R. (2010). First, get to know them: A relational view of organizational socialization. *Human Resource Development International, 13*, 27–43.
- Marcus, B., & Schuler, M. (2004). Antecedents of counterproductive behavior at work: A general perspective. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 89*, 647–660.
- Mayer, D. M., Aquino, K., Greenbaum, R. L., & Kuenzi, M. (2012). Who displays ethical leadership and why does it matter? An examination of antecedents and consequences of ethical leadership. *Academy of Management Journal, 55*(1), 151–171.
- Mayer, D. M., Kuenzi, M., & Greenbaum, R. L. (2009a). Making ethical climate a mainstream management topic: A review, critique, and prescription for the empirical research on ethical climate. In D. De Cremer (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on ethical behavior and decision making* (pp. 181–213). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.
- Mayer, D. M., Kuenzi, M., & Greenbaum, R. L. (2011). Examining the link between ethical leadership and employee misconduct: The mediating role of ethical climate. *Journal of Business Ethics, 95*, 7–16.
- Mayer, D. M., Kuenzi, M., Greenbaum, R., Bardes, M., & Salvador, R. (2009b). How low does ethical leadership flow? Test of a trickle-down model. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 108*, 1–13.
- McLean, B., Sung Revell, J., & Helyar, A. (2001). Why Enron went Bust: Start with Arrogance, Add Greed, Deceit, and Financial Chicanery. What do you get? A company that wasn't what it was cracked up to be. *Fortune Magazine*. Retrieved from: http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/2001/12/24/315319/index.htm.
- McLean, B., & Elkins, P. (2003). *The smartest guy in the room: The amazing rise and scandalous fall of Enron*. New York: Penguin Group.
- McLean, B., J., Varchaver, N., Helyar, J., Revell, J., & Sung, J. (2001). Why Enron went bust: Start with arrogance, add greed, deceit, and financial chicanery. What do you get? A company that wasn't what it was cracked up to be. *Fortune Magazine*. Retrieved from http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/2001/12/24/315319/index.htm
- Morgeson, F. P., & Humphrey, S. E. (2006). The Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ): Developing and validating a comprehensive measure for assessing job design and the nature of work. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*(6), 1321–1339.
- Murray, A. (2010). The secret to motivating your team. *Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703625304575115604277094496.html>
- Myers, L. (2008). Countrywide whistleblower reports 'liar loans.' *NBC Nightly News*. Retrieved from http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/25465130/ns/nightly_news/t/countrywide-whistleblower-reports-liar-loans/
- Neubert, M., Carlson, D., Kacmar, K. K., Roberts, J., & Chonko, L. (2009). The virtuous influence of ethical leadership behavior: Evidence from the field. *Journal of Business Ethics, 90*, 157–170.
- Parker, S. K., Wall, T. D., & Cordery, J. L. (2001). Future work design research and practice: Towards an elaborated model of work design. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 74*, 413–440.
- Piccolo, R. F., & Colquitt, J. A. (2006). Transformational leadership and job behaviors: The mediating role of core job characteristics. *Academy of Management Journal, 49*(2), 327–340.
- Piccolo, R. F., Greenbaum, R. L., Den Hartog, D., & Folger, R. (2010). The relationship between ethical leadership and core job characteristics. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 31*, 259–278.
- Purvanova, R. K., Bono, J. E., & Dziewieczynski, J. (2006). Transformational leadership, job characteristics, and organizational citizenship performance. *Human Performance, 19*, 1–22.
- Robertson, D. C., & Rymon, T. (2001). Purchasing agents' deceptive behavior: A randomized response technique study. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 11*, 455–479.
- Rosen, R. (2003). Risk management and corporate governance: The case of Enron. *Connecticut Law Review, 35*, 1157–1184.
- Rubin, R. S., Dierdorff, E. C., & Brown, M. E. (2010). Do ethical leaders get ahead? Exploring ethical leadership and promotability. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 20*, 215–236.
- Ruiz, P., Ruiz, C., & Martínez, R. (2011). Improving the “leader–follower” relationship: Top manager or supervisor? The ethical leadership trickle-down effect on follower job response. *Journal of Business Ethics, 99*, 587–608.
- Schwartz, J. (2002, February 7). Darth Vader. Machiavelli. Skilling set intense pace. *The New York Times*, 1–2. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/02/07/business/07SKIL.html>

- Sims, R. R., & Brinkmann, J. (2003). Enron ethics (Or: Culture matters more than codes). *Journal of Business Ethics, 45*, 243–256.
- Sparks, J. R., & Johlke, M. (1996). Factors influencing student perceptions of unethical behavior by personal salespeople: An experimental investigation. *Journal of Business Ethics, 15*, 871–887.
- Stiglitz, J. E. (2010). *Freefall: America, free markets, and the sinking of the world economy*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Stouten, J., Baillien, E., Broeck, A., Camps, J., Witte, H., & Euwema, M. (2011). Discouraging bullying: The role of ethical leadership and its effects on the work environment. *Journal of Business Ethics, 95*, 17–27.
- Thompson, J. A., & Bunderson, J. S. (2003). Violations of principle: Ideological currency in the psychological contract. *The Academy of Management Review, 28*, 571–586.
- Toor, S., & Ofori, G. (2009). Ethical leadership: Examining the relationships with full range leadership model, employee outcomes, and organizational culture. *Journal of Business Ethics, 90*, 533–547.
- Treviño, L. K., Hartman, L. P., & Brown, M. (2000). Moral person and moral manager: How executives develop a reputation for ethical leadership. *California Management Review, 42*, 128–142.
- Turban, D. B., & Greening, D. W. (1997). Corporate social performance and organizational attractiveness to prospective employees. *The Academy of Management Journal, 40*, 658–672.
- Turner, A. N., & Lawrence, P. R. (1965). *Industrial jobs and the worker: An investigation of response to task attributes*. Boston: Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration.
- van den Akker, L. L., Heres, F. E., Lasthuizen, K., & Six, F. (2009). Ethical leadership and trust: It's all about meeting expectations. *International Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies, 5*, 102–122.
- Victor, B., & Cullen, J. B. (1988). The organizational bases of ethical work climates. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 33*, 101–125.
- Walumbwa, F. O., & Schaubroeck, J. (2009). Leader personality traits and employee voice behavior: Mediating roles of ethical leadership and work group psychological safety. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*, 1275–1286.
- Wolfe, D. M. (1988). Is there integrity in the bottom line: Managing obstacles to executive integrity. In S. Srivastva (Ed.), *Executive integrity: The search for high human values in organizational life* (pp. 140–171). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Wrzesniewski, A. (2002). “It’s not just a job”: Shifting meanings of work in the wake of 9/11. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 11*, 230–234.
- Yukl, G. (2006). *Leadership in organizations* (6th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Zellner, W. (2002). Jeff Skilling: Enron’s missing man. *Business Week*. Retrieved from http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/02_06/b3769051.htm

Chapter 17

Blame and Credit Attributions and Quality of Work Life: The Effect of Organizational Structure and Culture

Donald E. Gibson and Kelly McCann

Ethical Dilemma #1

You are a nurse manager in a hospital. An error occurred resulting in injury to a patient in your ward. Though the injury was not life threatening, it is your task to figure out why the error occurred and to try to prevent a future occurrence. When you explore with your nursing team what happened, some team members note that a particular nurse made the error: she picked up the wrong intravenous drip bag. You are surprised. This nurse has been quite reliable and as far as you know has not made previous mistakes of this kind. Other members of the team point to the system that may have contributed to the error: nurses are now working 12-hour shifts and budget cuts have resulted in short staffing. Besides, other personnel, specifically the medical technician who put the wrong bag on the shelf and the anesthesiologist who wheeled the patient to intensive care, could have also prevented the error. In the current budgetary environment, there just isn't time to double check every med for every patient.

Your dilemma: should you affix responsibility for this error to this one nurse, faulting her for not following hospital procedures on checking medications? Or should you address the difficulties the system has produced, especially given recent budget cuts? You want to send a signal to the team that mistakes are taken seriously, but at the same time, you know the team will be demoralized if one of their members is singled out. Your boss, the medical director, is waiting for an answer.

Ethical Dilemma #2

You are the CEO of BP Corporation, Tony Hayward. It is two weeks after the Deepwater Horizon platform explosion and spill in the Gulf of Mexico. It has become clear that stopping this spill will not be a matter of days but could be several painful months. The accusations against BP have been raging in the media. The media take on the disaster is, of course, that a big, evil oil company, led by you, has continued its tendency to take on big, risky projects and provided only rhetoric about safety

D.E. Gibson, MBA, Ph.D. (✉)
Charles F. Dolan School of Business, Fairfield University, Fairfield, CT 06824, USA
e-mail: dgibson@fairfield.edu

K. McCann
Department of Psychology, Fairfield University, Fairfield, CT 06824, USA

concerns. BP has taken insufficient precautions in deep water drilling and sought to cut corners in order to increase its obscene profits even more. Some of the attacks have been personal—accusing you of “not caring about the people of the gulf” and representing the worst aspects of Big Oil.

Of course, the situation is much more complicated than this depiction. There were at least three companies involved in this drilling situation: BP, Halliburton, and Transocean, which actually owns the rig. You think Robert Dudley, a BP board member, put it best when he denied that the accident reflected a corporate disregard for safety. “I think we will find that this was an incredibly complicated set of events with individual decisions and equipment failures that led to a very complicated industrial accident” (Lyal, 2010, July 12).

Your dilemma as CEO: should you take responsibility for this spill? Taking responsibility is likely to create huge costs for the company and its shareholders, when, in fact, the blame could just as well have been directed at the two other companies and, indeed, the US government regulators, who were not very clear on what was required in terms of deep water drilling in the Gulf. On the other hand, if you do not take responsibility, it is likely the media will point the finger at you, anyway, as the most well-known company involved.

Introduction

Increasingly, quality-of-life (QOL) research is finding important linkages between satisfaction in individuals’ work domain and their subjective well-being (SWB) in other life domains (Sirgy & Wu, 2009). Because SWB in work life has a tendency to spill over into other domains—such as life satisfaction—and also affect important organizational outcomes, such as satisfaction and productivity, understanding what determines SWB in work settings is important (Sirgy, 2002; Sirgy, Reilly, Wu, & Efraty, 2008). Psychological approaches to QOL conceive of SWB as a broad category of phenomena emphasizing individual emotional responses such as positive and negative affectivity (e.g., Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999), while QOL research from a management perspective tends to focus on phenomena relating to the job and organization level and programs to improve the quality of work life (QWL—Sirgy et al., 2006). This chapter combines these two approaches by focusing on an important psychological process—attributing responsibility for failures and successes—within the social context of organizations.

Vital rewards and punishments hinge on observers assigning credit for successes or blame for failures, and a substantial amount of time may be spent by organizational participants attempting to attract the former and avoid the latter, the feared hour of “blame time” (Jackall, 1983: 126). While attribution phenomena have been primarily examined at the level of individual cognition (e.g., Shaver, 1985; Shultz, Schleifer, & Altman, 1981; Weiner, 1995), increasing attention is being paid to organizational-level blaming: the extent to which the tendency to blame others for one’s shortcomings can spread through an organization like a contagious disease, creating a “blame culture” (Catino, 2009; Ehrich, 2006). This dynamic has implications for SWB; as one recent study noted in reflecting on blame cultures in Nixon’s White House and NASA at the time of the Columbia disaster, “The spread of blame is detrimental to individual and collective well-being and overall performance” (Fast & Tiedens, 2010: 97).

From a psychological and primarily cognitive perspective, attribution theory has well articulated the dynamics of attributing responsibility and causality (Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelley, 1967; Shaw & Sulzer, 1964). More recently, the critical emotional dimensions of attribution processes have begun to be articulated (Weiner, 1986, 1995). What has been less examined, however, is the influence of the organizational context on patterns of blame and credit. Specifically, an organization’s role structure and culture may significantly affect how blame and credit is ascribed, and these organization-level phenomena are likely to have a substantial effect on individuals’ quality of work life (Fast & Tiedens, 2010; Gibson & Schroeder, 2003). Responsibility attributions have clear SWB implications: blame

attributions have increasingly been linked to strong negative emotions of anger and revenge (Aquino, Tripp, & Bies, 2001; Bies & Tripp, 2000), while credit attributions—though much less studied—have received some attention as evoking strong positive emotions such as pride and happiness (Gibson, 1997; Gibson & Schroeder, 2003). These strong emotional responses suggest that blame and credit attributions carry more of a “punch” than purely cognitive accounts may capture.

Despite the ubiquity of these attributional phenomena, few reviews within organizational behavior have integrated both psychological and organizational perspectives (see exceptions in Bell & Tetlock, 1989; Bradfield & Aquino, 1999; Gibson & Schroeder, 2003). We address the two ethical dilemmas above by reviewing the extant literature, integrating these findings in a model of blame assignment in organizations and propose structural and cultural interventions that may help to address some of the problematic outcomes of blame and credit attributions for QWL. This model points to the effect of blaming and crediting on individuals’ willingness to take risks and report errors, on the ability of managers to create an organizational climate of trust, and ultimately on an organization’s capacity to learn.

Assessing Blame and Credit: Psychological Processes

Cognitive Aspects

A cognitive attributional approach to assessing blame and credit depicts observers as “intuitive scientists” who follow a causal event sequence to explain responsibility judgments. A simplified sequence of this process looks like this:

Negative Outcome → Causal Determination → Responsibility Assessment → Blame → Punishment (see Fincham & Roberts, 1985; Shaver, 1985; Weiner, 1995). A similar sequence can be proposed for credit assignments:

Positive Outcome → Causal Determination → Responsibility Assessment → Credit → Reward

An assignment of blame is an observer’s assessment that an actor has exceeded a normative standard in a negative direction; an assignment of credit is an observer’s assessment that an actor has exceeded a normative standard in a positive direction (Hamilton, Blumenfeld, & Kushler, 1988). In the sections that follow on psychological processes, we will focus primarily on blame assignment since these processes have been developed in the literature to a much greater extent than credit, though many of the dynamics are similar.

In terms of the causal sequence, a blame assignment begins with a negative, often unexpected event (e.g., in the ethical dilemma above, a nurse makes an error in the type of medication to be given a patient), followed by a cognitive process in which an observer determines the cause of the event (e.g., the nurse manager determines that this nurse’s oversight caused the negative outcome). Next, an assessment is made as to whether the target is responsible (e.g., yes, the nurse manager believes the nurse should have caught the error). Based on this responsibility assessment, an assignment of blame is made (e.g., the nurse manager writes a memo to the team outlining her findings). It is important to note that responsibility assignment is distinct from blame assignment; an observer may perceive that someone is responsible for an act but not find them blameworthy (Shaver, 1985). To find someone blameworthy, there is typically a judgment of *moral* responsibility: the offender has violated a norm (whether societal, organizational, or group) that is deserving of sanction (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Hepp, 2009). Blame assignment is then followed by possible punishment (e.g., the nurse is told that a notation will be put in her file and given a warning not to do this again).

It is also important to recognize, continuing our brief scenario with the apparently blameworthy nurse, that responsibility (and thus blame) attributions are based on subjective psychological processes and are thus constructed from *perceptions* of events, not necessarily “objective” reality.

In the example above, following the nurse's error, the nursing manager could also have made an attribution that the recent cutbacks in the hospital have created a situation that makes errors more likely and thus, *given the same set of "facts,"* conclude that assignment of blame is unwarranted.

Given this sequence, there are four elements that contribute to the likelihood that an observer will assign blame to a target. First, drawing on Heider's (1958) seminal work, observers make responsibility judgments based on how much an observer emphasizes a target's internal factors (he or she took willful action that caused the negative outcome) over external factors (the outcome was caused by other people, or "fate"). This fundamental *locus* factor underlies the more refined judgments that follow. Second, blame is assigned based on the degree that the observer perceives the target's act as *controllable* by him or her. Finding out that the nurse made an error because of a computer entry error of the doctor's prescription, for example, would probably mitigate the level of responsibility and thus blame assigned (see Weiner, 1995). Third, given a controllable act, the observer then judges whether the actor *intended* to engage in behaviors that resulted in a negative outcome. If the act is considered intentional, the actor is judged as *desiring* to perform the socially inappropriate behavior; it is thought that he or she engaged in the conduct with foresight and knowledge of its consequences (Heider, 1958; Leslie, Knobe, & Cohen, 2006). This is the distinction used in criminal justice proceedings between intention and negligence: in the latter case, the nurse made the error because she (innocently) forgot to double-check the medication label. Observers tend to judge negligent actions less harshly than intentional ones; since the act was due to carelessness rather than desire, the actor did not engage in actions indicative of a "guilty mind" (*mens rea*—see Hart, 1968). Finally, the literature on blame for accidents finds compelling evidence that there is a "severity effect": holding behavior, intent, and controllability constant, observers offer more punitive responses as a function of the severity of the act's consequences, even when they are unintended (Tetlock, Self, & Singh, 2010).

Social Aspects

We have said that the cognitive approach evokes the metaphor of observers as "intuitive scientists" and examines the intrapsychic process by which observers attribute responsibility to an actor. In contrast to this perspective, a second view emphasizes how social context affects each link in the causal sequence, evoking a metaphor of observers as "intuitive judges" (Hamilton, 1978). From this perspective, observers look for causal cues in the face of failure events, but they are not solely concerned with whether the actor had control over the event; they are also concerned with whether he or she *ought* to have been in control, given cultural and structural role responsibilities (Hamilton & Sanders, 1981). While at lower levels of the hierarchy, employees are primarily responsible for what they *did* (deed responsibility), leaders of organizations are seen as responsible for what they did *given who they are*; the role they occupy in the organization (Hamilton, 1978); that is, they are understood to have a moral duty to provide for the welfare of others and to advance the aims or goals of the organization (Hart, 1968). Role responsibility, in which "responsibility is connected to the rules and obligations attached to tasks and roles" (Hamilton & Sanders, 1992: 15), is a determining factor in blame assignments beyond actual causality, controllability, or intentionality of the actor. And while adherents of the intuitive scientist metaphor would regard general dimensions of the attribution process as culturally universal (e.g., Kohlberg & Kramer, 1969; Weiner, 1986), the intuitive judge metaphor suggests that social and cultural norms and roles inherently shape responsibility judgments: in order to understand the judgment, we must understand the social context of that judgment.

The "oughts" implied by roles make responsibility judgments *moral* ones. Observers-as-intuitive judges proceed through a "two inference process" in assigning responsibility, first seeking an explanation for what caused an event, then making a moral attribution which determines sanctions

for moral failure (wrongdoing) and rewards for success (Hamilton, 1980). Importantly, however, as Harvey and Rule (1978) point out, an observer's causal explanation and moral evaluation may be entirely independent. That is, though a perpetrator may not have personally caused an accident, he or she may nevertheless be blamed. For example, as Hamilton (1978: 318–319) points out, the military law doctrine of *respondeat superior* (“let the superior answer”) means that commanders may be punished for crimes committed by their men, even when their actions were not under the commanders' orders. Similarly, in the corporate setting, Tony Hayward's distant connection with the Gulf of Mexico disaster did not prevent him from receiving substantial blame—his role as CEO makes him morally responsible for the accident (Paradies, 2010, May 24).

Symbolic Aspects

A final metaphor conceives of individual observers as “intuitive politicians” who, in addition to responding to intrapsychic processes and role responsibilities, also take into account self-image and power. Tetlock (1985: 208) argues that individuals, as both observers and actors, seek to “convince both themselves and others that they possess desired traits or characteristics” through attracting credit and diffusing blame. There is thus an impression management function to attributions of responsibility—observers attribute blame and credit to those targets or systemic causes which make *themselves* look good. Within the organizational setting, Bell and Tetlock (1989) argue that in predicting who will be assigned blame, the internal purposes of the observer as well as the organization's political and cultural norms must be considered. The deed committed and the target's role position, though suggestive, are not enough to determine where blame will be assigned.

The intuitive politician metaphor emphasizes the degree to which the blame ascription process is not characterized by a “rational” assessment of facts but is rather permeated by psychological tendencies and biases. Three of these biases will serve as exemplars here. First, we are not necessarily accurate in determining the intentionality of actors, a fundamental element of blame. Consider recent work by Knobe (2003) examining the negative side effects of leaders' decisions. Respondents are presented with a vignette describing a CEO who starts a new program knowing that it will help the company's profits and that it might also harm the environment. Indeed, when the program is started, the environment is harmed. In this case, respondents tend to overwhelmingly regard the CEO as deserving of blame and think the CEO intentionally caused the environmental harm. However, when *positive* side effects of a decision occur, Knobe found the opposite effect. Respondents are presented with a vignette describing a CEO who starts a new program knowing that it will help profits and might also help the environment; indeed, when the program is started, the environment is helped. Respondents to this vignette overwhelmingly think the CEO did *not* intentionally seek to help the environment and therefore does not deserve praise. Knobe's conclusion is that observers determine intentionality not based on whether the actor actually *caused* something bad to happen but rather based on a moral consideration of whether the side effect was good or bad (see Wible, 2009).

Second, given the moral judgment inherent to blame ascription, it is not surprising that individuals do not passively react to the potential to be blamed for negative outcomes; they actively engage in impression management to deflect blame and attract credit (Crant & Bateman, 1993). They provide causal accounts for their actions, such as excuses and justifications (Lee, Peterson, & Tiedens, 2004), they self-handicap prior to an event that they think they are in danger of failing (Crant & Bateman, 1993; McElroy & Crant, 2008), and they engage in the *self-serving bias*, in which actors tend to take credit for their successes and blame external causes for their failures (Gioia, Giacalone, & Rosenfeld, 1989).

The self-serving bias deserves a more detailed examination, given its prevalence in organizational settings. At the individual level, theorists have argued that the self-serving bias may serve

the motivational needs of individuals to protect or enhance self-esteem; by pushing blame away and taking credit, individuals convince themselves that they can control performance outcomes (Zuckerman, 1979). Others have proposed that the self-serving bias is more due to individuals' concern with impression management (Bradley, 1978). Though individuals are cognizant of how much a failure should be attributed to themselves rather than to other sources, the bias allows them to "look good" to observers.

At the interpersonal level, researchers have focused on the supervisor/subordinate dyad (Dugan, 1989; Heneman, Greenberger, & Anonyuo, 1989; Mitchell, Green, & Wood, 1981), finding that, in the process of making attributions for failure and success, leaders may be subject to a self-serving bias: they may be biased to take credit for successful events while laying blame for failure on others, namely their subordinates (Mitchell et al., 1981). At the organizational level, researchers have applied the self-serving bias construct to explain attributions for success and failure made by organizations to their stakeholders. Using the texts of annual report Letters to Shareholders as data, studies confirm that organizations, like individuals, exhibit a self-serving bias: they tend to attribute success to internal capabilities, such as "effective strategy," while attributing failure to external factors such as economic downturns or the weather (Bettman & Weitz, 1983; Lee et al., 2004; Schwenk, 1990). Salancik and Meindl (1984) see self-serving attributions as a method for management to provide both internal and external audiences an "illusion" of management control. The self-serving bias has implications for the ethical dilemma BP CEO Tony Hayward faced. His initial tendency might be to blame external aspects of this situation for the tragedy that occurred. There is evidence, for example, that Transocean employees, who were actually drilling the well, did not accurately read several warning signs that occurred before the explosion on April 20, 2010 (Gold, 2010). This tendency, while helping the CEO and BP to feel better about their actions in the situation, is unlikely to be accepted by the observing public, which has a bias to blame visible top leaders for actions of a company. We explore this tendency in more detail next.

Assessing Blame and Credit: Structural Processes

To address the quality of work life implications of blame and credit in organizations, the cognitive processes just analyzed need to be placed in the context of organizational-level variables, such as structure and culture. While much less research attention has been focused at these levels than at the psychological level, researchers have long noted that the location of an individual in the organizational structure affects responsibility attributions: actors in organizations are scapegoated for failure or feted for success following events only symbolically under their control (Gamson & Scotch, 1964). As the social roles approach discussed above emphasizes, responsibility is not equivalent to causality; at the top of the hierarchy, leaders may be ascribed blame and credit quite unrelated to their role as a causal agent of events or performance (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985; Pfeffer, 1977). Nearer the bottom of the hierarchy, low-level subordinates may be singled out for blame due to "operator error," when in fact, environmental factors, such as the system itself, may make success difficult or impossible (Perrow, 1999). In organizations, where the causality of outcomes is frequently multifaceted and obscure, such judgments help to show that the organization and its leaders are in control (Salancik & Meindl, 1984).

The Effects of Hierarchy

While theorists have emphasized the importance of structural variables in affecting blame and credit attributions, few empirical studies exist. One study, Gibson and Schroeder (2003), specifically examines structural variables and their effect on blame and credit attributions. Examining

respondents' reactions to vignettes illustrating different structural variables (e.g., varying levels of hierarchy; flatter versus taller organizations, larger and smaller groups versus individuals), they reason, first, that there will be an effect of hierarchy on blame and credit judgments. Drawing on the social roles perspective outlined above, they expected that given a failure event in an organization, observers would be more likely to ascribe blame to actors in relatively higher positions in the organization. Given a successful event, Gibson and Schroeder hypothesized that leaders would tend to attract more credit for positive outcomes than would lower-level employees. For this hypothesis, they drew on Meindl and colleagues' work (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Meindl et al., 1985), showing that we tend to "romanticize" the impact of leaders on organizational success: when organizations report more positive performance, the emphasis the media and other observers put on the actions of the leader tends to increase.

Intriguingly, while Gibson and Schroeder (2003) found support for the idea that leaders were ascribed more blame for organizational failures, they did not find an effect for credit: leaders tended to be blamed for failures more than they were credited with successes and were not assigned significantly more credit when things went well than were lower-level employees. They argue that these asymmetries in blame and credit judgments may relate to whether the situation is perceived to be achievement-related or ethical/moral (Hamilton et al., 1988). Weiner and Peter (1973) found that in ethical situations, such as when an individual is faced with choosing whether or not to lie, more blame is assigned for failure (telling a lie) than credit for adherence to the ethical standard (not lying). "Success" in these situations means going "beyond the call of duty" or succeeding in spite of adversity; merely *not* lying or stealing is not enough to receive credit (Ross & diTecco, 1975). For achievement situations (e.g., taking an academic exam), however, Weiner and Peter (1973) found that more credit is assigned for success than blame for failure—success in this context is determined by actors meeting reasonable expectations rather than being punished for nonperformance or failure.

Since top management positions are held to a different responsibility standard, that is, held answerable for a broader range of activities than lower-level positions, Gibson and Schroeder reasoned that observers tend to hold executives to an ethical/moral standard. The CEO is expected to be capable of meeting an understood standard of leadership performance or will be blamed (Hamilton et al., 1988). This finding is also consistent with the findings of Knobe (2003) noted above for unintended side effects—that organizational leaders tend to be regarded as blameworthy when outcomes are negative but are less likely to be given credit when outcomes are positive.

Blaming and Crediting Individuals Versus Groups

A second structural variable in responsibility attributions is the presence of autonomy or collectivity: whether organization participants work alone or in groups. Though studies have examined how individuals and small groups differ in making attributions (e.g., Forsyth & Schlenker, 1977), there is less research examining whether observer attributions for success and failure outcomes differ depending on whether a target acts alone or in a group. Experimental, organizational, and cultural-level research findings are, however, suggestive.

In terms of blame, experimental research of group reactions to crises shows that individuals acting in groups will be attributed less blame for negative outcomes than will individuals acting alone. From the point of view of a group participant, "It is perfectly reasonable to assume that, under circumstances of group responsibility for a punishable act, the punishment or blame that accrues to any one individual [in the group] is often slight or nonexistent" (Darley & Latane, 1968: 378). In decisions as to whether to help a victim in an emergency, for example, responsibility may be divided among a group of bystanders (Baumeister, Chesner, Senders, & Tice, 1988) resulting in longer response times than if an individual must decide alone whether to act.

Further support for this reasoning is provided by Brown and Mitchell (1986), who show in the organizational context that supervisors make differing attributions depending on the *number* of subordinates who carry out an act. When only one subordinate performs poorly, the supervisor is likely to attribute this to internal causes (arousing more blame), whereas when a group of persons performs poorly, the supervisor is more likely to attribute the failure to external sources (thus reducing the blame per person). The ambiguity of individual contributions to the group outcome makes meting out punishment to groups more difficult (Bell & Tetlock, 1989). As Gamson and Scotch (1964) illustrate with a classic example drawn from major league baseball, in the face of continuing defeat, it is easier for owners to fire a single individual—the manager—than the whole team, regardless of who actually loses the games. Though the causes of losing are typically complex, the owner may engage in a process of “ritual scapegoating” of a single individual.

Research on cultural differences is also suggestive. Studies have noted that the tendency to focus on individual rather than the collective responsibility judgments may be a function of culture rather than an inherent psychological tendency (Earley, 1989; Tetlock et al., 2010). For example, East Asian cultures, such as the Japanese, are frequently cited as collective rather than individualistic in nature, and, in fact, there is empirical confirmation that Japanese children tend to sanction *groups* rather than individuals in response to both success and failure outcomes, while American children show the opposite tendency (Hamilton, Blumenfeld, Akoh, & Miura, 1990).

Recent research has refined the patterns of responsibility attributions based on cross-cultural differences. Zemba, Young, and Morris (2006) find that when observers attribute responsibility for an accident caused by an organization (such as a chemical spill or a student harmed by tainted food in a cafeteria), observers in Western cultures (the USA and Europe) tend to rely primarily on a *personal causality logic* in making responsibility attributions, one that focuses on causal attributions to individuals rather than collectivities such as groups and organizations. However, they find that East Asian observers tend to augment this personal causality logic with *proxy logic*. They tend to attribute more blame to the organization as a whole than to a particular individual (such as the operator responsible for the chemical spill or the cook in the cafeteria), but when it is difficult to punish the whole organization, they blame an individual manager who represents the organization, such as the CEO, as a proxy for the blame they would place on the collectivity. Thus, East Asian are more likely than Americans to call for the resignation of a CEO in the face of a corporate accident where causality for the accident is complex and does not point to a single causal source.

In terms of credit, the social loafing literature argues that individuals will perform less well in groups than when acting alone because individuals perceive that they have less accountability for group outcomes (Latane, Williams, & Harkins, 1979). However, social loafing may be an artifact of culture as well. Earley (1989: 577) has shown that while individuals in individualistic cultures are less likely to perform well in groups, because “contribution toward achieving collective goods is inconsistent with the self-interest motive,” individuals from collective cultures, such as the People’s Republic of China, actually perform better in groups.

Based on this theoretical rationale, Gibson and Schroeder (2003) predicted and found that from an observer’s viewpoint (using an American sample presumably high on individualistic tendencies) levels of blame and credit were less for individuals when they performed in groups than when they performed alone.

The Effect of Flat and Tall Structures

A logical extension of the preceding argument that groups should diffuse blame and credit and individuals should attract them is that structures that promote autonomy, or individual decision-making, will promote increased attributions of blame and credit to role occupants. To test this

assertion, Gibson and Schroeder drew on research suggesting that a given structure's managerial span of control should affect blame and credit assignment. A seminal study of Sears, Roebuck, and Company by Worthy (1959) argued that "flatter" structures (those with fewer levels of hierarchy) have higher morale and productivity because such structures imply a wider span of control. Wider spans of control mean less time for supervisors to control their subordinates' actions; thus, Worthy reasoned, subordinates would be more autonomous: "They have to make their own decisions and stand or fall by the results" (Worthy, 1959: 110). Confirming this effect, Gibson and Schroeder (2003) found that flatter structures led to higher levels of blame and credit to actors (who were perceived to be more autonomous) than to actors in taller organizations with narrower spans of control. This finding fits historical notions that many-layered bureaucracies—from the DMV to the Third Reich—make affixing responsibility to specific individuals more difficult. The current trend toward flatter organizations, driven primarily by desires to reduce middle-level management layers as a cost-cutting tactic, may have the side effect of clarifying responsibility attributions.

Assessing Blame and Credit: Cultural Processes

The structural effects outlined above suggest that the psychological tendencies driving responsibility attributions are shaped and constrained by signals such as hierarchy and collectivity. A second, less studied aspect is the degree to which an organization's internal culture—the norms created in groups and organizations that informally sanction or encourage particular patterns of behavior—also shapes blame and credit ascriptions. Recent work, particularly in the area of blame for errors occurring in organizations where reliability is essential—such as hospitals—has begun to explore the psychological and organizational costs of "blame cultures" (Catino, 2008, 2009; Ehrich, 2006). This research is especially important for considering the linkages between blame and credit patterns and quality of work life.

We have identified above the tendency for observers to blame individuals for failure outcomes even in settings where organizational factors—such as time pressure, resource limitations, inadequate training, and inadequate management—likely have played a role. This is the much-cited *fundamental attribution error*—that observers tend to focus on individual dispositional qualities rather than situational variables when errors occur (see Ross, 1977). While this tendency can be functional in a group or organization's need to determine when avoidable mistakes by an individual have been made, or when violations of norms necessitate punishment, this tendency can produce many negative side effects. Figure 17.1 presents a model of blame ascription in organizations, drawing on the literature reviewed so far, and anticipating the influence of blame cultures. We focus on blame in this section rather than credit because research on blame is more highly developed; one could construct a similar model for credit, drawing on more speculative findings. In considering cultural processes, the social psychological dynamics of how blame cultures are created through contagion are first outlined. We then focus on the construct of perceived psychological safety as a critical variable in cultural assessment, and contrast individual versus organizational blame logics. Finally, we investigate the effect of blame cultures on individuals and organizations.

A Model of Blame Assignment in Organizations

The model depicted in Fig. 17.1 suggests that in determining assignment of blame in organizations for a failure event, an observer first makes a cognitive assessment of whether the actor intended to behave in a way that led to the failure, whether the actor was in control of the situation, and how severe the consequences of the failure are. Next, an observer assesses structural and cultural

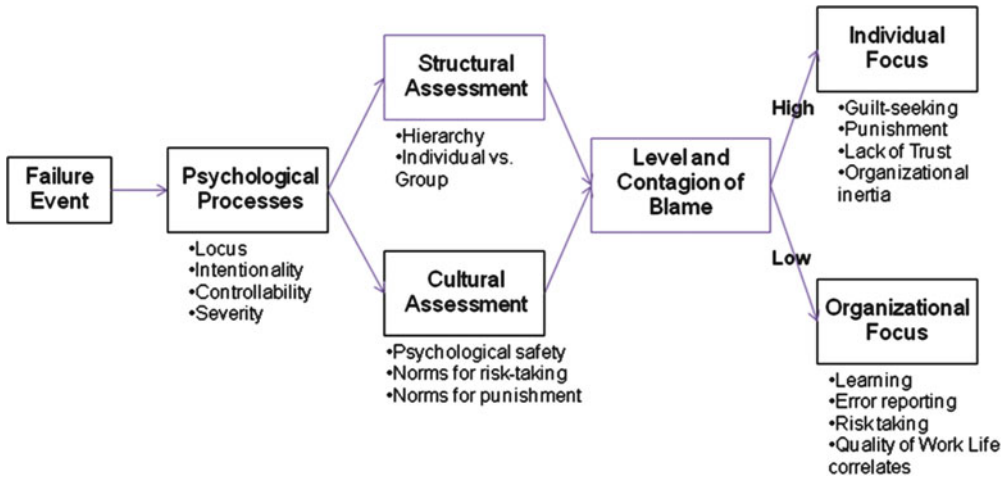


Fig. 17.1 A model of blame assignment in organizations

variables. At the structural level, observers take into account the actor’s position in the organizational hierarchy and in groups and how responsible the actor is in terms of their role (does the actor’s authority extend to the unit where the failure occurred? Should the actor have been aware of the situation, even if he or she did not directly cause it?). At the cultural level, the observer takes into account prevailing norms in the organization. To what degree are participants allowed to take risks in this setting? How often are mistakes punished? Is this an organization that emphasizes punishment for negative behavior or recognition for positive behavior (Arvey & Ivancevich, 1980)? We consider next the dynamics of assessing cultural aspects in assigning blame.

Cultural Assessment

We begin with a critical cultural concept in assessing risks and potential punishment for organizational actions: individual perceptions of *psychological safety*. Part of the benefit of doing work in teams is that individuals can learn from each other more effectively than working independently; in a group setting, individuals can seek feedback, share information, ask for help, talk about problems and errors, and experiment (Edmondson, 1999). However, these learning behaviors may also pose a threat to a member’s face: a team member may be reluctant to ask for help and admit errors when they feel threatened or potentially embarrassed. These barriers to learning potentially have real human and economic costs, a relationship that has been examined primarily in hospitals. For example, a well-publicized Institute of Medicine report estimated that in 3–4% of the total number of hospitalizations in the USA each year, a case of “malfunction” (error) occurs, resulting in between 44,000 and 98,000 deaths per year and an economic loss of \$29 billion (Kohn, Corrigan, & Donaldson, 2000). Hospital managers and their highly trained professional staff obviously have a strong interest in learning from errors so that costly mistakes are not repeatedly made. Therefore, it is in the interest of all involved parties to accurately report when errors occur, so that participants can learn how to improve systems, processes, and personnel to prevent them in the future.

In research on medical teams in hospitals (and in other settings, such as manufacturing, Edmondson, 1999), it has become increasingly clear that team and organization learning can only occur in environments where members feel that they can discuss problems and errors without the fear of excessive blame and punishment: they need to feel psychologically “safe.” Edmondson (1999: 354) defines team psychological safety as “a shared belief that the team is safe for interpersonal risk taking.” The importance of this construct in the life-and-death environment of medical care was made apparent in Edmondson’s (1996) path-breaking work with nursing teams in hospitals. Edmondson began the study seeking to understand the relationship between work group properties (such as the quality of management, perceived performance, quality of coaching) and reported error rates. What she expected to find was that the “best managed” and best performing teams of doctors and nurses would have the lowest reported error rates. What she found, instead, was the opposite: the highest performing teams (based on team perception of the quality of nurse manager direction setting and coaching, the quality of unit relationships, and other objective measures) actually had *higher* reported error rates. In examining this puzzling relationship, she discovered that this finding was due to the fact that high-performing teams were also those that allowed their members to report mistakes and problems without feeling that they would be blamed and punished for them. These were the teams where members felt psychologically safe in terms of confronting errors and were thus more likely to learn from past mistakes.

Blame Contagion

As noted above in reference to the self-serving bias, individuals are motivated to foster a positive self-image. When negative events occur for which they are possibly responsible, actors are motivated to shift blame away from themselves by blaming other people or external situational causes. While this tendency is well-documented in the self-serving bias literature (e.g., Bradley, 1978; Gioia et al., 1989), what has not been emphasized until recently is how the tendency to shift blame away from oneself may be contagious in an organization, leading to an environment where “pointing the finger at someone else” becomes common practice. In recent research, Fast and Tiedens (2010) argue that the notion of social contagion—in which individuals match or mimic the behaviors and states of others, such as physical movements and emotions (Barsade, 2002)—can also be applied to blame. They define “blame contagion” as “the tendency for a person to engage in blaming behaviors shortly after being exposed to another individual make a blame attribution for a failure” (Fast & Tiedens, 2010: 98). What is contagious here, they argue, is not the specific behavior of blaming but the goal of protecting one’s self-image. Once a person observes another exhibiting self-image protective behavior, it makes it more likely that he or she will engage in similar behavior.

In a series of experiments, Fast and Tiedens (2010) found that when respondents were exposed to scenarios in which a protagonist blamed others or external circumstances for a negative event outcome (such as a governor blaming partisanship for the results of a special election or students blaming their university for difficulty finding a job), respondents were more likely to blame others for their own real and imagined failures. Fast and Tiedens argue that this potential for blame contagion has real organizational outcomes: for example, they cite the tendency of President Nixon to blame others for his personal shortcomings as a reason that “blame spread like a cancer throughout his administration” (Fast & Tiedens, 2010: 97). Groups and organizations in which blame becomes routinely expressed, they contend, are less psychologically rewarding, less conducive to risk taking and learning, and less productive than those in which people feel safe to take personal responsibility for their own mistakes (see Edmondson, 1996).

High Blame Contagion Leading to a Focus on the Faulty Individual

The notion that blame can be contagious is consistent with a growing set of studies, primarily examining high-risk occupations such as medical care, showing that patterns of blaming at the individual and group level can have dramatic organization-level effects. Consistent with work on psychological safety, these studies suggest that individuals partially calibrate their behavior based on whether they think they will be blamed for mistakes and errors. The problem is that system, intracultural, and psychological tendencies tend to reduce the likelihood that individuals will admit to errors. We have discussed the psychological tendency for individuals to deflect blame. At the system level, dramatically increasing legal costs for malpractice suits means that hospitals often take a defensive approach to medicine, meaning that responses are adopted primarily to avoid liability rather than to respond to patient needs (Ehrich, 2006). “Doctors order tests, procedures or specialist visits (positive defensive medicine), or, alternatively, avoid high-risk patients or procedures (negative defensive medicine) with the primary objective of reducing their exposure to malpractice litigation” (Catino, 2009: 245). At the organizational level, these pressures tend to result in an “individual blame logic” (Catino, 2008). When an accident occurs, the tendency is to immediately try to identify a guilty individual, who is often at the “operations” rather than managerial level (in ethical dilemma #1, the nurse actually giving medicine rather than the managers who devised the procedures) that is then punished.

There are several reasons that the individual blame logic occurs: it bolsters the belief in individual responsibility captured by a criminal justice approach; provides an emotionally satisfying sense of justice; and is convenient, from an economic and legal perspective (Catino, 2008). However, by identifying errors specifically with individuals (e.g., the nurse is blamed for giving the wrong amount of medicine), there is little motivation to examine the higher-level systems, structures, and interactions that may have made this error more likely (e.g., nurses have long shifts with few breaks; resource pressures are increasing the number of patients per nurse; doctors inaccurately write prescriptions, etc.).

Our model suggests, then, when the level of attention to protective self-image is high in an organization, blame is likely to be contagious. When blame contagion is high, the tendency will be for individuals to be sought as the guilty parties when a failure event occurs. The emphasis will be on punishment of particular individuals, often at lower levels of the hierarchy, who are closest to the operational basis of the organization, where interaction with customers (in the retail and service environment) and technology (in the manufacturing environment) tends to take place and costly errors are most likely. The result of this emphasis on individual blame is that the possible systemic causes of errors will not be examined (because, after all, it was a “bad person” who made an error, not the fault of the system as a whole). In the medical care environment, the result is that nurses and doctors, under threat of legal action, will be highly reluctant to admit and discuss errors, since they could be used against them in criminal lawsuits (Catino, 2008). The result will be a persistent blame culture in which errors will not be examined and the organization is very unlikely to change (Ehrich, 2006).

Low Blame Contagion Leading to the Possibility for Organizational Learning

When there is less attention to self-image and organizational protection, and thus levels of individual blame and blame contagion are lower, there is the possibility that errors can be used as signals of areas needing examination, and blaming can be turned into an opportunity for learning. The “individual blame logic” can be replaced by an “organizational function logic” in

which the question, “Who caused the accident?” can be replaced with “What conditions and mechanisms have increased the possibilities of its happening?” (Catino, 2008: 57). This approach recognizes that most disasters and accidents in complex organizations are not attributable to a single cause but to a number of interrelated occurrences that in themselves are not problematic but when combined can produce a negative outcome (Perrow, 1999). The idea of a “no-blame” culture (Ehrich, 2006) is to create an environment where participants feel that they can report areas that need attention so that the organization can improve itself.

This idea has been explored in the context of “high-reliability organizations,” such as military aircraft carriers and chemical processing plants, where accidents, given the number of operating hours, have been few (e.g., Roberts, 1990; Weick & Sutcliffe, 2001). However, critics argue that the social, psychological, political, and systemic tendencies make “high reliability” of all technical systems unlikely, a contention borne out in the ethical dilemmas surrounding the BP Deepwater Horizon disaster (see Bruno, 2010, May 7; Jensen, 2008; Perrow, 1999). An important element in this disaster is that there were warning signs in advance of the spill that should have been caught by engineers and managers (Gold, 2010). There is evidence, however, that a culture of learning did not exist at BP, where the worst spill ever on the North Slope of Alaska occurred in 2006, following the deadly Texas City refinery explosion in March 2005, when 15 people died and more than 170 were injured in America’s worst industrial accident in a generation. The *New York Times* argued that BP “has been chronically unable or unwilling to learn from its mistakes, an examination of its record shows” (Lyll, 2010). An OSHA administrator commented that BP has “difficulty applying the lessons learned from refinery to refinery or even from within refineries” (Lyll). This case illustrates that how blame and credit are handled in an organizational culture can have real effects on whether organizations can learn from past errors or whether they are doomed to repeat them in a cycle of high individual blame and low organizational learning.

Can We Have “Credit” Cultures?

The notion of a “credit” organizational culture, one in which employees feel appropriately recognized for their work contributions, has a long history in organizational behavior, with roots in the human relations movement initiated by Elton Mayo and others (Mayo, 1945; Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1947). These studies, a response to the predominant scientific management movements of the time, emphasized that in addition to their instrumental human-as-machine value, employees also brought their emotional lives, their “sentiments” to work (Homans, 1950). The importance of *recognizing* employee accomplishment and the link between “higher order” needs of achievement and recognition were later enshrined in Maslow’s model, linking individuals’ feelings of approval with increased work motivation (Herzberg, 1966; Maslow, 1970). The relationship between crediting employees for accomplishment of individual and organizational goals and enhanced individual and team motivation can be regarded as well established in the motivation literature.

While the notion of appropriately recognizing employees when organizational success occurs continues in the current treatments of “employee engagement” and involvement programs (see, e.g., Gebauer & Lowman, 2008), the academic investigation of credit as opposed to blame remains in its infancy. The attention to a predominantly negative social behavior (blaming) at the expense of a predominantly positive one (credit) is consistent with academic attention to a variety of positive and negative phenomena in organizational behavior. As Barsade and Gibson (2007: 52) note in a recent review of affective processes in organizations, “It is particularly ironic that while positive affect has been found to show greater influence on workplace outcomes, it has been studied significantly less than negative affect” (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005;

Thoresen, Kaplan, Barsky, Warren, & de Chermont, 2003). An important area for future research is to investigate the linkage between responsibility attributions leading to credit and their effect on organizational outcomes, and to develop models depicting how these attribution patterns differ from attributions of blame.

Implications of Blame and Credit Cultures for Quality of Work Life

The discussion above implies important outcomes for both individuals and organizations of how blame and credit are assigned in organizations. As the preceding discussion implies, cultural norms for how individuals are blamed and credited are likely to have a strong influence on an individual's work environment, which has been identified as an important factor in quality of work life (see Sirgy et al., 2008). We argue, supported by the literature on blame and credit and the model presented, that the degree to which individuals feel supported in their work teams and by their supervisor, in the sense of being able to identify areas for team and organization learning and to admit when mistakes are made, is significantly associated with an individual's work SWB and that this level of SWB will be associated with QOL overall (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Sirgy & Wu, 2009; Tait, Padgett, & Baldwin, 1989). It is also important to note that a QWL approach emphasizes the importance of the employee self-concept, and particularly positive versus negative self-evaluations as critical to QOL (Sirgy et al., 2008). We have identified the goal of self-image preservation (especially if this goal is understood by individuals to have a higher priority than more socially oriented concerns, such as empathy for others or a concern for institutional versus personal power) as a key source of blame contagion and the root of blame cultures (see Fast & Tiedens, 2010). What this argument suggests is that QWL initiatives must focus on creating psychologically safe teams and organizations, where individuals perceive that they can care about others without feeling that their self-image will be continuously threatened by blame.

Ethical Dilemmas: Suggested QOL Interventions

How can managers create a "psychologically safe" organization, where employees feel that their self-concept is valued? Drawing on many of the sources cited above (including Bellandi, Albolino, & Tomassini, 2007; Sirgy et al., 2006; Tucker & Edmondson, 2003), the following elements contribute to a work environment less threatened by negative blaming patterns:

1. Promote a no-blame, safety culture based on assumptions that employees are to be considered as valuable human capital with unique skills and abilities. The philosophical orientation should be that people make mistakes despite possessing professional skills and having the best intentions.
2. Emphasize adverse events as a learning opportunity. Managers must support this organizational function logic (Catino, 2008) by being available to line workers—they must understand the day-to-day difficulties encountered by line workers trying to do their job (Tucker & Edmondson, 2003). Managers must model effective problem-solving approaches by encouraging feedback and admitting errors (even their own).
3. Managers must demonstrate, through action and words, that adverse events are often caused by system errors rather than solely individual actions. Punishment of individuals should be done carefully and with ample warning (Arvey & Ivancevich, 1980).
4. Managers must provide performance feedback and role clarity (Sirgy et al., 2008: 190). By clarifying what effective work entails and setting transparent performance standards, employees will feel less need to defend their level of work and seek to sabotage the work of others.

5. When errors are reported, and system-level factors are identified as the source of the problem, managers must be prepared to follow-through on this reporting by addressing root causes of problems, to the extent possible.
6. When errors occur affecting the whole organization (such as the BP disaster referred to in ethical dilemma #2), organizational leaders set the tone by how they attribute responsibility, whether they admit that individuals or groups or a pervasive culture within the organization may have been at fault or whether they try to blame other organizations or situational factors for the negative occurrence. An emphasis by leaders on transparency—in both words and actions—and a stated intention to resolve system problems in addition to determining appropriate individual responsibility help employees throughout the organization to adopt a problem-solving approach rather than expending energy on defending themselves (and the company) against blame.

A QOL approach for ethical dilemma #1 suggests that it is essential for the nurse manager to find out more about the situation and what actually happened before determining the level of responsibility held by the nurse who made the final error in a chain of mishaps. The manager must *listen* effectively before taking action. She must listen to the nurse with an open mind and supportive approach to explore her perspective on the event and what, specifically, might have led to the error. The manager should listen to other members of the team to get their perspectives. The manager should revisit the possible systemic causes that might have made the error more likely. Finally, the manager should be very transparent and clear about what she learned from the situation and what specific procedural changes might be recommended. If an individual is at fault, this should be noted, so that responsibility attribution is based on accurate data from multiple sources, rather than an assumption based on a need to find a scapegoat.

For ethical dilemma #2, the CEO of BP will need to fight the tendency of the self-serving bias, which would cause one to blame external causes (the complexity of the well, the weather, the difficulty of deepwater drilling, and the pressure for new sources of oil) rather than looking inward at cultural practices that make learning difficult. A forthright acceptance of responsibility, as appropriate to the situation, would help to focus the company on what lessons can be learned from this tragedy rather than on defending past actions. As this case has unfolded, the organization appears to be making multiple attributions: accepting limited responsibility for the disaster occurring but emphasizing the complexity of the situation and the interaction of multiple partners (Yousuf, 2010, July 30).

Conclusion

As Sirgy et al. (2008: 182) note, “The thread that binds a QWL program to QOL is the affect associated with the multiple domains that comprise work and non-work activities. The most typical indicator of this affect is self-reported satisfaction.” Blame and credit attribution are fundamentally connected with individuals’ affective responses to work and life events (Weiner, 1995). By better understanding these attributions, we can get closer to understanding how individuals’ affective lives at work influence their quality of life as a whole.

References

- Aquino, K., Tripp, T. M., & Bies, R. J. (2001). How employees respond to personal offense: The effects of blame attribution, victim status, and offender status on revenge and reconciliation in the workplace. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(1), 52–59.
- Arvey, R. D., & Ivancevich, J. M. (1980). Punishment in organizations: A review, propositions, and research suggestions. *The Academy of Management Review, 5*(1), 123–132.

- Barsade, S. G. (2002). The ripple effect: Emotional contagion and its influence on group behavior. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 47(4), 644–675.
- Barsade, S. G., & Gibson, D. E. (2007). Why does affect matter in organizations? *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 21(1), 36–59.
- Baumeister, R. F., Chesner, S. P., Senders, P. S., & Tice, D. M. (1988). Who's in charge here? Group leaders do lend help in emergencies. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 14(1), 17–22.
- Bell, N., & Tetlock, P. (1989). The intuitive politician and the assignment of blame in organizations. In R. A. Giacalone & P. Rosenfeld (Eds.), *Impression management in the organization* (pp. 105–124). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bellandi, T., Albolino, S., & Tomassini, C. R. (2007). How to create a safety culture in the healthcare system: The experience of the Tuscany Region. *Theoretical Issues in Ergonomics Science*, 8(5), 495–507.
- Bettman, J. R., & Weitz, B. A. (1983). Attributions in the board room: Causal reasoning in corporate annual reports. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 28(2), 165–183.
- Bies, R. J., & Tripp, T. M. (2000). A passion for justice: The rationality and morality of revenge. In R. Cropanzano (Ed.), *Justice in the workplace* (Vol. 2, pp. 197–208). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Bradfield, M., & Aquino, K. (1999). The effects of blame attributions and offender likeableness on forgiveness and revenge in the workplace. *Journal of Management*, 25(5), 607–631.
- Bradley, G. W. (1978). Self-serving biases in the attribution process: A reexamination of the fact or fiction question. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36(1), 56–71.
- Brown, K. A., & Mitchell, T. R. (1986). Influence of task interdependence and number of poor performers on diagnoses of causes of poor performance. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 29(2), 412–424.
- Bruno, M. (2010, May 7). Accident expert weighs in on Gulf oil spill. *Grist*. Retrieved June 1, 2010, from <http://www.grist.org>
- Campbell, A. C., Converse, P. E., & Rodgers, W. L. (1976). *The quality of American life*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Catino, M. (2008). A review of literature: Individual blame vs. organizational function logics in accident analysis. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 16(1), 53–62.
- Catino, M. (2009). Blame culture and defensive medicine. *Cognition, Technology & Work*, 11(4), 245–253.
- Crant, J. M., & Bateman, T. S. (1993). Assignment of credit and blame for performance outcomes. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 36, 7–27.
- Darley, J. M., & Latane, B. (1968). Bystander intervention in emergencies: Diffusion of responsibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 8(4, Pt. 1), 377–383.
- Diener, E., Suh, E. M., Lucas, R. E., & Smith, H. L. (1999). Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(2), 276–302.
- Dugan, K. W. (1989). Ability and effort attributions: Do they affect how managers communicate performance feedback information? *The Academy of Management Journal*, 32(1), 87–114.
- Earley, P. C. (1989). Social loafing and collectivism: A comparison of the United States and the People's Republic of China. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 34(4), 565–581.
- Edmondson, A. (1999). Psychological safety and learning behavior in work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44(2), 350–383.
- Edmondson, A. C. (1996). Learning from mistakes is easier said than done: Group and organizational influences on the detection and correction of human error. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 32(1), 5–28.
- Ehrich, K. (2006). Telling cultures: 'Cultural' issues for staff reporting concerns about colleagues in the UK National Health Service. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 28(7), 903–926.
- Fast, N. J., & Tiedens, L. Z. (2010). Blame contagion: The automatic transmission of self-serving attributions. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(1), 97–106.
- Fincham, F. D., & Roberts, C. (1985). Intervening causation and the mitigation of responsibility for harm doing. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 21(2), 178–194.
- Forsyth, D. R., & Schlenker, B. R. (1977). Attributing the causes of group performance: Effects of performance quality, task importance, and future testing. *Journal of Personality*, 45(2), 220–236.
- Gamson, W. A., & Scotch, N. A. (1964). Scapegoating in baseball. *American Journal of Sociology*, 70, 69–72.
- Gebauer, J., & Lowman, D. (2008). *Closing the engagement gap: How great companies unlock employee potential for superior results*. New York: Penguin.
- Gibson, D. E. (1997). The struggle for reason: The sociology of emotions in organizations. *Social Perspectives on Emotion*, 4, 211–256.
- Gibson, D. E., & Schroeder, S. J. (2003). Who ought to be blamed? The effect of organizational roles on blame and credit attributions. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 14(2), 95–117.
- Gioia, D. A., Giacalone, R. A., & Rosenfeld, P. (1989). Self-serving bias as a self-sensemaking strategy: Explicit vs. tacit impression management. In R. A. Giacalone & P. Rosenfeld (Eds.), *Impression management in the organization* (pp. 219–234). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Gold, R. (2010, July 19). Rig's final hours probed. *The Wall Street Journal*, pp. 1.
- Hamilton, V. L. (1978). Who is responsible? Toward a social psychology of responsibility attribution. *Social Psychology*, 41(4), 316–328.
- Hamilton, V. L. (1980). Intuitive psychologist or intuitive lawyer? Alternative models of the attribution process. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39(5), 767–772.
- Hamilton, V. L., Blumenfeld, P. C., Akoh, H., & Miura, K. (1990). Credit and blame among American and Japanese children: Normative, cultural, and individual differences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59(3), 442–451.
- Hamilton, V. L., Blumenfeld, P. G., & Kushler, R. H. (1988). A question of standards: Attributions of blame and credit for classroom acts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54(1), 34–48.
- Hamilton, V. L., & Sanders, J. (1981). The effects of roles and deeds on responsibility judgments: The normative structure of wrongdoing. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 44(3), 237–254.
- Hamilton, V. L., & Sanders, J. (1992). *Everyday justice: Responsibility and the individual in Japan and the United States*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hart, H. L. A. (1968). *Punishment and responsibility*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Harvey, M. D., & Rule, B. G. (1978). Moral evaluations and judgments of responsibility. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 4(4), 583–588.
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York: Wiley.
- Heneman, R. L., Greenberger, D. B., & Anonyuo, C. (1989). Attributions and exchanges: The effects of interpersonal factors on the diagnosis of employee performance. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 32(2), 466–476.
- Herzberg, F. (1966). *Work and the nature of man*. New York: T. Y. Crowell.
- Homans, G. C. (1950). *The human group*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.
- Jackall, R. (1983). Moral mazes: Bureaucracy and managerial work. *Harvard Business Review* (September–October), 118–130.
- Janoff-Bulman, R., Sheikh, S., & Hepp, S. (2009). Proscriptive versus prescriptive morality: Two faces of moral regulation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3), 521–537.
- Jensen, C. B. (2008). Sociology, systems and (patient) safety: Knowledge translations in healthcare policy. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 30(2), 309–324.
- Jones, E. E., & Davis, K. E. (1965). From acts to dispositions: The attribution process in person perception. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 219–266). New York: Academic.
- Kelley, H. H. (1967). Attribution theory in social psychology. In D. Levine (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (Vol. 15, pp. 192–238). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Knobe, J. (2003). Intentional action in folk psychology: An experimental investigation. *Philosophical Psychology*, 16(2), 309–324.
- Kohlberg, L., & Kramer, R. (1969). Continuities and discontinuities in childhood and adult moral development. *Human Development*, 12(2), 3–120.
- Kohn, L. T., Corrigan, J. M., & Donaldson, M. S. (2000). *To err is human: Building a safer health system*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Latane, B., Williams, K., & Harkins, S. (1979). Many hands make light the work: The causes and consequences of social loafing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37(6), 822–832.
- Lee, F., Peterson, C., & Tiedens, L. Z. (2004). Mea culpa: Predicting stock prices from organizational attributions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(12), 1636–1649.
- Leslie, A. M., Knobe, J., & Cohen, A. (2006). Acting intentionally and the side-effect effect: Theory of mind and moral judgment. *Psychological Science*, 17(5), 421–427.
- Lyall, S. (2010, July 12). In BP's record, a history of boldness and costly blunders. *New York Times*. Retrieved July 15, 2010, from <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Lyubomirsky, S., King, L., & Diener, E. (2005). The benefits of frequent positive affect: Does happiness lead to success? *Psychological Bulletin*, 131(6), 803–855.
- Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Mayo, E. (1945). *The social problems of an industrial civilization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- McElroy, J. C., & Crant, J. M. (2008). Handicapping: The effects of its source and frequency. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(4), 893–900.
- Meindl, J. R., & Ehrlich, S. B. (1987). The romance of leadership and the evaluation of organizational performance. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 30(1), 91–109.
- Meindl, J. R., Ehrlich, S. B., & Dukerich, J. M. (1985). The romance of leadership. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 30(1), 78–102.
- Mitchell, T. R., Green, S. G., & Wood, R. E. (1981). An attributional model of leadership and the poor performing subordinate: Development and validation. In L. Cummings & B. M. Staw (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 3, pp. 197–234). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

- Paradies, M. (2010, May 24). Monday accident & lesson learned: Either you are leading the solution or you are part of the problem. *Root Cause Analysis Blog*. Retrieved June 15, 2010, from www.taproot.com
- Perrow, C. (1999). *Normal accidents: Living with high-risk technologies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pfeffer, J. (1977). The ambiguity of leadership. *The Academy of Management Review*, 2, 104–112.
- Roberts, K. H. (1990). Some characteristics of high reliability organizations. *Organization Science*, 1(2), 160–177.
- Roethlisberger, F. J., & Dickson, W. J. (1947). *Management and the worker*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ross, L. (1977). The intuitive psychologist and his shortcomings: Distortions in the attribution process. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 10, pp. 174–221). New York: Academic.
- Ross, M., & diTecco, D. (1975). An attributional analysis of moral judgments. *Journal of Social Issues*, 31(3), 91–109.
- Salancik, G. R., & Meindl, J. R. (1984). Corporate attributions as strategic illusions of management control. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 29(2), 238–254.
- Schwenk, C. R. (1990). Illusions of management control? Effects of self-serving attributions on resource commitments and confidence in management. *Human Relations*, 43(4), 333–347.
- Shaver, K. G. (1985). *The attribution of blame: Causality, responsibility, and blameworthiness*. New York: Springer.
- Shaw, M. E., & Sulzer, J. L. (1964). An empirical test of Heider's levels in attribution of responsibility. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 69, 39–46.
- Shultz, T. R., Schleifer, M., & Altman, I. (1981). Judgments of causation, responsibility, and punishment in cases of wrongdoing. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 13, 238–253.
- Sirgy, M. J. (2002). *The psychology of quality of life* (Vol. 12). Norwell, MA: Kluwer.
- Sirgy, M. J., Michalos, A. C., Ferriss, A. L., Easterlin, R. A., Patrick, D., & Pavot, W. (2006). The quality-of-life (QOL) research movement: Past, present, and future. *Social Indicators Research*, 76, 343–466.
- Sirgy, M. J., Reilly, N. P., Wu, J., & Efraty, D. (2008). A work-life identity model of well-being: Towards a research agenda linking quality-of-work-life (QWL) programs with quality of life (QOL). *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 3(3), 181–202.
- Sirgy, M. J., & Wu, J. (2009). The pleasant life, the engaged life, and the meaningful life: What about the balanced life? *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 10(2), 183–196.
- Tait, M., Padgett, M. Y., & Baldwin, T. T. (1989). Job and life satisfaction: A reevaluation of the strength of the relationship and gender effects as a function of the date of the study. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 74(3), 502–507.
- Tetlock, P. E. (1985). Toward an intuitive politician model of attribution processes. In B. R. Schlenker (Ed.), *The self and social life* (pp. 203–234). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Tetlock, P. E., Self, W. T., & Singh, R. (2010). The punitiveness paradox: When is external pressure exculpatory – And when a signal just to spread blame? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(2), 388–395.
- Thoresen, C. J., Kaplan, S. A., Barsky, A. P., Warren, C. R., & de Chermont, K. (2003). The affective underpinnings of job perceptions and attitudes: A meta-analytic review and integration. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(6), 914–945.
- Tucker, A. L., & Edmondson, A. C. (2003). Why hospitals don't learn from failures: Organizational and psychological dynamics that inhibit system change. *California Management Review*, 45(2), 55–72.
- Weick, K. E., & Sutcliffe, K. M. (2001). *Managing the unexpected: Assuring high performance in an age of complexity*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Weiner, B. (1986). *An attributional theory of motivation and emotion*. New York: Springer.
- Weiner, B. (1995). *Judgments of responsibility: A foundation for a theory of social conduct*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Weiner, B., & Peter, N. (1973). A cognitive-developmental analysis of achievement and moral judgments. *Developmental Psychology*, 9(3), 290–309.
- Wible, A. (2009). Knobe, side effects, and the morally good business. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 85(Suppl 1), 173–178.
- Worthy, J. C. (1959). *Big business and free man*. New York: Harper.
- Yousuf, H. (2010, July 30). BP's Hayward: 'I became a villain for doing the right thing'. *CNN-Money.com*. Retrieved July 30, 2010, from www.money.cnn.com
- Zemba, Y., Young, M. J., & Morris, M. W. (2006). Blaming leaders for organizational accidents: Proxy logic in collective- versus individual-agency cultures. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 101(1), 36–51.
- Zuckerman, M. (1979). Attribution of success and failure revisited: Or the motivational bias is alive and well in attribution theory. *Journal of Personality*, 47(2), 245–287.

Chapter 18

Teamwork, Ethics, and the Quality of Working Life

Graham Sewell

Considering that collective and interpersonal aspects of work have been such an important feature of the social psychological and organizational behavior literatures since the emergence of the Human Relations School (see Homans, 1950; Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939), it may come as a surprise that extended discussions of the ethical implications of teamwork are relatively scarce. Based on the pioneering research at Western Electric's Hawthorne plant and, later on, in the Southern Californian aircraft industry, members of the Human Relations School mapped out a coherent set of statements about work that have taken on an almost axiomatic status in social psychology and organizational sociology. These can be summarized as follows: (1) notwithstanding the tendency for the technical division of labor to increase, work will always remain a social activity, and as a consequence, the social dynamics of groups in the workplace will always be an important consideration when it comes to designing organizational structures and processes; (2) as a result of their need for recognition, security, and a sense of belonging, workers will gravitate toward informal groups, whether formal work organization reflects this or not; (3) these informal groups exercise a strong form of social control over the work habits and attitudes of individual workers; (4) organizations should recognize the impact of these informal groups in exerting an influence on productivity; and (5) organizations should seek to ensure a good "fit" between informal groups and formal work structures (Miller & Form, 1951). Many subsequent movements that have focused on improving the quality of work life through participation and involvement have either explicitly or implicitly recognized some or all of these five axioms (see, e.g., Cotton, 1993). Take the forms of participation advocated by the Industrial Democracy movement (Emery & Thorsrud, 1976) or the Quality Circle movement (Mohr & Mohr, 1983). Both considered workers' needs for social affiliation to be an important factor in job satisfaction and performance and acknowledged the role played by groups in satisfying these needs. Nevertheless, the types of group advocated by these movements were to remain as adjuncts to the organization of the work process. In this sense, neither movement took the next step that distinguishes the now well-established ideas about teamwork from these previous workplace reform initiatives. Here, I am talking about the use of groups as the fundamental unit of work organization (Barley, 1990; Sewell, 1998; Slocum & Sims, 1980; West, 2004). Under these circumstances, the existence of

G. Sewell, Ph.D. (✉)
Department of Management and Marketing, University
of Melbourne, Parkville, Australia
e-mail: gsewell@unimelb.edu.au

groups is not merely to be tolerated or even accommodated; groups are transformed into “teams” where processes of social affiliation and work activity are one and the same thing. In this sense, rather than achieving a good fit between formal and informal groups they are collapsed into a single formation—ideally the team becomes the basis of work organization and the primary forum in which social affiliation takes place. Such teams can be defined in the broadest terms as groups of people with diverse skills and expertise who come together to work collaboratively toward a collective goal. As such, it is the nature of the collaboration and the group’s goal orientation that sets apart teams from any other collection of individuals we might study in the social sciences. Such an anodyne definition of teamwork, however, still prompts several questions that have obvious ethical connotations. Is membership of the team voluntary or involuntary? Is collaboration achieved through coercion or consent? Does the team arrive at its goal through its own deliberations or is it imposed by some external agency? How do teams establish their norms of acceptable behavior? Of course, our response to these and any other questions relating to the ethical status of teamwork will depend on the organizational context in which it is conducted. This points us to a general consideration of the employment relationship in modern organizations and, especially, the contractual arrangements under which teamwork is conducted. Even under these limiting contractual conditions, there are, however, still numerous definitions of teamwork, but in recent years, using teams as a means of increasing participation and empowerment has become central to many management approaches that promise improvements to both organizational performance and the quality of employees’ working lives alike. A prominent and still current example of this would be the enduringly high level of interest around High Performance Work Systems where self-managed teams are an important component of the bundle of human resource management practices captured under its rubric (Appelbaum, Bailey, Berg, & Kalleberg, 2000). Thus, this chapter is concerned with the ethical implications of teamwork where it is used a formal part of work organization and where teams have the autonomy to make decisions and manage their own conduct in a meaningful way within the organizational level constraints like goals, strategies, customs, and practices and also under the guidance of social and cultural norms of behavior. I begin by setting out some the basic claims about why teams are good for organizations *and* employees before developing four perspectives on the ethics of teamwork. The first of these can be considered as an orthodox Kantian take on teamwork as a forum where universal moral principles are played out. I then narrow the scope of the discussion to take in an economic understanding of the moral obligations of team members who are engaged in specific contractual arrangements before broadening it again to include a teleological or Aristotelian perspective on what it means to thrive as an individual under conditions of teamwork. Finally, I reflect on recent developments in the behavioral and evolutionary sciences that point toward teamwork being a manifestation of collaborative tendencies that are the product of our human evolutionary inheritance. I then conclude by reflecting on the research implications of my discussion as it pertains to the operation of teamwork and its effects on the quality of employees’ working lives in today’s organizations.

How and Why Teams Work

Before we begin to consider the ethical implications of teamwork we need to have some understanding of why teams have become such a central feature of work organization, beyond the Human Relations School’s observations about the importance of social affiliation and group dynamics. West (2004) offers a comprehensive survey of the wide-ranging justifications put forward on behalf of teamwork. These can be broadly broken down into two categories: Those that improve an organization’s efficiency and those that improve an organization’s effectiveness

(Appelbaum & Batt, 1994). Thus, using teams not only helps organizations to make basic efficiency savings by helping them to coordinate their activities and reduce the amount of time and resources they spend on things like decision-making, change management, or getting new products to market, it also helps those organizations to improve the quality of their decision-making (West) and become more creative and innovative (West, Tjosvold, & Smith 2003). But what are the sources of efficiency and effectiveness that mark out teamwork from any other forms of work organization? Answering this question can become mired in ideological debates about whether the employment relationship under capitalism is essentially coercive and exploitative or whether it is an essentially fair social relationship entered into freely by mutually consenting parties (McCall & Werhane, 2009). The former position would see teamwork simply as a means of intensifying coercion and exploitation, while the latter position would see teamwork as improving the conditions under which employees' and employers' mutual interests can be better served. As we shall see later on, some consideration of the basic fairness of the nature of the employment relationship may ultimately be essential in order to develop any meaningful understanding of the ethics of teamwork, but at this stage, it is possible to focus on the practical and operational differences between teamwork that account for its apparent advantages over other ways of organizing work. Prominent among these differences is the amount of discretion that teamwork affords participants over what is known as the *conception* and *execution* of work. In other words, teamwork gives team members the opportunity to exercise a greater degree of autonomy when it comes to important decisions about the details of what they do; teams not only carry out work tasks, within limits set by the organization they also devise those tasks. It is this particular notion of workplace autonomy in relation to job tasks and job content that also enables *synergy* to take place. This is a recognition that teams provide a forum for people with different cognitive and practical skills to come together and direct their activities toward a common objective in a manner that would otherwise not be possible under alternative working arrangements such as "scientific management" where managers monopolize conception and jealously guard their position in the hierarchy of authority (Bendix, 1974; Sewell, 1998). Put simply, the potential productive capacity of a team whose members collaborate on a common task is greater than if those self same participants were working in isolation.

If the sole outcome of the greater autonomy attributable to teamwork was improved productivity, then it would still be an attractive proposition, if only on economic grounds. There is, however, an additional feature of autonomy in that those employees who are able to exercise a high degree of self-determination and upward influence in organizations—that is, employees who are able to make decisions that are actually taken up by superiors—regularly report high levels of job satisfaction (House & Kerr, 1973; Pelz, 1951; Weaver, 1977). Thus, autonomy is not only deeply implicated in our understanding of the determinants of employee performance (Freeman, 1978; Iaffaldano & Muchinski, 1985), it is also frequently considered to be a major factor affecting the reported quality of an employee's working life (Clark, 2001).

In summary, autonomy and the practical outcomes associated with it such as increased discretion, greater self-determination, and an ability to exert influence across the organization are all considered to be important contributing factors to the quality of an employee's working life, and these have commonly been incorporated under the banner of *empowerment*. But empowerment can also militate against an employee's quality of working life by creating a sense of ambiguity in certain circumstances (Gandz & Bird, 1996). For example, the organizational changes associated with empowerment may require employees to acquire new skills and take on unfamiliar roles, thereby contributing to a sense of dislocation and arbitrary or capricious disruption. Empowerment may also become associated with job insecurity as resulting improvements in productivity can lead to a reduction in the size of the workforce. For the purposes of this chapter's discussion, however, two more areas of potential ambiguity deserve much closer consideration. First, loosening bureaucratic constraints on individual personal conduct in teams may create opportunities

for unscrupulous colleagues to become overbearing or domineering (Gandz & Bird, 1996; Sewell, 1998). Second, empowerment may paradoxically lead to a reduction in productivity and decision-making effectiveness if teams suppress internal dissent in favor of a false sense of unanimity or harmony (Gandz & Bird, 1996).

Taken at face value, these last two ambiguous states would appear to be straightforward practical matters in that they ought to be preventable if such problems are anticipated and properly managed, either by the team itself or by people outside the team. Take a closer look, however, and it soon becomes evident that they require detailed ethical scrutiny because an important question arises: What are the conditions under which such undesirable social relations are likely to arise? If there is something inherent in teamwork as it is applied in modern work organizations that leads teams to descend into dysfunction and recrimination when they are left to their own devices, then we will be constantly struggling to avoid these outcomes. If, however, there is something essentially moral about teamwork—perhaps, as we shall see later, even a morality underwritten by a biologically determined propensity toward cooperation—then the challenge is to remove the organizational blockages that distort its effective operation. Such considerations thus prompt us to dwell on broader matters of morality in order to develop a nuanced position on the ethical status of teamwork.

Ethical Perspectives on Teamwork

Are There Universal Moral Principles Upon Which Teamwork Is Founded?

As we saw above, one of the recurrent justifications of teamwork is that it enables employees to exercise a degree of autonomy that they might not otherwise enjoy under other more restrictive work regimes. Furthermore, it is this autonomy that is seen as providing one of the principal sources of organizational gain as well as providing the basis for improvements in the quality of employees' working lives. From a narrowly utilitarian point of view, the former would appear to be a sufficient moral ground for pushing ahead with teamwork: Improvements in organizational efficiency and effectiveness ought to satisfy the maxim of the greatest benefit to the greatest number (a calculus that would not only take in the impact of teamwork on its members but also its impact on other stakeholders such as customers, shareholders, and even wider society if the organization was deemed to be engaged in a socially useful activity). From a broader ethical point of view, however, there seems to be something intrinsic about autonomy itself that provides a moral ground for teamwork (West, 2004). Indeed, the very fact that we attach so much importance to the pursuit of human autonomy as a fundamental constitutive element of personal well-being in modern society (Sumner, 1996) inclines us to consider the more general moral aspects of teamwork. Of course, invoking autonomy in this way immediately puts us in mind of Kant's discussion of practical reason insofar as teamwork provides a social context in which individuals should be able rationally to choose to behave in ways that may or may not meet the expectations of their employers and their peers. This would necessarily involve more than a simple consequentialist account of teamwork where such actions are morally warranted so long as they contribute positively to the performance of a team and thus to its host organization—for example, one could envisage a perverse situation where bullying or capricious threats of violence actually lead to a short-term increase in the team's efforts. In short, team members are more than a means to an end (even if the team defines those ends itself) for this would seem to warrant an "anything goes" mentality when it comes to how we should behave in this form of work setting—that is, employee autonomy is tolerated so long as it serves a purely instrumental and contingent function. Opposed to this utilitarian viewpoint is one where all the individual purposeful actions of team

members that are directed toward some common end ought to be constrained by reference to universal principles of moral rectitude. Of course, this begs the question of what those universal principles consist in and, for most practical purposes, they tend to be expressed in terms of legislative injunctions that, *inter alia*, prevent harm (e.g., occupational health and safety laws), encourage diversity (e.g., anti-discrimination laws), or impose standards in terms of working conditions (e.g., minimum wage provisions, maximum working hours). This enshrining of apparently universal principles in legislation tends to focus attention on matters of procedural justice when it comes to the morally defensible status of teamwork—that is, are we following formal rules of right conduct in our behavior toward our fellow team members? We can add to this a conception of distributive justice where the morally defensible status of teamwork is also considered in light of more organizationally or culturally embedded expectations surrounding such things as the relationship between effort and reward—that is, are all members being fairly rewarded in line with their individual contribution to the collective efforts of the team (Adams, 1965; Colquitt & Greenberg, 2003; Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939; Rousseau, Hornung, & Kim, 2009)? Finally, we can also consider the way in which teams deal with the emergence of conflict and its resolution by invoking norms of interpersonal respect that are also organizationally and culturally embedded—that is, are team members allowed to work through their differences in such a way that intra-team relationships are maintained, team tasks are completed, and effective team processes are preserved (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003; Jehn & Mannix, 2001)? Good examples of the dynamic psychological and social effects as these ethical considerations are played out include the classic ethnographic studies of teamwork offered by Grenier (1989) and Barker (1993, 1999). In particular, Barker's description of the ways in which abstract principles of justice are invoked to develop concrete and highly prescriptive team rules shows that teamwork can sometimes descend into a paradoxical situation where unifying interpersonal conduct and self-exploitation are justified in the name of ethical principles.

All three approaches mentioned above—an attention to procedural justice, to distributive justice, and to respect for others—hinge on a concept of fairness that is underpinned by an ultimately tautological conception of morality. By this I mean that if we believe a person is bound by a *a priori* universal moral principles, then we will expect that their conduct will, by definition, be just in any circumstances. Conversely, if we can observe a person consistently behaving in what we believe to be a just manner across a wide range of circumstances, then we usually infer with confidence that they are being guided by universal moral principles. Because we can have no privileged or undistorted access to what those *a priori* universal moral principles actually consist in (except, perhaps, through revelation as is the belief when it comes to most theological conceptions of morality), then for all practical purposes, we are bound to rely on this second inductive and empirical mode of investigation to determine when a person's behavior is informed by truly moral principles. It may seem an arcane technical point of ethics, but what constitutes moral behavior in circumstances of teamwork is more likely to hinge on observable consistency rather than a logical mode of reasoning. In other words, if we observe enough people behaving in the same way in similar circumstances, then we take that mode of behavior to be the standard of conduct against which instances of unacceptable behavior are measured. Although this provides pragmatic and contingent criteria upon which to base our ethical appreciation of teamwork (e.g., we should treat our team mates with respect, we should follow team rules, all team members should get their just deserts), it does not satisfy Kant's notion of moral autonomy as acting in accordance with a standard that I set for myself that can also reasonably be considered as a standard for all others. The potential for logical contradiction is all too apparent in the circumstances of mutual dependency associated with teamwork. For example, if, as a team member, I believe it is just that I should be rewarded on the basis of my own efforts (as an orthodox distributive justice view would dictate), yet my own or any other individual's contribution to the team's collective product cannot be accurately determined, then it goes that my own personal

standard of justice cannot be applied to others. The obvious practical response to this problem would be to reward everyone equally on the basis of the team's performance (Lawler, 1992), but this still creates a situation where, by modifying an enduring principle of distributive justice that is intimately associated with individual autonomy so that it can be applied at the collective level, we are enabling the pursuit of undesirable behaviors like shirking, free riding, and social loafing (Sewell, 1998). In effect, we are offending against the very principle we are seeking to uphold, albeit in a modified form that recasts "We should each get out of life what we put in" as "We are all in this together so the team should get out of life what it puts in." Indeed, it could be crudely argued that shirking or free riding in teams are simply manifestations of the pursuit of autonomy under circumstances that unfairly seek to subjugate the individual to an unjust collective will. Leaving arguments such as this aside for the moment, however, what this example does illustrate is a tension at the heart of teamwork: It could be said that the practice itself is founded on a notion of individual autonomy that militates against teamwork's effective operation. This suggests that an orthodox Kantian approach to the ethics of teamwork is not up to the task of setting out how we ought to behave under circumstances of such obvious mutual dependency. Before I offer an alternative ethical approach, it is worth attending to the way in which a more narrowly conceived branch of moral philosophy deals with this particular challenge of teamwork.

Economics as a Limited Form of Moral Philosophy and Its Application to Teamwork

The practical difficulties of a situation where the pursuit of autonomy militates against the effectiveness of teamwork were characterized in Alchian and Demsetz's (1972) seminal article as the "metering problem." They start out with the classic problem posed by Coase (1937): Why do firms exist at all when, conceivably at least, anything a firm can do ought also to be achievable by independent contractors coming together through market relations? They reject the notion that the difference between firm-based organization and market-based organization is founded on the firm's possession of some superior authoritarian directive or disciplinary power. Rather, by recasting the orthodox dyadic economic relationship between principal (i.e., someone who wants a task performed) and agent (i.e., the person who contracts with the principal to perform that task), then a firm can be thought of as being made up of a principal who appoints "centralized agents" (i.e., managers) who then contract, not with individuals, but with teams (see also Williamson, 1975). This complexity above and beyond a simple dyadic relationship creates a seemingly intractable problem in that cooperative team-based production makes it very difficult (and, therefore, to an economist's eyes, costly) to measure an individual's marginal contribution to the team's collective productivity. This is an explicit acknowledgement that the product of a team is not simply a summation of all its individual inputs and one of the best known illustrations of the practical implications of inability to identify accurately an individual's contribution to a collective effort is the experience of an old-fashioned tug-of-war team. Known as the Ringelmann Effect (after the economist who first drew attention to the problem in the early twentieth century), it posits that the tension on a rope does not increase proportionally with the number of people pulling on it. Later research by Ingham, Levinger, Graves, and Peckham (1974) showed that this was not just due to poor coordination within the team but also down to a loss of motivation as some individuals reduced their effort based on their expectation that others would, quite literally, "take up the slack."

An important corollary of the Ringelmann Effect is that it is difficult to reward team members fairly on the basis of their apparent individual contributions (Alchian & Demsetz, 1972; Ingham et al., 1974; Kravitz & Martin, 1986). Thus, the metering problem plays on the dual meaning of

the term, that is, one can attempt to meter (as in “measure”) inputs and one can attempt to meter (as in “control”) rewards, but doing either is difficult. To be sure, technological developments may make it cheaper to measure some aspects of an individual’s contribution to teamwork (Sewell, 1998), but the metering problem creates moral hazard in that it reduces the likelihood of being exposed as a shirker or free rider. As Alchian and Demsetz (1972: 790) note, “Every team member would prefer a team in which no one, not even himself, shirked.” In the absence of reliable and valid measurement linked to fair individual rewards, however, teams have to rely on creating a sense of “team loyalty” or “team spirit” to minimize shirking and free riding. This suggests that most common way of controlling conduct in teams is likely to be through normative rather than coercive means, and this points us in the direction of research on the origins and effects of team loyalty or team spirit.

The development of team-based norms of conduct has been extensively studied sociologically (e.g., Barker, 1993, 1999; Sewell, 1998) and psychologically (e.g., Hackman, 2002), but it has received scant attention in the economics literature, despite the significance attached to it by economists. A notable exception is an article by Arce M. and Gunn (2005). Following Alchian and Demsetz, they note that, in the absence of an orthodox principal-agent hierarchy, team members are unlikely to be able to institute formal and enforceable contractual arrangements between each other that would link individual effort to individual reward. This leads to a situation where team members are in the dark about the relative distribution of effort and its effects on the team’s ability to achieve its targets. Thus, in a team, “... a worker must be able to overcome the individual incentive to shirk in favor of actions that recognize individual responsibility and team synergy” (Arce M. & Gunn, 2005: 115). Building on work on ethical behavior in economics (e.g., Casson, 1991; Koford & Penno, 1992; Noe & Rebello, 1994), Arce M. and Gunn propose an experimental game theory approach in order to identify the collective effects of two key decisions each team member must make. These are: (1) whether to shirk or work and (2) whether to monitor the efforts of their teammates. In effect, the team member is acting at both principal *and* agent in that he or she must make a decision about their own work effort *and* also make some kind of risk assessment about the likelihood that others will shirk or work in a nonhierarchical setting. On this basis, Arce M. and Gunn provide a mathematical proof of a behavioral game where, over time, players will come to make decisions that cohere around “ethical codes” that determine the point of equilibrium where the proportion of ethical behavior (i.e., the decision to work) to unethical behavior (i.e., the decision to shirk) stabilizes across successive iterations of the game. If operationalized, this would constitute a simple empirical approach to understanding norm development in that we could conceivably run any number of experiments to identify the extent to which a team’s endogenous norms of fairness approach exogenous standards of fairness (i.e., what the team comes to believe is ethical behavior is likely to approach the standards of fairness to be found in wider society). The main prediction of this theoretical approach is that the most likely outcome of this form of norm development is not that shirking in teams will ever be eradicated but that some balance will be drawn between the team’s assessment of the cost of monitoring and its assessment of the costs of cost of shirking based on an intuitive ethical principle that *the punishment must fit the crime*. By this, Arce M. and Gunn mean that if the only sanction open to disgruntled team members is to expel those who are considered not to be pulling their weight, then it is unlikely to be invoked before it is too late, and the team has already descended into acrimony and ineffectiveness. If, however, there is a sliding scale of sanctions that can be imposed on shirkers (say, from a mild private rebuke, through some public shaming process, right up to outright expulsion), then these are much more likely to be invoked in such a way that the team strikes an effective balance between the cost of monitoring and of cost of shirking sooner rather than later.

Arce M. and Gunn’s approach represents an interesting development in the ethics of teamwork in that it provides a tractable theory of right action in teams that can be operationalized

experimentally at the small group level. Despite this, they only offer as supporting evidence the experience of university honor codes where students who are rewarded on the basis of their collective efforts are also obliged to manage each other's contributions to something like a group assignment or project. Honor codes attempt to preserve notions of academic integrity and fairness by relying on each student's understanding that they ought to refrain from cheating (e.g., by restricting their own contribution to the project and, hence, free ride on the efforts of others) combined with the expectation that those same students will report dishonest peers. Thus, the purpose of an honor code is to internalize a student's dual obligation to refrain from cheating and report the dishonesty of others. Honest students will quickly realize that, despite the potential utility of free riding on the efforts of others, a high level of dishonesty in the student cohort is likely to be harmful to all as it decreases everyone's grade. Enforcing the code is not, however, costless as the social stigma of "ratting" on a colleague can be significant, especially if the only sanction is for the cheater to be expelled from the group, which would automatically lead the expelled party fail the class. As a result, appropriate sanctions must be available so that honest students are not discouraged from reporting dishonest students because the potential repercussions for miscreants are disproportionate.

On the face of it, the theoretical proof of the game scenario and the example of the honor code set out above each represent the operation of a particular form of empirically derived utilitarian ethics. Each relies on the logic of classical game theory to show that maximizing utility at the individual level can lead to a suboptimal outcome at an aggregate level. In other words, the guileful pursuit of apparent self-interest in the short-term actually leads to a long-term deterioration in utility for all. This is because the guileful party has to go on operating in a team where things that determine the overall effectiveness of the group—for example, its level of mutual trust or its disposition toward reciprocity—are constantly being eroded by self-interested behavior. Conceived thus, ethical behavior is "... voluntary, repetitive, and related to an established norm" (Arce M. & Gunn, 2005: 128), namely, the punishment fits the crime. This begins to look more like the Kantian perspective we saw in the previous section, especially if we add to this the underlying equity norm also identified by Arce M. and Gunn, along with its practical ethical corollary of the need for effective distributive justice. I would contend that, considered in this way, such an obviously economic exposition on the ethics of teamwork (couched as it is in the technical and rather desiccated language of principal-agent theory) is actually a kind of "contractarianism" (Rawls, 1972) in that moral principles, expressed as norms of fairness, proportionality, and reciprocity, represent the ideal terms of social cooperation for people who, in a teamwork setting, nominally regard each other as equals. As such, right conduct in teamwork can be achieved through means of an negotiated contract between the team's members that draws on widely recognized (but not necessarily universal) virtues of mutuality to hold extreme self-interested behavior in check that are exogenous to the team. This is a modification of Kant's maxim that you should act in such a way that the aim of your will could always hold as the principle of universal legislation to imply that you should act in such a way that the aim of your will, *as the true expression of an explicit rule*, could always hold as the principle of universal legislation (Schluchter, 1996). While the former maxim is founded on an internal monologue (i.e., Am I doing the right thing in terms of my observation of eternal moral principles?), by interposing a rational system of rules, the latter maxim introduces an element of dialogue and temporality (i.e., Have I fulfilled my obligations under the rules that have been collectively drawn up at a particular historical moment, based on a socially acceptable interpretation of eternal moral principles?). On this basis, to a common question in ethics, "How can I, as a social actor, determine whether my conduct is moral or not?" the response would be "Never on your own through internal reflection but only in discussion with others" (Schluchter). Such a move goes straight to the heart of the question of moral conduct in teams for so long as team members recognize the general legitimacy of the rules that govern their conduct (say, because they reflect a consensus of values

established through dialogue), they will have no misgivings about those rules being enforced. However, the introduction of a specific temporal dimension suggests that those rules are, potentially at least, subject to change; say, when the team deems it necessary to strengthen or relax them in the face of external demands or a change of organizational circumstances. An obvious example of this would be where a team draws the line between, in Arce M. and Gunn's terms, an acceptable level of shirking and an acceptable level of peer monitoring. You could expect that, if the team operated in a successful organizational setting where resources were abundant, then a certain level of shirking would be tolerated as there would not be much overt conflict over who got what in terms of rewards. In short, the team would be prepared to carry a few passengers so long as there was plenty of surplus to share around, and members would effectively turn a blind eye to differential effort levels. Imagine, however, a rapidly worsening organizational setting where resources suddenly became much more scarce (say, if the organization's profitability suddenly declined). Under these revised circumstances, the same team is likely to become much more vigilant toward differential effort levels and also much more intolerant of shirking. Put simply, the stakes of "letting the side down" would be greatly increased. Such a scenario suggests the existence of contingent and temporary standards of acceptable conduct in a team situation rather than a single moral framework, enshrined in eternal and universally applicable rules. So, how do we determine which standards of conduct ought to prevail at one time? Such a question appears to risk a relativist or, worse, nihilistic response; another "anything goes" shrug. There is an alternative approach, however, that relies on an understanding of virtue as it pertains to contrasting visions of the purpose and consequences of teamwork, and it is this that I wish to turn my attention to now.

Virtue Ethics: What Is the Moral Purpose of Teamwork?

One of the main alternatives to Kantian and Utilitarian ethics can be found in the Aristotelian tradition. This venerable approach has recently been revitalized by the likes of Nussbaum (2001) and Sandel (2009), and it offers a way of establishing what is fair and just in teamwork by developing a consideration of its virtues. By this, I mean that we adopt an unashamedly teleological approach that requires us to consider the purpose and consequences of teamwork so that we can determine what constitutes a just distribution of honor and recognition between team members (e.g., responsibility, authority, reward, power). This is consonant with Aristotle's view that we cannot be morally upstanding simply by following abstract rules; in order to live well (i.e., in Aristotle's term, to achieve *eudaimon*), we must acquire the necessary skills and habits that enable us to pursue the virtuous activities that are appropriate to a specific social (and, therefore, moral) context. Thus, what might be called the *eudemonia* of teamwork requires team members to conduct themselves in accordance with notions of virtue or excellence as they pertain to the activities of groups of people with diverse skills and expertise who come together to work collaboratively toward a collective goal. Thinking of what constitutes moral conduct in this way gives us an opportunity to reflect on how contrasting perspectives on the purpose and consequences of teamwork inform our understanding of what it means to thrive in teams without descending into an ideological pitched battle where one for one perspective to be right, we must prove that all others are wrong.

The starting point for such an analysis is, as I foreshadowed at the start of this chapter, a consideration of the employment relationship in modern organizations and, especially, the contractual arrangements under which teamwork is conducted. Of course, there are a potentially infinite number of ways of doing this, but two politically and ideologically coherent perspectives continue to dominate (Sewell & Barker, 2006). Both take Weber's (1962) proposition that a defining characteristic of modern organizations is the presence of rational systems of bureaucratic

rules that govern the activities of nominally free labor but, from this common root, each perspective then takes a quite different tack on the desire to make all aspects of organizational life controlled and predictable. Gouldner (1955) famously called this the “metaphysical pathos of modernity” and he identified a Radical tradition that takes bureaucracy to be a malign form of organizational domination that is essentially coercive. He then contrasted this with a Liberal tradition that takes bureaucracy to be a fundamentally benign way of organizing in a fair and efficient manner that is essentially aimed at protecting universal rights and liberties. Importantly, Gouldner suggested that these traditions rarely acknowledged each other and, as a consequence, failed to engage in any meaningful dialogue. Thus, the Radical tradition has turned its attention exclusively to the coercive side of bureaucracy, seeing it as instrument of class domination in which managers solely exercise their power to serve the interests of the capitalist class. In contrast, the Liberal tradition has turned its attention exclusively to the protective side of bureaucracy. While acknowledging that, potentially at least, the administrators of a bureaucracy could abuse their privileges, the Liberal tradition, generally speaking, sees bureaucratic organization as a neutral technology in which managers exercise their power in the interests of everyone. Opposed in this way, Radical and Liberal traditions provide perfect example of the logical maxim *tertium non datur*, for one to be right, the other must be wrong. It is evident, however, that such ideological certitude is at odds with the moral ambiguities of modern organizational life, including those that surround the practices of teamwork. For example, we see this ambiguity reflected in the frustration we frequently feel when we experience bureaucratic strictures that arise as a by-product of other objectives we value highly, such as procedural justice (du Gay, 2000). That is, rules of conduct have the potential to protect us from disruptive, aggressive, or egregiously self-interested teammates, but they also have the potential to restrict our freedom by tightly regulating almost every aspect of our conduct in team. In other words, we can grudgingly accept that it is important to “play by the rules” even when this can potentially undermine the very things that make teamwork effective, such as spontaneity and dissent. In this way, teams are a forum for moral tensions that often must be worked through by the members themselves, and in light of this observation, it is helpful to explore how Gouldner’s Radical and Liberal positions impinge on understanding of the purpose and consequences of teamwork.

Under the rubric of radicalism, any contract between an employer and employee is inherently exploitative, and teamwork merely obscures this fact. Unlike more overt and traditional forms of control (e.g., the direct supervisory relationship between superior and subordinate), team members actually discipline themselves and each other in order to bring their conduct into line with the values and objectives of the organization (Barker, 1993, 1999). In other words, the rule-based control of employees’ conduct is endogenous to the team rather than imposed from outside by managers. Teamwork is attractive to employers because it appears to create the circumstances where employees believe they are exercising autonomy when, in fact, any discretion is highly constrained and focused to suit the purposes of the organization (Sewell, 1998). Thus, employees become agents of their own oppression, and the challenge for team members is to maintain a form of moral conduct that supports group solidarity and allows them to resist collective exploitation. The difficulty of this was clearly evident in Barker’s studies where some teams developed quite draconian responses to rather trivial transgressions (such as lateness for team meetings) with little regard for the personal circumstances of the offenders.

In contrast, liberalism contends that a contract of employment is the most equitable means of governing the relationship between members of an organization. This extends to the relationship between team members, and as such, it is strongly influenced by contractarianism (see above) in that the endogenous rules of conduct developed by teams themselves are legitimate so long as (1) on balance, they promote the liberty of team members, (2) they are impartially enforced, and (3) all team members are equally involved in their determination (Rawls, 1972). If we take the equitable status of the employment relationship for granted, then teamwork does indeed offer a mutually

beneficial opportunity in that employees exercise a greater level of autonomy while the organization as whole reaps the benefit of increased performance. In these circumstances then, our focus in terms of a consideration of moral conduct necessarily shifts to matters of procedural and distributive justice or balancing the priorities of individual team members against the needs collective of the team (Dayan & Di Benedetto, 2008; Korsgaard, Brodt, & Sapienza, 2003). An obvious example of how such considerations pan out in practice would be the way in which university students allocate marks to each other as a peer assessment component of a group assignment (see above).

The important point in setting out these two contrasting positions on teamwork is that each carries with it very different standards as to what constitutes eudemonia. It is possible, moreover, to hold both positions simultaneously, not as some kind of synthesis or “Golden Mean” that splits the difference between poles but as a genuinely paradoxical opposition. Take a scenario where a team member is personally committed to the Radical perspective yet values the solidarity that comes with team membership. He or she must decide whether or not to go along with team-derived rules and norms of conduct that support solidarity while believing that these are a sham obscuring the fact that teamwork ultimately intensifies the exploitation of all the team’s members. A practical example illustrates the moral ambiguity at the heart of such a predicament for it is easy to imagine a situation where someone proposes that every member of a team should take an equivalent pay cut, say to avoid selective layoffs during an economic downturn. This suggestion recognizes the virtue of mutual dependency and also preserves notions of distributive justice in that the pain is equally shared. Together, these are likely to reinforce the virtues of team solidarity and, perhaps, autonomy too (along the lines of “Look, at least we’re taking control of our own destiny without being told what to do by the management!”), even though it means that the organization may be excused from seeking productivity improvements and cost savings (including, say, making executive pay cuts or investing in new technology). Alternatively, an individual who subscribes to the Liberal perspective may genuinely believe that the interests of employees are (or, at least, can be) aligned with those of the organization, yet he or she could oppose a similar proposal to cut their team’s pay rates for the very reason that it is an act of collective self-exploitation. The upshot of these contrasting scenarios is that they each rely on the interplay of ostensibly antinomian notions of enduring moral virtue under conditions of teamwork that must be worked through in each complex social setting rather than read off from sets of mutually exclusive rules of conduct. This kind of process is described by Taylor (1991) as a reflexive engagement by a “dialogical self” as we conduct internal debates to establish what he calls a moral “self-categorization” about the virtue of our own conduct when faced with a range of potentially contradictory moral standards. In short, to be a virtuous participant in teamwork requires each team member to appreciate the tension between coercing people to do what they might not otherwise do and establishing team rules and normative standards that are aimed at protecting employees from organizational injustices.

Back to the Future: Is Teamwork a Part of Our Evolutionary Heritage?

A final perspective that we must consider in relation to the ethics of teamwork revolves around recent developments in the behavioral and brain sciences that have come to be known as the new discipline of evolutionary psychology (see Nicholson & White, 2006). This attempt to link human behavior with our evolutionary heritage is certainly one of the most interesting areas of intellectual endeavor to emerge in recent years, not least because it is an attempt to unite the social and natural sciences under the umbrella of the increasingly important disciplines of evolutionary biology and genetics. It is, however, also one of the most methodologically—not to mention politically—fraught intellectual enterprises of our time as it not only challenges many aspects of

the established conceptual and institutional infrastructure of the social sciences but also throws up some potentially uncomfortable truths about human nature that have profound ethical and practical implications.

A detailed discussion of the conceptual and experimental antecedents of evolutionary psychology is beyond the scope of this chapter and, as a result, what follows dispenses with much of the subtlety and nuanced argumentation displayed by its best exponents. Put simply, much of what we can observe today by way of human behavior can be explained by developing an appreciation of how humans evolved during the *Environment of Evolutionary Adaptedness* (Tooby & Cosmides, 1990, 1992) which is generally taken to coincide with the Pleistocene geological period that spans 2,588,000–12,000 BCE.

Evolutionary psychology's inclusion of behavior as an evolutionary consideration takes its cues from Hamilton's (1964) notion of "inclusive fitness" which manifests itself in altruistic behavior between biologically related individuals combined with Trivers' (1971) notion of "reciprocal altruism" where biologically unrelated individuals act unselfishly toward others in the expectation that the favor will be returned in the future. This inclusion of complex social behavior is still consistent with the naturalistic and Darwinian view of evolution as formulated by Fisher (1930) insofar as those characteristic behaviors that enhance fitness are deemed to derive from heritable physiological endowments that vary in each individual but can be expressed at an aggregate level in terms of a population mean (e.g., some of us are more or less altruistic, but on average, altruism is a universal trait in humans). This introduces the concept of relative advantage and disadvantage that can be considered in behavioral terms: If one of our hominid ancestors possessed a physiologically derived and heritable behavioral trait, then it could, genetically speaking, have the same effect as if it possessed some other more obviously physical endowment such as greater strength or endurance. Each behavioral ability or physical endowment could, on its own or in combination, give the hominid reproductive advantage that enabled it to pass on its genes more often than its less able or less well-endowed rivals. The net effect of genetic heritability would mean that, over an evolutionary timescale, the very behaviors that once conferred reproductive advantage on an individual in a population would eventually become more evenly distributed in the future generations of that population, although there would still always be some measurable variation in behavior around the mean. If the population is not isolated, then at the aggregate level of the species, these individual behaviors would eventually manifest themselves as characteristic patterns of complex social behavior that ought to be observable in subsequent species such as humans whose evolution can be traced to this lineage. Such inherited behaviors could then legitimately be attributed to the operation of a universally and biologically constrained human nature (Nicholson, 2005; Tooby & Cosmides, 2002; Wilson, 1978).

A main claim of evolutionary psychology is that a tendency toward cooperation is inherited and adaptive human trait, and as a consequence, we have a predisposition to some kind of teamwork (Andras & Lazarus, 2005). In this way, evolutionary psychology appears to reinforce the legitimacy of the claim of the Human Relations School that some kind of collective organization will emerge in the workplace, regardless of whether or not it is a formal component of work (Pierce & White, 1999). From an ethical perspective, however, the implications of evolutionary psychology run even deeper in that, give or take some cross-cultural variation, our conceptions of fairness is ultimately a matter of biology (Haidt, 2007). Indeed, it is claimed that this biological influence extends to almost all aspects of morality so that, beyond the narrow frame of fairness, the way we deal with the relationship between members of in-groups and out-groups (especially the matter of loyalty), the way we deal with authority and the respect of others, and even the way we deal with concepts like physical and spiritual purity are all part of our biological inheritance (Haidt & Joseph, 2008).

To be sure, the claims of evolutionary psychology are bold and they point to an exciting new approach to our understanding of human behavior and moral conduct (for a review, see Confer et al., 2010). In terms of teamwork, for example, considerations such as those related to procedural

and distributive justice I mentioned above are amenable to an evolutionary psychology approach as are things like the treatment of team members who are perceived to be disruptive or disloyal. This is not to say that traditional moral reasoning will always be overridden by universal and biologically derived “moral intuitions”—that is, the “... fast, automatic, and affect-laden processes in which an evaluative feeling of good-bad or like-dislike (about the actions or character of a person) appears in consciousness without any awareness of having gone through steps of search, weighing evidence, or inferring a conclusion” (Haidt, 2007: 998). Rather, we must be alert to organizational implications of our human nature so that we are better equipped to deal with them (Nicholson, 2000; Nicholson & White, 2006). I am, however, deeply skeptical of such an approach. For one thing, the boldness and scope of the claims of many evolutionary psychologists are not in keeping with the rather slim (not to mention, methodological flawed) body of evidence they draw on (Sewell, 2005). Relying on economic game theory (Andras & Lazarus, 2003) or limited twin studies (Confer et al., 2010) no doubt provide intriguing results, but they pale into insignificance when we consider the massive body of more orthodox psychological knowledge we have accumulated about behavior in teams, not to mention the accumulation of millennia of moral contemplations on the same topic. Perhaps, a more fruitful approach which still draws on the insights of evolutionarily acquired behaviors—albeit in manner that is much more restrained than most evolutionary psychologists propose—is exemplified by the work of Henrich et al. (2010, see also Henrich & Henrich, 2007; Richerson & Boyd, 2005). They posit that key adaptive factor that drives human collaboration is not necessarily an inherited predisposition toward prosocial behavior (perhaps driven by a mutation that initiated reciprocal altruism) per se but because “... humans use evolved learning mechanisms to calibrate their behavior, motivations and beliefs to variable circumstances” (Henrich et al.: 1480). Thus, it is not that the norms and values we associate with teamwork (such as fairness and respect for others) are simply direct epiphenomena of a series of evolutionarily adaptive affective traits, but that they are the result on one overriding adaptive cognitive trait: Our ability to grasp that we can build social institutions that sustain “... a diverse array of interactions, thereby allowing the most productive use of unevenly distributed skills, knowledge, and resources” (Henrich et al., 2010: 1480).

Concluding Remarks: A Way Forward for Research on the Ethics of Teamwork

The sheer weight of attention given to the dynamics of teams in major psychological journals should be sufficient prompting for us to take the ethics of teamwork seriously. When we also consider that much of what is thought to make teams effective—the enactment of notions of fairness and justice (Roberson, 2006), the ability to exercise of autonomy, an orientation toward collectivism (Dierdorff, Bell, & Belohlav, 2011), etc.—are so obviously matters for ethical inquiry, then our efforts in this direction ought to be redoubled. By way of a conclusion, I wish to offer three lines of ethical inquiry that are likely to prove fruitful for teamwork researchers. The first of these is to expand psychological research further into situations where working in teams does not necessarily improve the quality of team members’ working lives. An obvious example of this would be when teamwork is not accompanied by genuine autonomy, supporting mechanisms of justice, and collectivism, but even if these are all in place, there may still be circumstances where teams descend into dysfunctional relationships or self-exploitation even though they conduct themselves according to widely supported norms and values (Barker, 1993, 1999; Sewell, 1998; Tjosvold, 2006; Vaughan, 1999). The question would be: How and why can teams go bad even when ethical standards are maintained? Here I think it would be useful to develop an appreciation of the clash between competing ways of understanding the virtues of

teamwork and their effects of team conduct by extending the Aristotelian tradition of considering *eudemonia* (Sewell, 2005).

A second line of inquiry would be to extend this notion of *eudemonia* into economic research on teams. Although Arce M. and Gunn (2005) and others (e.g., Coletti, Sedatole, & Towry, 2005; Towry, 2003) have explored the moral consequences of principal-agent relationships in teams, this has been exclusively from the perspective of Gouldner's Liberal tradition identified above. Economists, however, would be well served to remember that the discipline originated as a form of moral philosophy (see Folbre, 2009; McCloskey, 2010). This would open up economic discussions of teamwork to a broader range of ethical debates that extend beyond the narrow limits of human nature as defined by *homo economicus* and his or her activities as a guileful self-interested utility maximizer.

Finally, and speaking of human nature, I see the third potential line of inquiry potentially to be the most interesting yet controversial one. Certainly, evolutionary psychology offers us a pathway toward developing an approach to morality that incorporates the most recent developments in evolutionary biology and genetics. Yet, even its most ardent champions (e.g., Nicholson, 1997) warn against the "naturalistic fallacy" which they take to mean that, even though we may be able to identify the biologically evolved basis of behavior (which could involve both the pursuit of self-interest and a disposition toward cooperation), it does not mean that we should automatically accept such behavior as being indisputably moral. But there is another reading of the naturalistic fallacy that is much more congenial with Moore's (1903) original discussion of the problem. He saw it as a logical error associated with any attempt to treat a nonnatural moral category (e.g., trustworthiness or truthfulness) as if it were a natural object (Post, 1995). In other words, what is at stake here is not whether something like a prosocial team orientation is an expression of adaptive traits inherited from other species (which must be demonstrated for the claims of evolutionary psychology to hold) but whether being prosocial is viewed as being "good" or "bad" from within social institutions like teamwork that are built on trust and cooperation and thus enable groups of people with diverse skills and expertise who come together to work collaboratively toward a collective goal under circumstances where they report a good quality of work life (cf. Henrich et al., 2010).

References

- Adams, J. S. (1965). Inequity in social exchange. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 62, 335–343.
- Alchian, A., & Demsetz, H. (1972). Production, information costs, and economic organization. *American Economic Review*, 62, 777–795.
- Andras, P., & Lazarus, J. (2003). Cooperation, risk and the evolution of teamwork. In N. Gold (Ed.), *Teamwork: Multi-Professional Perspectives* (pp.56–77). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Andras, P., & Lazarus, J. (2005). Cooperation, risk and the evolution of teamwork. In N. Gold (Ed.), *Teamwork: Multi-disciplinary perspectives* (pp. 56–77). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Appelbaum, E., Bailey, T., Berg, P., & Kalleberg, A. (2000). *Manufacturing advantage: Why high performance work systems pay off*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Appelbaum, E., & Batt, R. (1994). *The new American workplace*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
- Arce M, D. M., & Gunn, L. B. (2005). Working well with others: The evolution of teamwork. *Public Choice*, 123, 115–131.
- Barker, J. R. (1993). Tightening the iron cage: Concertive control in self-managing teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38, 408–437.
- Barker, J. R. (1999). *The discipline of teamwork: Participation and concertive control*. London: Sage.
- Barley, S. R. (1990). The alignment of technology and structure through roles and networks. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35, 61–103.
- Bendix, R. (1974). *Work and authority in industry: Ideologies of management in the course of industrialization*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Casson, M. (1991). *The economics of business culture. Game theory, transactions costs, and economic performance*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Clark, A. E. (2001). What really matters in a job? Hedonic measurement using quit data. *Labour Economics*, 8, 223–242.
- Coase, R. (1937). The nature of the firm. *Economica*, 4, 386–405.
- Coletti, A. L., Sedatole, K. L., & Towry, K. L. (2005). The effect of control systems on trust and cooperation in collaborative environments. *The Accounting Review*, 80, 477–500.
- Colquitt, J. A., & Greenberg, J. (2003). Organizational justice: A fair assessment of the state of the literature. In J. Greenberg (Ed.), *Organizational behavior: The state of the science* (pp. 165–210). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Confer, J. C., Easton, J. A., Fleischman, D. S., Goetz, C. D., Lewis, D. M. G., Perilloux, C., & Buss, D. M. (2010). Evolutionary psychology: Controversies, questions, prospects, and limitations. *American Psychologist*, 65(2), 110–126.
- Cotton, J. L. (1993). *Employee involvement: Methods for improving performance and work attitudes*. London: Sage.
- Dayan, M., & Di Benedetto, C. A. (2008). The impact of procedural and interactional justice perceptions on teamwork quality. *The Journal of Business and Industrial Marketing*, 23, 566–576.
- Dierdorff, E. C., Bell, S. T., & Belohlav, J. A. (2011). The power of “we”: Effects of psychological collectivism on team performance over time. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 96, 247–262.
- du Gay, P. (2000). *In praise of bureaucracy: Weber – organization – ethics*. London: Sage.
- Emery, F. E., & Thorsrud, E. (1976). *Democracy at work: The report of the Norwegian industrial democracy program*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Nijhoff.
- Fisher, R. A. (1930). *The genetical theory of natural selection*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.
- Folbre, N. (2009). *Greed, lust & gender: A history of economic ideas*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Freeman, R. B. (1978). Job satisfaction as an economic variable. *American Economic Review*, 68, 135–141.
- Gandz, J., & Bird, F. G. (1996). The ethics of empowerment. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 15, 383–392.
- Gouldner, A. (1955). Metaphysical pathos and the theory of bureaucracy. *The American Political Science Review*, 49, 496–507.
- Grenier, G. (1989). *Inhuman relations: Quality circles and anti-unionism in American industry*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hackman, J. R. (2002). *Leading teams: Setting the stage for great performances*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Haidt, J. (2007). The new synthesis in moral psychology. *Science*, 316, 998–1002.
- Haidt, J., & Joseph, C. (2008). The moral mind: How five sets of innate intuitions guide the development of many culture-specific virtues, and perhaps even modules. In P. Carruthers, S. Laurence, & S. Stich (Eds.), *The innate mind: Foundations for the future* (Vol. 3, pp. 367–392). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Hamilton, W. D. (1964). The genetical theory of social behavior: I and II. *Journal of Theoretical Biology*, 7, 383–400.
- Henrich, J., Ensminger, J., McElreath, R., Barr, A., Barrett, C., Bolyanatz, A., Cardenas, J. C., Gurven, M., Gwako, E., Henrich, N., Lesorogol, C., Marlowe, F., Tracer, D., & Ziker, J. (2010). Markets, religion, community size, and the evolution of fairness and punishment. *Science*, 327, 1480–1484.
- Henrich, N., & Henrich, J. (2007). *Why humans cooperate: A cultural and evolutionary explanation*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Homans, G. (1950). *The human group*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
- House, R. J., & Kerr, S. (1973). Organizational independence, leader behavior, and managerial practices: A replicated study. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 58, 173–180.
- Iaffaldano, M. T., & Muchinski, P. M. (1985). Job satisfaction and job performance: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 97, 251–273.
- Ingham, A. G., Levinger, G., Graves, J., & Peckham, V. (1974). The Ringelmann effect: Studies of group size and group performance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 10, 371–384.
- Jehn, K. A., & Bendersky, C. (2003). Intragroup conflict in organizations: A contingency perspective on the conflict-outcome relationship. In B. Staw & R. Kramer (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 26, pp. 189–244). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Jehn, K., & Mannix, E. A. (2001). The dynamic nature of conflict: A longitudinal study of intragroup conflict and group performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 44, 238–251.
- Koford, K., & Penno, M. (1992). Accounting, principal-agent theory, and self-interested behavior. In N. E. Bowie & R. E. Freeman (Eds.), *Ethics and agency theory: An introduction* (pp. 127–142). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Korsgaard, M. A., Brodt, S. E., & Sapienza, H. J. (2003). Trust, identity and attachment: Promoting individuals' cooperation in groups. In M. West, D. Tjosvold, & K. Smith (Eds.), *International handbook of organizational teamwork and cooperative working* (pp. 113–130). Chichester, UK: Wiley.

- Kravitz, D. A., & Martin, B. (1986). Ringelmann rediscovered: The original article. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *50*, 936–941.
- Lawler, E. E. (1992). *The ultimate advantage: Creating the high-involvement organization*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- McCall, J. J., & Werhane, P. H. (2009). Employment at will and employee rights. In G. G. Brenkert & T. L. Beauchamp (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of business ethics* (pp. 602–627). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- McCloskey, D. (2010). *Bourgeois dignity: Why economics can't explain the modern world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, D. C., & Form, W. H. (1951). *Industrial sociology: The sociology of work organizations*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Mohr, W. L., & Mohr, H. (1983). *Quality circles: Changing images of people at work*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.
- Moore, G. E. (1903). *Principia ethica*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Nicholson, N. (1997). Evolutionary psychology: Toward a new view of human nature and organizational society. *Human Relations*, *50*, 1053–1078.
- Nicholson, N. (2000). *Executive instinct: Managing the human animal in the information age*. New York: Crown Business Books.
- Nicholson, N. (2005). Objections to evolutionary psychology: Reflections, implications and the leadership exemplar. *Human Relations*, *58*, 393–409.
- Nicholson, N., & White, R. (2006). Darwinism: A new paradigm for organizational behavior? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *27*, 111–119.
- Noe, T. H., & Rebello, M. J. (1994). The dynamics of business ethics and economic activity. *American Economic Review*, *84*, 531–547.
- Nussbaum, M. (2001). *Upheavals of thought: The intelligence of emotions*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Pelz, D. C. (1951). Leaders within a hierarchical organization. *Journal of Social Issues*, *7*, 49–55.
- Pierce, R., & White, B. D. (1999). The evolution of social structure: Why biology matters. *Academy of Management Review*, *24*, 843–853.
- Post, J. F. (1995). Naturalism. In R. Audi (Ed.), *The Cambridge dictionary of philosophy* (pp. 517–518). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rawls, J. (1972). *A theory of justice*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.
- Richerson, P., & Boyd, R. (2005). *Not by genes alone: How culture transformed human evolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Roberson, Q. (2006). Justice in teams: The activation and role of sensemaking in the emergence of justice climates. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *100*, 177–192.
- Roethlisberger, F. J., & Dickson, W. J. (1939). *Management and the worker*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rousseau, D. M., Hornung, S., & Kim, T. G. (2009). Testing idiosyncratic deal propositions: Timing, content, and the employment relationship. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *74*, 338–348.
- Sandel, M. J. (2009). *Justice: What's the right thing to do?* New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.
- Schluchter, W. (1996). *Paradoxes of modernity: Culture and conduct in the theory of Max Weber*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Sewell, G. (1998). The discipline of teams: The control of team-based industrial work through electronic and peer surveillance. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *43*, 397–429.
- Sewell, G. (2005). Doing what comes naturally? Why we need a practical ethics of teamwork. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *16*, 202–218.
- Sewell, G., & Barker, J. R. (2006). Coercion versus care: Using irony to make sense of organizational surveillance. *Academy of Management Review*, *31*, 934–961.
- Slocum, J. W., & Sims, H. P. (1980). A typology for integrating technology, organization, and job design. *Human Relations*, *33*, 193–212.
- Sumner, L. W. (1996). *Welfare, happiness and ethics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1991). The dialogical self. In D. R. Hiley, J. F. Bohman, & R. Shusterman (Eds.), *The interpretive turn: Philosophy, science, culture* (pp. 304–314). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Tjosvold, D. (2006). Defining conflict and making choices about its management: Lighting the dark side of organizational life. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, *17*, 87–95.
- Tooby, J., & Cosmides, L. (1990). The past explains the present: Emotional adaptations and the structure of ancestral environments. *Ethology and Sociobiology*, *11*, 418–419.
- Tooby, J., & Cosmides, L. (1992). The psychological foundations of culture. In J. H. Barkow, L. Cosmides, & J. Tooby (Eds.), *The adapted mind: EP and the generation of culture* (pp. 19–136). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- Tooby, J., & Cosmides, L. (2002). On the universality of human nature and the uniqueness of the individual: The role of genetics and adaptation. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *11*, 187–210.
- Towry, K. L. (2003). Control in a teamwork environment – The impact of social ties on the effectiveness of mutual monitoring contracts. *The Accounting Review*, *78*(4), 1069–1095.
- Trivers, R. (1971). The evolution of reciprocal altruism. *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, *46*, 35–57.
- Vaughan, D. (1999). The dark side of organizations: Mistake, misconduct, and disaster. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *25*, 271–305.
- Weaver, C. N. (1977). Relationships among pay, race, sex, occupational prestige, supervision, work autonomy, and job satisfaction in a national sample. *Personnel Psychology*, *30*, 437–445.
- Weber, M. (1962). *Basic concepts in sociology*. London: Peter Owen.
- West, M. A., Tjosvold, D., & Smith, K. G. (2003). Teamwork and cooperation: Fundamentals of organizational effectiveness. In M. A. West, D. Tjosvold, & K. G. Smith (Eds.), *International handbook of organizational teamwork and cooperative working* (pp. 3–8). Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- West, M. A. (2004). *Effective teamwork: Practical lessons from organizational research* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Williamson, O. E. (1975). *Markets and hierarchies: Analysis and antitrust implications*. New York: The Free Press.
- Wilson, E. O. (1978). Man: From sociobiology to sociology. In A. L. Caplan (Ed.), *The sociobiology debate* (pp. 227–238). New York: Harper & Row.

Chapter 19

Workplace Violence and Aggression: When You Do Not Want Your Company on the News

Joel H. Neuman

On August 31, 2000, Mr. Joseph A. Califano, Jr., chair of the *United States Postal Service Commission on a Safe and Secure Workplace*, stepped to a microphone to begin a press conference in which he would present the findings of a 2-year study on workplace violence (United States Postal Commission on a Safe and Secure Workplace [USPCSSW], 2000). This study was commissioned in 1998 by Mr. William J. Henderson, a newly appointed postmaster general for the United States Postal Service (USPS). Mr. Henderson's motivation for initiating this study was simple. Between 1989 and 1999, 48 postal employees were murdered by coworkers while on-the-job (Dietz & Gill, 2006). In Mr. Henderson's words, "I didn't want to go to any more postal facilities to explain why some father or mother had suffered, or was murdered, because of an incident in a postal facility (C-SPAN, 2000)." Another motivation for the establishment of this independent commission was to deal with a significant public relations problem—a widely held belief that the USPS was a violent place to work. In the United States, the expression "going postal" had become synonymous with coworker involved workplace shootings.

The story of the USPS commission and its findings (which will be discussed later) serves as an appropriate point of departure for this chapter because the history of workplace violence research and the damage to the US Postal Service's reputation have the same genesis. On the pages that follow, I will provide a brief history and overview of workplace violence research, describe the nature and prevalence of workplace violence, and discuss related forms of both physical and non-physical forms of aggression. In addition, I will discuss individual and organizational consequences of violence and aggression and organizational responses to these quality of life (and threat to life) issues, as well as some ethical concerns associated with this phenomenon.

Introduction and Overview

Even the most casual inspection of human history suggests that violence has been (and continues to be) commonplace in human experience. Nevertheless, I was startled by two articles that I read in 1993 in which the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health reported that an

J.H. Neuman, Ph.D. (✉)

School of Business, State University of New York at New Paltz, New Paltz, NY, USA
e-mail: neumanj@newpaltz.edu

average of 15 people were being murdered at work each week in the United States (Blosser, 1993) and a total of more than 7,600 had been killed during the preceding 10 years (National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health [NIOSH], 1993). Who were the perpetrators? Who were the targets? What were the motives for these homicides? These were some of the many questions that came to mind.

That same year, there were a number of books devoted to the subject as well as an explosion of newspaper and magazine accounts of workplace violence perpetrated by current or former employees (e.g., Baron, 1993; Brandt & Brennan, 1993; Filipczak, 1993; Ryan & Poster, 1993; Smith, 1993; Wakefield, 1993). In addition, there was an influential study conducted by Northwestern National Life in which 600 full-time American workers (randomly drawn from a representative national sample) participated in 15-min telephone interviews on an array of hostile and violent workplace behaviors. The major finding, extrapolated from these interviews, was that more than two million Americans were victims of physical attacks at work and an additional six million workers were threatened between July 1992 and July 1993 (Northwestern National Life [NNL], 1993). This report went on to conclude that “one out of four full-time workers was harassed, threatened, or attacked on the job” in America during that time period (NNL, p. 2).

As it turns out, 1993 was a particularly deadly year with respect to workplace shootings—two of which occurred on the same date (May 6) at two different postal facilities. In those incidents, one postal worker wounded three and killed one and then took his own life in a postal facility in Dearborn, Michigan, and within a few hours, another employee killed his mother and then fatally shot two postal employees in a facility in Dana Point, California.

As noted in my opening paragraphs, these two incidents were part of a string of post office shootings—the first of which marks the beginning of the interest in workplace violence by the general public and academic researchers. It is widely recognized that the genesis of this interest involves the case of Patrick Henry Sherrill, a 44-year-old postal employee living in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. At 6:45 a.m., on August 20, 1986, Mr. Sherrill walked into a postal facility in Edmund, Oklahoma, pulled out two 45-caliber handguns and killed 14 people and wounded 7, then took his own life (Applebome, 1986). At the time, this was the third worst case of mass murder in the nation’s history, only surpassed by an incident that occurred on July 18, 1984, in which 20 people were fatally shot at a McDonald’s restaurant in San Ysidro, California, and another incident on August 1, 1966, in which 16 people were fatally shot by a lone gunman at the University of Texas, Austin. Unlike the random shooting of strangers at McDonald’s and the University of Texas, Sherrill’s targets were not strangers; rather, they were people with whom he worked.

The nation was stunned by the Sherrill case, and it received prominent attention on page A1 of the *New York Times* (Applebome, 1986). Parenthetically, many current workplace shootings go unreported or are buried as filler items deep within newspapers, suggesting that the novelty has worn off.

In the many articles that have been written about violence in the USPS, people have speculated about the causes of such incidents. Some have suggested that they were caused by stress and frustration endemic to the highly bureaucratic structure of the postal service. Others have associated violence with the heavily regimented nature of the work process and the significant time pressures involved in moving massive amounts of mail in an efficient manner. Still others have pointed to the fact that many postal employees are military veterans, implying that there is some predisposition to violence associated with this particular population.

While social, situational, and personal factors do serve as antecedents to aggression, the very premise that the USPS is a dangerous place to work has been called into questions. The United States Postal Commission study, cited earlier, found that “*going postal* is a myth, a bad rap. Postal workers are no more likely to physically assault, sexually harass, or verbally abuse their coworkers than employees in the national workforce (USPCSSW, 2000, p. 1).” So what accounts

for the “large” number of incidents? Possibly, it relates to the fact that the USPS had an average workforce of approximately 900,000 people during the 13-year period in which 48 people lost their lives (1986–1999). As noted above, 14 of those individuals lost their lives in a single incident. This study also found, “postal employees are only a third as likely as those in the national workforce to be victims of homicide at work” (USPCSSW, 2000, p. 1). This is not to suggest that 48 deaths are insignificant; clearly, they are both significant and tragic. But focusing on postal shootings diverts attention from the real issue: the level of violence in American work settings is unacceptably high and occurs across industrial sectors and organizations. Drawing again from the Postal Commission study of the national workforce, 1 in 20 workers was physically assaulted, 1 in 6 was sexually harassed, and 1 in 3 was verbally abused.

Providing a comprehensive list of workplace violence episodes is impossible, given the large number of incidents that have occurred over the last two decades, but a representative list is available from the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence (n.d.) and the following two well-publicized cases serve as examples.

On June 4, 1991, Larry Hansel, a former employee of Elgar Corporation, an electronics firm in San Diego, California, returned to his former place of employment where he had been dismissed 3 months earlier. This 41-year-old father of two walked into the facility wearing an ammunition belt around his chest and carrying a 12-gauge shotgun and a rifle. Mr. Hansel, who had no previous history of violence, shot out the plant’s telephone network, detonated two radio bombs that filled the corridors with smoke, and then killed two executives. Mr. Hansel later surrendered to police miles from the scene. Aside from the sensational nature of this case, and premeditated and methodical manner in which the perpetrator went about his business, I mention this particular workplace shooting for another reason. Unlike the bureaucratic and heavily regimented conditions attributed to the postal service, Elgar was perceived as a very congenial place to work. In fact, the vice president of human resources for Elgar described the organization as one in which people “...worked together as one big, happy family” (Mantell & Albrecht, 1994, p. 190).

Seven months after the Elgar incident, another well-publicized shooting occurred in San Diego at a General Dynamics plant. A fired worker by the name of Robert Earl Mack shot and killed company labor negotiator Michael Konz, and wounded former supervisor James English, after they notified Mack that he was terminated.

The somewhat dated examples described above are often cited as prototypical cases in the growing literature on workplace violence; unfortunately, such cases continue to make the news. For example, Dr. Amy Bishop, a Harvard-educated neuroscientist, was denied tenure at the University of Alabama, Huntsville. It is assumed that this was the precipitating factor leading to her fatal shooting of three faculty members, and serious wounding of three others, at a biology faculty meeting at the university on February 12, 2010 (Wheaton & Dewan, 2010). In another incident occurring in an academic setting (Binghamton University), on December 4, 2009, a 46-year-old graduate student by the name of Abdulsalam al-Zahrani stabbed to death Dr. Richard Antoun, a distinguished and well-respected member of his dissertation committee (Pearson, 2009). Ironically, this fatal assault occurred almost 8 months to the day after a single gunman killed 13 people in an unrelated shooting at the American Civic Association, located less than 4 miles from the university (Sataline & Searcey, 2009).

Another recent example involved a shooting at ABB Transformer in St. Louis, MO. On the morning of January 7, 2010, a 51-year-old assembly line worker by the name of Timothy Hendron went on a shooting rampage, killing three employees (an additional employee later died) and wounding five. Although there were no specific threats made by Mr. Hendron prior to this act, he had complained to a neighbor that he was unhappy where he was working and he was also involved in a class-action federal lawsuit against ABB over investments related to his retirement plan (Stern & Herbst, 2010).

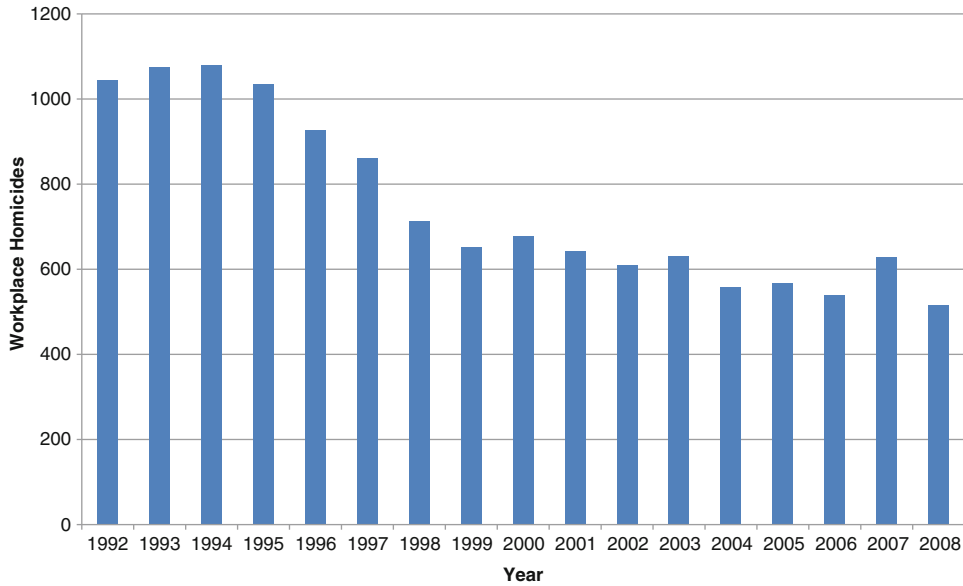


Fig. 19.1 Workplace homicide data 1992–2008 (Note: These data have been drawn from the Census of Fatal Occupational Injuries, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1992–2008)

These incidents are dramatic examples of the types of stories that come to mind when you hear the words workplace violence—the image of disgruntled employees, coworkers, or customers/clients lashing out in murderous rage against the source of some perceived injustice, either real or imagined. This, in fact, is what I expected to find when I began my research on this phenomenon in 1993. Contrary to expectations, the picture that emerged was quite different. My first step was to review statistical information for 1992, the last year for which complete data were available at the time. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1,004 employees were murdered on the job—a rate more than one-third higher than the annual average during the 1980s. Among these victims, 177 were in managerial or professional occupations, 335 were in sales, 225 were in the service sector, and 202 were drivers or factory workers (Baron & Neuman, 1996). Taken at face value, these statistics seem to suggest that concern with employee-related shootings is fully justified. Closer examination of existing data on the occurrence of workplace violence, however, points to somewhat different conclusions. At that time, 81.9% of the 1,004 homicides resulted during robberies or other crime, 8.7% involved business disputes, 5.6% involved police in the line of duty, and only 3.9% involved personal disputes involving organizational insiders (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1992). In other words, contrary to popular belief, most workplace violence does *not* involve instances such as those described above in which angry employees suddenly open fire on coworkers or supervisors. Rather, it occurs when individuals are attacked by persons from outside the organization engaging in a robbery or other criminal behavior. More recently, an examination of the trends in workplace homicide between 1993 and 2002 reveals the following. Over that period of time, there were 8,148 workplace homicides. Of that amount, 6,682 (81.5%) occurred during the course of robberies and other crimes, and 669 (8.2%) involved current or former employees (Hendricks, Jenkins, & Anderson, 2007).

Another misconception about workplace homicide involves the trend over time. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has been tracking yearly homicide rates since 1992. Contrary to the popular belief that violence has been increasing in recent years, Fig. 19.1 clearly shows a downward trend from 1995 through 2008 (presently, the most current year for which data are available). The workplace homicide count for 2008 (517 workplace homicides) represents a decline of 52% from the high of 1,080 homicides reported in 1994. Of course, given the global economic crisis

starting in 2008, resulting in job losses and associated financial hardships, it will be interesting to see if this downward trend continues as data become available for 2009 and 2010.

The preceding discussion is not meant to suggest that workplace homicide is not a serious problem; rather, it is meant to highlight the complexity of the problem—one that is dependent on the nature of the relationship between the perpetrators and the victims, the context in which these incidents occur, and the underlying motives for the assaults. Also, workplace homicides are not the only form of workplace violence. Nonfatal physical assaults far outnumber lethal assaults. In the section that follows, I present a four-category typology of workplace violence and briefly discuss the forms of violence associated with each of these categories.

A Typology of Workplace Violence

In 1995, Cal/OSHA developed a typology for classifying different forms of workplace violence (*Cal/OSHA Guidelines for Workplace Security, 1995*). According to this approach, there are three types of workplace violence. Type I violence involves criminal intruders; type II involves customers, clients, students, and patients; and type III involves organizational insiders/employees. Six years later, the University of Iowa Injury Prevention Research Center added type IV violence, in which there is a personal relationship involved. This four-category scheme has gained broad acceptance by workplace violence researchers (LeBlanc & Barling, 2005; Merchant & Lundell, 2001; Peek-Asa, Runyan, & Zwerling, 2001).

Type I Violence: Criminal Intruder/Organizational Outsider

This category includes assailants that have no legitimate relationship with the organization and enter the work location to commit a criminal act. As noted previously, more employees are killed as a result of this type of violence than all of the other types combined. Typically the motive is robbery; consequently, any occupation that involves the exchange of money with the public or guarding valuable property or possessions puts employees at increased risk. This would include, but is not limited to, bartenders, store owners, stock handlers, security guards, hotel clerks, and taxicab drivers.

Type II Violence: Customer, Client, Student, and Patient Assaults

This category includes perpetrators having a relationship with the organization based on the acquisition of goods or services. Data suggest that more than 50% of nonfatal assaults occur within this category (LeBlanc & Barling, 2005; Peek-Asa & Howard, 1999). Individuals employed in the service sector are at greatest risk. In particular, this includes healthcare workers, social workers, and retail employees. As relates to healthcare workers, violence is most likely to occur in psychiatric settings, geriatric facilities, emergency/trauma centers, and waiting rooms (Kingma, 2001; Lanza, 2006; Lehmann, McCormick, & Kizer, 1999; Merez, Rymaszewska, Mo cicka, Kiejna, & Jarosz-Nowak, 2006). In fact, violence in the healthcare sector may constitute almost a quarter of all violence at work (Di Martino, 2002). With respect to social service workers, they are often put in the position of having to deny service to members of the public or put in the extremely dangerous position of removing children from the home. As you might suspect, psychiatric conditions, alcohol or substance abuse, physical pain, stress, and frustration often play a role in the healthcare or social service sectors, and these are well-known antecedents to aggression and violence.

Beyond the healthcare and social service sectors, frontline workers in retail, service industries (excluding healthcare), and education interact with the public, and these interactions may, at times, be quite contentious. Anyone unlucky enough to be near an airport ticket counter during bad weather (and the associated flight delays and cancellations) can probably testify to the heated rhetoric and animated body language that accompanies agent-customer interactions. Not surprisingly, researchers are beginning to pay attention to these stressful and potentially dangerous interactions (e.g., Johnson, 2005; Kern & Grandey, 2009).

Similarly, violence within school settings is another example of type II violence. Quite a bit of work has been done exploring violence in school settings, and this will be discussed in a later section.

Type III Violence: Organizational Insiders (Including Current and Former Employees)

This category subsumes the prototypical examples of workplace violence, and I will address this in more detail below. Importantly, the defining characteristic associated with this category is the fact that the violence is motivated by factors occurring within the organization (Baron & Neuman, 1996; O'Leary-Kelly, Griffin, & Glew, 1996; Spector, 1975).

Type IV Violence: Personal Relationship (i.e., Domestic Violence that Spills over into the Workplace)

As noted by LeBlanc and Barling (2005), the issue of domestic violence has received little attention by workplace violence researchers. In the case of type IV violence, the perpetrators have no relationship with the organization but have a personal relationship with the victim—or intended victim. In those instances in which perpetrators follow their targets into the workplace, many people—including the intended victim—are at risk. In 1997, 5% of workplace homicides were the result of domestic violence, and a more recent study estimated that 2% of nonfatal violence associated with partner violence (LeBlanc & Barling, 2005). In 1990, the Bureau of National Affairs estimated that domestic violence resulted in three to five billion dollars annually due to turnover, absenteeism, healthcare costs, and lowered productivity (White, Kinckowski, Speelman, & Olijnyk, 2002). In addition, research also suggests that batterers often make harassing phone calls to their victims and their supervisors (LeBlanc & Barling, 2005).

In concluding this section, it is important to note that many instances of workplace violence can be captured by more than one category, as in the case of a former employee (type III violence) returning to his/her workplace to commit an armed robbery (type I violence).

To this point, I have focused my attention on fatal and nonfatal forms of physical assault. This type of workplace violence represents the most visible part of a much larger problem, to which I now turn my attention.

The Nature of Workplace Violence and Workplace Aggression: A Closer Look

The literature on workplace violence has always stressed that the phenomenon includes a wide array of behaviors. For example, Baron (1993) suggests that workplace violence occurs at three levels. *Level 1* includes withholding cooperation, spreading rumors or gossip, consistent arguing, belligerency, and the use of offensive language. *Level 2* consists of intense arguments with

supervisors, coworkers, and customers; sabotage; verbal threats; and feelings of persecution. Finally, *level 3* includes frequent displays of intense anger, recurrent suicidal threats, physical fights, destruction of property, use of weapons, and murder, rape, or arson. Similarly, Mantell and Albrecht's (1994) typology includes covert behavior, overt behavior, and dangerous behavior. In related research factor analyzing 40 different forms of aggressive behavior, my colleagues and I (Baron, Neuman, & Geddes, 1999) found the following three factors: expressions of hostility (behaviors that are verbal or symbolic in nature), obstructionism (behaviors that impede a victim's ability to perform), and overt forms of aggression (e.g., physical assaults, threats). Other workplace violence researchers have made similar points about the wide range of behavior that they believe should be subsumed under the heading of violence.

Surprisingly, early contributors to the field overlooked (or failed to consider) more than five decades of theoretical and empirical literature on interpersonal aggression and violence (e.g., Baron & Richardson, 1994; Berkowitz, 1965, 1989; Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939; Geen, 1991). Over that extended period of time, there was considerable debate over the definition of aggression and the distinction between the terms violence and aggression. Today, most aggression researchers view *aggression* as a general term encompassing all forms of behavior by which individuals inflict harm (or attempt to inflict harm) on others, and the term *violence* is reserved for instances involving direct physical assaults (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Berkowitz, 1993; Huesmann, 1994). It is my belief that employing the term workplace violence to subsume a range of behaviors as different in form and effect as the spreading of rumors and withholding cooperation to instances of murder and rape presents numerous practical and conceptual problems. It clouds our understanding of the issues and may impede the research process. In my own work, I have chosen to employ the term *workplace aggression* to refer to any form of behavior directed by one or more persons in a workplace toward the goal of harming one or more others in that workplace (or the entire organization) in ways the intended targets are motivated to avoid, and the term *workplace violence* is reserved for the most serious instances of direct physical assault (Neuman, 2004; Neuman & Baron, 1998).

Workplace Aggression: Moving Beyond Workplace Violence

While physical violence does harm to the flesh and poses a threat to life, there are a number of negative workplace behaviors that do "violence" to the spirit and pose a significant threat to health and the quality of life. As noted above, the term workplace aggression subsumes a range of physical and nonphysical behaviors that are intended to harm others (Baron & Neuman, 1996, 1998; Neuman, 2004; Neuman & Baron, 1997, 1998). In this section, I consider a subset of these behaviors that might be best characterized as psychological aggression. This class of behavior has been studied under an assortment of labels. For example, *emotional abuse* involves hostile verbal and nonverbal behaviors (excluding physical contact) directed by one or more persons toward another that are aimed at undermining the other to ensure compliance (Keashly, 1998, 2001; Keashly & Harvey, 2005; Keashly, Trott, & MacLean, 1994). Related to this, *social undermining* consists of "behavior intended to hinder, over time, the ability to establish and maintain positive interpersonal relationships, work related success, and favorable reputation" (Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002, p. 332).

Another particularly pernicious form of behavior involves workplace aggression that persists over an extended period of time (occurring weekly or daily for 6 months or longer in duration). Referred to as *workplace bullying or mobbing* (Einarsen, 1996, 1999, 2000; Hoel, Rayner, & Cooper, 1999; Leymann, 1990, 1996; Neuman & Baron, 2011; Vartia, 1993), this involves "all those repeated actions and practices that are directed to one or more workers, which are

unwanted by the victim, which may be done deliberately or unconsciously, but clearly cause humiliation, offence and distress, and that may interfere with job performance and/or cause an unpleasant working environment” (Einarsen, p. 17). Related constructs have been studied under the terms *petty tyranny* (Ashforth, 1994), *abusive supervision* (Hornstein, 1997; Tepper, 2000, 2007), *social undermining* (Duffy et al., 2002), *generalized workplace harassment* (Rospenda & Richman, 2004; Rospenda, Richman, Wislar, & Flaherty, 2000), *workplace incivility* (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001; Pearson, Andersson, & Wegner, 2001), *deviant workplace behavior* (Hollinger & Clark, 1982; Robinson & Bennett, 1995, 1997), *counterproductive/unreliable work behavior* (Bing et al., 2007; Fox & Spector, 2005; Fox, Spector, & Miles, 2001; Hogan & Hogan, 1989; Martinko, Gundlach, & Douglas, 2002; Mikulay, Neuman, & Finkelstein, 2001), and *organizational misbehavior* (Sagie, Stashevsky, & Koslowsky, 2003; Vardi & Weitz, 2004). Table 19.1 provides some examples of behaviors associated with these constructs, as captured by the Workplace Aggression Research Questionnaire (Neuman & Keashly, 2004).

With the exception of petty tyranny and abusive supervision, which involve actions perpetrated by individuals in hierarchically superior positions to the victim(s) in an organization, persistent forms of workplace aggression can be (and frequently are) initiated by coworkers/peers and occasionally perpetrated by subordinates. With respect to occasional (nonpersistent) acts of aggression, these are often perpetrated by individuals being served by the organization (e.g., customers, clients, patients, and students).

In terms of the prevalence of these behaviors, reliable data are difficult to obtain for a number of reasons. First, these constructs employ different definitions and are assessed through a wide assortment of measurement methods, most of which employ self-report data. For example, some questionnaires ask respondents to report the extent to which they have either experienced or witnessed a number of discrete behaviors, such as those listed in Table 19.1 (Einarsen & Hoel, 2001; Einarsen, Hoel, & Notelaers, 2009; Neuman & Keashly, 2004). Other approaches provide respondents with a definition of the construct under investigation (e.g., bullying), and respondents are asked to indicate whether, and to what extent, they have been subjected to, or witnessed, such behavior (Hoel, Cooper, & Faragher, 2001; Salin, 2001). Second, many of the behaviors in question are covert or ambiguous in operation, as in the case of spreading rumors, engaging in destructive gossip, or various forms of passive aggression (i.e., withholding resources, information, or assistance). Third, the experience of certain behaviors is very subjective, as in the case of perceiving oneself to be on the receiving end of rude and disrespectful treatment. In such instances, incivility often is in the eye of the beholder. Fourth, unlike physical violence, there are rarely formal mechanisms for recording such behavior. While homicides and physical assaults are typically captured in death certificates, police reports, violence claims, and assorted legal and paralegal documents, to whom do you report having your feelings hurt? To complicate matters further, complaining about being subjected to rude and disrespectful treatment is likely to result in perceptions that you simply have a “thin skin.” Consequently, targets are not inclined to make such complaints. Related to this, many occupations view aggression as part of the job (e.g., law enforcement, healthcare settings, and social services, to name a few). Finally, although there have been numerous studies, the lack of truly standardized measures makes it difficult to establish reliable incident and prevalence rates across organizations, business sectors, and national cultures.

Although the statistics may be open to question, there is substantial evidence that nonphysical forms of aggression are ubiquitous within and beyond work settings. For example, based on telephone interviews conducted with a representative cross section of 2,013 adults, 79% indicated that “a lack of respect and courtesy is a serious problem for our society and we should try to address it” (Farkas & Johnson, 2002, p. 10). Data obtained from nearly 800 persons employed in the US work settings revealed that 10% reported witnessing incivility on a daily basis and 20%

Table 19.1 Behavioral items captured by the Workplace Aggression Research Questionnaire (WAR-Q)

Been glared at in a hostile manner
Been excluded from work-related social gatherings
Had others storm out of the work area when you entered
Had others consistently arrive late for meetings that you called
Been sworn at in a hostile manner
Been subjected to negative comments about your religious beliefs
Been given the “silent treatment”
Not been given the praise for which you felt entitled
Been treated in a rude and/or disrespectful manner
Had your personal property defaced, damaged, or stolen
Had others fail to take action to protect you from harm
Been subjected to negative comments about a disability
Been subjected to obscene or hostile gestures
Had others refuse your requests for assistance
Had others fail to deny false rumors about you
Been given little or no feedback about your performance
Had others delay action on matters that were important to you
Been yelled at or shouted at in a hostile manner
Been subjected to negative comments about your intelligence or competence
Had others consistently fail to return your telephone calls or respond to your memos or e-mail
Had your contributions ignored by others
Had someone interfere with your work activities
Been subjected to mean pranks
Been lied to
Had others fail to give you information that you really needed
Been subjected to threats and/or harassment for “blowing the whistle” about activities at work
Had others fail to warn you about impending dangers
Been denied a raise or promotion without being given a valid reason
Had signs or notes left that embarrassed you
Been subjected to derogatory name calling
Been blamed for other peoples’ mistakes
Been the target of rumors or gossip
Shown little empathy/sympathy when you were having a tough time
Had coworkers fail to defend your plans or ideas to others
Been given unreasonable workloads or deadlines—more than others
Had others destroy or needlessly take resources that you needed to do your job
Been accused of deliberately making an error
Been subjected to unwanted attempts to touch, fondle, kiss, or grab you
Been subjected to threats to reveal private or embarrassing information about you to others
Been subjected to temper tantrums when disagreeing with someone
Been prevented from expressing yourself (e.g., interrupted when speaking)
Had attempts made to turn other employees against you
Had someone flaunt his/her status or treat you in a condescending manner
Been subjected to excessively harsh criticism about your work
Had someone else take credit for your work or ideas
Been kicked, bitten, or spat on
Been criticized for nonwork (personal) life and activities
Been subjected to negative comments about your sexual orientation
Been subjected to racist remarks
Been reprimanded or “put down” in front of others
Had someone hit you with an object
Been subjected to ethnic or racial jokes or slurs

(continued)

Table 19.1 (continued)

Been told how to spend your personal time when not at work
Been subjected to unwanted terms of endearment
Been subjected to suggestive and/or offensive stories
Been subjected to sexist remarks
Been threatened with physical harm
Been pushed, shoved, thrown, or bumped into with unnecessary force
Been raped or sexually assaulted
Been assaulted with a weapon or other dangerous object

Note: This is the complete 60-item behavioral scale employed in the Workplace Aggression Research Questionnaire (WAR-Q; Neuman & Keashly, 2004). This instrument captures items associated with workplace aggression, violence, and bullying as well as items associated (in whole or in part) with constructs such as emotional abuse, psychological aggression, social undermining, abusive supervision, petty tyranny, generalized work harassment, sexual harassment, workplace incivility, deviant, and counterproductive work behavior

indicated that they had been targets of workplace incivility on a weekly basis (Pearson & Porath, 2005). In related research with 126 Canadian white-collar workers, 25% reported witnessing incivility, and 50% said that they were direct targets on a weekly basis (Pearson & Porath, 2005). Also, in a sample of 4,801 respondents in 26 facilities within the US Department of Veterans Affairs (VA), 1,598 of those responding (36%) indicated that they had experienced one or more instances of aggression on a weekly or daily basis over the preceding 12-month period, and 2,590 (58%) indicated that they had experienced at least one act of aggression in the previous year (Neuman, 2004).

As relates to workplace aggression and bullying, a recent study by the Workplace Bullying Institute and Zogby International is instructive. Zogby International conducted 7,740 online interviews with a representative sample of the adult US population. In this study, 37% of those responding indicated that they had either experienced or witnessed repeated mistreatment on the job, including verbal abuse, threatening conduct, intimidation, and humiliation (Workplace Bullying Institute & Zogby International, 2007). Taking a closer look at this percentage, 12.6% indicated that they were experiencing such mistreatment at the time of the interview or during the preceding 12 months, and 24.2% indicated that such mistreatment had occurred sometime during their working life but not within the previous year. As noted in this workplace bullying study, the US Department of Labor estimated the workforce as numbering 146 million people at the time of the study. Using the conservative number of 12.6% as a prevalence rate, that would suggest that over 18 million American workers were subjected to workplace aggression and bullying at work. During that same period of time, there were 628 homicides, representing .0004% of the working population. In essence, while approximately 1 in 232,000 employees is the victim of workplace homicide, 1 in 8 employees is subjected to workplace aggression and bullying. Regardless of the precision of the measure, it seems clear that nonphysical forms of aggression are much more prevalent than fatal and nonfatal physical assaults, but what about the consequences (seriousness) of such behavior?

Quality of Life and Threats to Life: The Individual and Organizational Consequences of Violence and Aggression

While the consequences of being assaulted seem obvious (death or physical injury), the consequences of nonphysical forms of aggression (e.g., psychological aggression/emotional abuse) are less visible but still consequential.

Fatal and Nonfatal Occupational Injury

Even a single incident of workplace violence can result in significant costs to an organization. Beyond the incalculable toll in human terms (the death or injury of valued employees, colleagues, friends), the costs can include medical and psychiatric care, potential liability suits, disruption of services, loss of productivity/work time, post-incident repairs and cleanup, higher insurance and disability costs, worker compensation claims, consultants' fees, increased security measures, employee turnover, permanent loss of customers, and salary continuation for injured and/or traumatized workers (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998; Michigan Municipal League, 2009).

It is important to note that the costs associated with physical violence, or merely the threat of violence, result from witnessing as well as personally experiencing violence. As noted previously, the vast majority of workplace homicides occur during armed robberies. Research demonstrates that being present during such an incident may result in posttraumatic stress reactions and associated emotional, psychological, and physical consequences (Leymann, 1988). This, of course, may translate into the same medical, psychiatric, disability, absenteeism, turnover, and legal costs identified in the previous paragraph.

In considering the direct and indirect impact of workplace violence, and the numerous consequences that flow from those acts, it is difficult to establish reliable data on the financial costs to organizations. However, the data that do exist suggest that the costs are particularly high. Using data from the National Crime Victimization Survey, administered by the United States Department of Justice, Bachman (1994) calculated the annual cost of workplace violence for 1987–1992. During that period, workplace violence involving rape, robbery, and simple and aggravated assault (excluding homicide) resulted in 500,000 employees missing a total of 1,751,000 days of work—an average of 3.5 days per crime. At the time, this translated into lost wages exceeding \$55 million dollars annually (not including days covered by sick days or annual leave). The Bureau of Labor Statistics arrived at similar estimates (Toscano & Weber, 1995). In that study, actions such as “hitting and kicking” resulted in an average of 5 days of lost work time for victims.

With respect to the financial impact of workplace homicide, the shootings at the Elgar and General Dynamics Corporations (discussed earlier in this chapter) may prove instructive. In the case of Elgar, in which Larry Hansel killed two executives, the costs to Elgar were estimated at \$400,000—beyond costs covered by insurance—and an additional \$100,000 annually for increased workers' compensation premiums. The incident at General Dynamics Corporation, in which Robert Earl Mack shot and killed a company labor negotiator and wounded a former supervisor, the costs exceeded \$1.2 million dollars (Bulatao & VandenBos, 1996). Beyond the direct and indirect costs associated with an incident, there may be potential costs associated with a loss of customers or suppliers resulting from a poor public relations image.

Individual and Organizational Costs Associated with Nonphysical (Psychological) Aggression

As noted in the preceding section, merely being present during an armed robbery can result in emotional, psychological, and physical damage to bystanders (Leymann, 1988). The operational mechanism linking exposure to violence with health-harming consequences is best understood as a stressor-stress-strain process (Cooper, Dewe, & O'Driscoll, 2001; Jex & Beehr, 1991). A job *stressor* is a condition or situation that requires an adaptive response on the part of the employee, and *stress* is an emotional or physiological reaction to the stressor. The outcome of the

stress reaction is *strain*—psychological, physical, and behavioral reactions. Psychological reactions may include, but are not limited to, anger, anxiety, and frustration. Physical reactions may involve an array of symptoms (e.g., dizziness, headache, stomach distress, and heart palpitations) and behavioral reactions (e.g., accidents, excessive smoking, substance abuse, voluntary turnover, and even suicide).

While being subjected (or in close proximity) to physical violence is an obvious stressor, the experience of persistent aggression in work settings has been found to be a substantial work-related stressor. Research demonstrates that victims of such chronic harassment experience increased levels of stress, anxiety, fear, depression, lowered self-confidence, and, in extreme cases, posttraumatic stress responses (Vartia, 2001). Lest you think that the consequences are only psychological, abusive workplace behavior has been associated with increases in ambulatory blood pressure (Wager, Fieldman, & Hussey, 2001, 2003), sleep disturbances (Niedhammer, David, Degioanni, Drummond, & Philip, 2009), gastrointestinal disturbances, and even suicide (Leymann, 1990; Roland, 2002). Importantly, these consequences are not confined to the victims of workplace aggression but extend to bystanders who witness such workplace harassment. Research demonstrates that witnesses are at increased risk for depression, fear and anxiety, guilt, and insecurity (Vartia, 2001).

In addition to the individual consequences that result from workplace bullying, there are substantial costs to organizations as well. For example, workplace bullying, aggression, incivility, and abusive supervision have been linked to lower levels of organizational citizenship behavior, absenteeism, and voluntary employee turnover (Di Martino, 2002; Djurkovic, McCormack, & Casimir, 2004, 2008; Everton, Jolton, & Mastrangelo, 2007; Yandrick, 1999). In attempting to establish the financial costs of workplace bullying, Rayner and Keashly (2005) drew from studies conducted in the United Kingdom. Two of those studies revealed that 25% of targets of bullying and 20% of witnesses leave their organizations. Assuming a 15% average rate of bullying (a rather conservative figure), and the average replacement costs for personnel, an organization of 1,000 staff can expect 150 to report being bullied. If 25% of the bullied leave, and the replacement cost is estimated at \$20,000, the cost is \$750,000. If one conservatively estimates that for every one of these events there are two witnesses and 20% of them leave, that bill alone is \$1.2 million (Rayner & Keashly, 2005).

Recently, Robert Sutton (2007) estimated the average annual costs of workplace aggression in *Fortune 500* firms. He estimated annual costs of \$16,213,750 associated with replacement costs (turnover and talent drain), \$8,004,686 for lost productivity (associated with only a 2% drop in productivity), \$225,000–\$1.4 million in litigation settlements, and \$114,600 in disability claims (associated with one manager and three employees, 159 days on average for 18% of the cases involve bullying). In another analysis, Sutton (2007) described an organization's efforts to estimate the cost of a well-known abusive employee—given to temper tantrums and insulting demeaning behavior. The estimate included time and money spent as a result of his disruptive behavior, which included time spent by his direct manager (250 h), HR professionals (50 h), senior executives (15 h), outside employment counsel (10 h), and replacement costs for employees that quit in response to his behavior and overtime generated by his last minute demands, and anger management training and counseling. The financial cost associated with this one employee was estimated at \$160,000.

In addition, aggression often results in counteraggression—revenge and retaliation (Aquino, Tripp, & Bies, 2001; Barreca, 2010; Bies & Tripp, 1996, 1998, 2005; Bordia, Restubog, & Tang, 2008; Jones, 2004; McGregor, Hamm, & Kiley, 2007; Tripp, Bies, & Aquino, 2002) and sabotage (Ambrose, Seabright, & Schminke, 2002; Analoui, 1995; Giacalone, 1990; Giacalone, Riordan, & Rosenfeld, 1997). As if this was not enough, the presence of such workplace stressors increases the likelihood of displaced aggression against others (Barling, Dupré, & Kelloway, 2009; Marcus-Newhall, Pedersen, & Miller, 2000; Neuman & Baron, 2011). Also, consistent

with the title of this chapter, hostile work cultures and climates may damage an organization's reputation among potential hires as well as customers/clients.

As suggested by these data, nonphysical forms of workplace aggression and related behaviors pose a significant threat to the quality of work life.

Ethical Dilemmas Associated with Workplace Violence and Aggression

According to Milton Friedman (1970), the social responsibility of business is to increase its profits. While there is a growing recognition in the business community that organizations have a broader responsibility to behave ethically and contribute to the quality of life of our workers, their families, local communities, and society at large, there is still a widespread belief in the "Friedman Doctrine." This is especially true given the tough economic climate that currently exists. Evidence of this mentality can be found in book titles, such as *Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun* (Roberts, 1987) and *Machiavelli on Management: Playing and Winning the Power Game* (Griffin, 1991). The Machiavellian dictum that it is better to be feared than loved, and that the ends justify the means (or in the case of aggression and bullying, justify the *meanness*), has been widely embraced in contemporary work settings (e.g., Bing, 2002; Drory & Gluskinos, 1980; Griffin, 1991). Executives brag about their toughness in "ruling with an iron fist," "slash-and-burn" management tactics, and the benefits of intimidation in today's leaner and meaner work settings (Daniel, 2009; Downs, 1995; Dunlap & Andelman, 1997; Kramer, 2006; Labich & Ehrenfeld, 1992; Lousiest bosses, 1995). Despite research evidence that calls many of these tactics into question (Cascio, 1993, 2003; Cascio & Wynn, 2004; Cascio, Young, & Morris, 1997), as well as the costs associated with workplace aggression and bullying identified in the previous section, business leaders often believe that they are successful *because of* the heavy-handed tactics they employ rather than considering that they have been successful *in spite of* those tactics.

While the debate rages on as to whether or not corporate social responsibility is associated with organizational performance and profitability (Aupperle, Carroll, & Hatfield, 1985; McGuire, Sundgren, & Schneeweis, 1988), there are legal, ethical, and humanitarian concerns. Although many of the behaviors subsumed under the heading of workplace aggression are not illegal, there are many exceptions to this rule. For example, physical violence and the threat of bodily harm are, in fact, illegal. So too are instances of sexual assault, threats to employment status based on sexual favors (*quid pro quo* harassment), and behaviors that contribute to a hostile work environment. Furthermore, generalized workplace harassment, in the form of disparate treatment and discrimination, may be covered under various acts codified in civil rights legislation. As relates to nonphysical forms of workplace bullying and aggression, lawsuits (both successful and unsuccessful) have been filed by plaintiffs using a number of legal theories, including Intentional Infliction of Emotional Distress, Worker's Compensation, Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, American's with Disabilities Act, National Labor Relations Act, and the Occupational Safety and Health Act (for examples, see Yamada, 2000, 2003, 2004). Whether these cases were prosecuted successfully or not, organizations have to defend themselves at substantial cost. In more humanistic terms, the Occupational Safety and Health Act was created to "assure so far as possible every working man and woman in the Nation safe and healthful working conditions and to preserve our human resources" (Occupational Safety and Health Administration, 1970).

In more practical terms, unethical behavior can be the cause and consequence of workplace aggression and bullying. By definition, unethical behavior involves actions not conforming to approved standards of social or professional conduct. For instances, "ends-justify-the-means"

behavior often involves the use of intimidation and coercion, the essence of interpersonal aggression (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994). When this behavior is modeled by leadership in organizations, employees quickly learn (through a social learning process) that engaging in such behavior may be useful in obtaining valued outcomes (Neuman & Baron, 2005, 2011). As a consequence, the actions of aggressors often violate important social norms resulting in revenge and retaliation by aggrieved targets (Cropanzano, Goldman, & Folger, 2003; Folger & Skarlicki, 2005).

As I will discuss in the next section, ethical considerations also come into play in the prevention and management of workplace aggression, bullying, and violence.

Responses to Violence and Aggression: So What Do We Do?

The effective prevention and management of workplace aggression and violence, perpetrated by organizational insiders and outsiders, must be addressed systemically. This begins with a “risk” or “security” audit to assess the nature and level of risk associated with each work setting, along with the resources available for managing the risks and responding to any problems that occur. As relates to organizational insiders, proactive approaches include careful personnel screening and selection procedures, the crafting and implementation of workplace violence/aggression policies, the creation of respectful cultures and climates, the provision of employee support and assistance, and the humane treatment of employees during organizational exit (instances of voluntary and involuntary turnover).

Risk Audit

As suggested by Braverman (1999), a workplace violence risk audit includes three components. First, the identification of employee opinions, fears, and concerns as relates to system issues, safety and security, and labor-management relations. Such information can be collected by means of anonymous online or paper-and-pencil surveys, structured interviews, focus groups, and brainstorming sessions. Second, the audit should include a review of past experiences with aggression, violence, and interpersonal conflict. Some of this information may be available in archival data (e.g., personnel data, Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) discrimination claims, Office of Worker’s Compensation Program (OWCP) reports/claims, formal grievance procedures, incident reports, police reports, insurance claims, arbitration hearings, and employee assistance program (EAP) data). In these analyses, attempts should be made to review documentation and interview individuals to (1) understand how the episodes began, (2) determine whether or not warning signs were available and attended to, and (3) review how the organization responded. This information should then be used to improve workplace violence and aggression policies, practices, and procedures. Finally, based on these data, there should be a thorough review of existing policies and systems as relates to the prevention and management of aggression and violence.

In addition, there are a number of useful questions that should be asked as part of the audit process (National Institute for the Prevention of Workplace Violence, n.d.). Does the organization have a threat assessment team and management-level contact person? Does the organization have a workplace violence policy, and are there provisions for addressing nonphysical forms of workplace aggression and bullying? Are there clearly defined implementation procedures? Have employees and managers been trained in violence and aggression prevention? In more general terms, is there adequate training in conflict management and defusing potentially

violent episodes? With regard to risk audits, one must be aware that threats can come from organizational insiders or organizational outsiders (as in the case of armed robberies). With respect to organizational outsiders, increased risk is associated with contact with the public; exchange of money; delivery of passengers, goods, or services; having a mobile workplace such as a taxicab or police cruiser; working with unstable or volatile persons in healthcare, social service, or criminal justice settings; working alone or in small numbers; working late at night or during early morning hours; working in high-crime areas; guarding valuable property or possessions; and working in community-based settings.

Related to risk audits, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) produced a DVD on workplace violence prevention based on years of empirical research (NIOSH, 2004). As part of a prevention strategy, which focuses on violence perpetrated by organizational outsiders (criminals), they have identified three areas of concern: (1) environmental design, (2) administrative controls, and (3) behavioral strategies.

Environmental Design

This involves factors such as cash-handling policies in retail settings. For example, using locked cash drop safes, carrying small amounts of cash, posting signs noting that limited cash is available, or the use of cashless (i.e., credit or debit card) transactions. Obviously, these practices remove the cash incentive that serves as the motive for robbery. Other environmental approaches include the physical separation of workers from customers (barriers or high counters); improved visibility and lighting; controlling access to entrances and exits with panic bars, key cards, or push-button door locks; and the use of video cameras, GPS tracking devices and bulletproof partitions (in taxicabs), and other security hardware. In the case of police officers, this would include the use of body armor (i.e., bulletproof vests).

Administrative Controls

These controls include ensuring adequate staffing through a careful planning process, implementation of specific work practices (such as escorting patients and prohibiting unsupervised movement within and between clinic areas), the use of security guards or receptionists to screen persons entering the workplace, and controlling access to actual work areas. Also, thought should be given to staffing patterns during the opening and closing of establishments and during money drops and pickups, policies and procedures for assessing and reporting threats and violent incidents. These policies should also include guidance on recognizing the potential for violence, methods for defusing or de-escalating potentially violent situations, and instruction about the use of security devices and protective equipment. Procedures for obtaining medical care and psychological support following violent incidents should also be addressed. Training and education efforts are clearly needed to accompany such policies.

Behavioral Strategies

These approaches involve training employees in alternatives to violence, conflict management, and resolution techniques as well as training in specific hazards that might be associated with particular tasks or worksites. As noted previously, training should be a component in a comprehensive approach to reducing workplace aggression and violence as well as being a component of any risk audit performed by the organization (NIOSH, 1996).

Threat Assessment

While the security audit explores general risks confronting an organization, and the capacity of the organization to deal with those risks, mechanisms are also needed to identify and evaluate *specific threats* to individuals and organizations from known organizational insiders and outsiders. With regard to outsiders, these would include former employees (especially those who might hold a grudge) as well as problematic customers, clients, patients, or students.

There has been a significant amount of work in the threat assessment area, especially as relates to school settings. In particular, the Critical Incident Response Group (CIRG), National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC), at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, has developed a comprehensive threat assessment strategy (O'Toole, 2000). The core of this approach involves recognition that all threats are not equal and that understanding the motive for violence is a key element in evaluating any threat. While the motives for workplace shootings and school shootings will differ across settings, the four-pronged threat assessment model proposed by NCAVC may prove useful in a variety of contexts. This involves consideration of (1) the personality of the perpetrator, (2) his/her family dynamics, (3) workplace dynamics, and (4) social dynamics. In addition, a threat assessment considers the nature of the threat. For example, a *direct threat* identifies a specific act against a specific target and is delivered in a straightforward, clear, and explicit manner (e.g., "I am going to burn your house to the ground"). An *indirect threat* tends to be vague and unclear (e.g., "if I wanted to, I could kill everyone in this office"). A *veiled threat* is one that implies but does not explicitly threaten violence (e.g., "everyone would be better off without you here"). A *conditional threat* warns that violence will occur unless certain demands are met (e.g., "if you don't give me that promotion, I will get you").

Related to this, one must assess the level of risk associated with a threat. A *low-level* threat poses minimal risk and generally involves threats that are vague, indirect, implausible, lack detail, or contain content that suggests that the perpetrator is unlikely to carry out the threat. A *medium-level* threat could be carried out but is not entirely realistic. These involve threats that suggest that the person has not taken the preparatory steps necessary to carry out the threat. *High-level* threats are direct, specific, and plausible, and there is evidence that the perpetrators have taken concrete steps to carry out the threat (bought a weapon, began practicing with the weapon, has been tracking the movements of the target, etc.). Obviously, threat assessments should be done by trained professionals possessing extensive experience in this area. Importantly, as suggested by the four-pronged NCAVC approach, collecting and assessing the motives and threats involves a comprehensive process and analysis (for example, see Deisinger, Randazzo, O'Neill, & Savage, 2008).

While the previous discussion focused on organizational insiders and outsiders, the next section deals exclusively with job candidates and current employees.

Personnel Selection

As psychologists argue, most human behavior is *overdetermined*—meaning, behavior is driven by a range of social, situational, and personal factors (Maslow, 1954; Pinder, 2008). Therefore, there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between social and situational stimuli and individual reactions. Just because an individual reacts aggressively to a perceived injustice does not suggest that the injustice "caused" the hostile reaction. It is quite

possible that the injustice was the culminating event in a series of frustrating situations. In short, that single event may be “the straw that broke the camel’s back.” However, there is substantial empirical evidence demonstrating that individuals differ substantially in their propensity to aggress. While some respond mildly to even strong provocation, others react with strong emotions and overt aggression to even seemingly mild forms of annoyance (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Toch, 1992). This is best captured by a “popcorn metaphor” of employee aggression (Folger & Skarlicki, 1998). As the analogy goes, when making popcorn, some kernels pop very early in the process, some only pop when heat has been applied for a prolonged period of time, and some kernels never pop. For those employees (kernels) that are more likely to aggress (pop) in response to mild forms of annoyance (heat), the best time to identify them is before they are hired.

Personnel Screening

The use of background data as a predictor of on-the-job performance has had a long history in employment settings (McDaniel, 1989; Owens, 1976), and workplace violence researchers have suggested employing this strategy in screening for violence-prone employees (Anfuso, 1994; DiLorenzo & Carroll, 1995; Slora, Joy, Jones, & Terris, 1991; Slora, Joy, & Terris, 1991). The purpose of this type of investigation is not to uncover a single, minor indiscretion in the applicant’s past; rather, it is an attempt to uncover a pattern of aggressive behavior (e.g., convictions for crimes of violence, domestic abuse, or workplace threats and/or assaults). Many organizations contract with firms that specialize in this type of investigation (Anfuso, 1994), and even the most casual inspection of the Internet will reveal an abundance of sources for background information. In fact, entering the search term “background investigation” in Google just returned 521,000 hits.

Part of the screening process involves interviews of personal references and previous employers. While the accuracy of information obtained from personal references provided by prospective employees is often questionable, screeners often attempt to obtain secondary references in this process. This involves asking primary references to provide the names and contact information for others who are in a position to evaluate the applicant. With respect to previous employers, you might suspect that they would be reluctant to provide any negative information, for legal reasons. While this concern is justified, employers may have a “duty to warn” prospective employers if they believe that the employee presents a substantial risk to others. There is evidence to suggest that “negligent referral” cases are on the rise, in which employers provided letters of recommendations when they knew that a potential danger existed. In one such case, three school districts, while having knowledge of sexual abuse complaints, provided recommendation letters, and a 13-year-old child was later molested by that individual (Rumberger Kirk & Caldwell, 2008). Even if employers are reluctant to provide such information, they often communicate their concerns by providing unenthusiastic support—in essence, damning the candidate with faint praise.

Returning for a moment to the discussion of ethics, one might consider the moral dilemma in withholding important—possibly lifesaving information—from others. At the same time, one must be careful not to damage the job candidate based on innuendo and unsupported allegations. For those employers considering such action, you must ensure that the information is accurate, precise, complete, and well documented, and this is no guarantee against litigation. In those instances in which employers believe that an individual poses a serious risk of harm to others, they should seek legal advice and develop a plan of action for handling the matter (Rumberger Kirk & Caldwell, 2008).

Pre-employment Testing

Even, when successful, background investigations and reference checks are only able to identify those persons who have engaged in overtly aggressive acts or those who have been apprehended and prosecuted for violence. For these reasons, some organizations have turned to other screening devices. For example, scales designed to assess a person's predisposition to engage in violent on-the-job activities are included in some personnel selection batteries (Slora, Joy, Jones et al., 1991). A version of the London House Personnel Selection Inventory (PSI, London House, 1980) contains scales that measure propensity toward physical assault, intentional damage and waste, and hostile customer relations. The Personnel Decisions Employment Inventory (Personnel Decisions Incorporated, 1985) contains scales that measure trouble with authority, hostility, and thrill seeking, and the Reliability Scale of the Hogan Personnel Selection Series (Hogan & Hogan, 1986, 1989; Hogan, Michel, & Walker, 1996) measures hostility to authority, thrill seeking, and social insensitivity.

Another method for identifying potentially aggressive employees is through carefully structured job interviews. In addition to questions designed to assess an applicant's job-related knowledge, skills, and abilities, attempts should be made to assess dispositional characteristics. For example, since perceptions of injustice are so strongly linked to aggression (Neuman, 2004), it may be useful to ask every applicant a series of questions designed to assess whether he/she has ever been treated unfairly and how he/she responded to this unfair treatment. Indications of continuous unfair treatment ("everyone is out to get me") or confrontational/aggressive responses to perceptions of unfair treatment may suggest cause for concern. A similar interview strategy involves the use of situational interviews in which the candidate is asked how he or she would deal with a particular work-related (potentially frustrating) situation, paying particular attention to comments that endorse (even brag about) hostile and aggressive responses.

Again, there are ethical and legal considerations associated with such pre-employment testing. First, many of these approaches have not been validated for use in personnel selection. Courts have ruled that selection devices must be validated in terms of their ability to accurately measure job-related factors, especially as relates to civil rights protections (U.S. Department of Labor, 1999). Second, just because psychological testing may suggest that an individual has a certain dispositional characteristics does not mean that they will engage in disruptive or harmful behavior. As a reminder, most human behavior is determined by multiple factors. Third, both legal and ethical principles suggest that we do not punish people for crimes they have not yet committed. Nor should we necessarily close them out of employment and developmental opportunities. In short, there must be a preponderance of evidence, or high threshold of concern, before denying someone an opportunity for employment—assuming they possess the requisite knowledge, skill, and ability for success on-the-job.

Workplace Aggression and Violence Policies and Practices

In the aftermath of major incidence of violence in work and school settings, the public response is understandable—a significant and immediate push for *zero tolerance* policies against violence. As the name implies, these policies are enforced for the violation of any covered rule without exception. While the motivations for such policies are understandable, the implementation of these policies has often been problematic. For example, a 16-year-old high school honors student was expelled for having a butter knife in his truck (Price, 2002), and a 6-year-old boy was suspended from school for eating lunch with a camping utensil that he had just gotten for joining Cub Scouts (Urbina, 2009). Unfortunately, zero tolerance often means zero thinking.

If policies are to be effective, they should include clear guidelines and provide for due process. Fortunately, a good model for this already exists in the sexual harassment domain. Drawing on such guidelines, we believe that it is useful to have, in place, a policy that addresses both workplace violence and aggression. This would cover both physical and nonphysical forms of aggression previously discussed in this chapter. Such policies should state the organization's commitment to a safe and secure workplace and express its stand against unacceptable conduct. Unacceptable conduct should be carefully defined, and examples of these behaviors should be provided. Further, the organization should describe how the policy will be enforced and explain the reporting procedures (individuals and departments within the organization that will handle complaints). The policy should ensure that investigations will be handled in a confidential manner and that everyone is entitled to due process and will be protected from retaliation. Finally, the consequence for violating the policy should be clearly indicated. An interesting perspective on drafting policies on workplace bullying (including mobbing, emotional abuse, and psychological violence) is proposed by Westhues (2007). In this article, Westhues provides two side-by-side alternatives offering two different perspectives accentuating workplace dignity and workplace aggression.

Organizational Culture and Climate

Organizational culture and climate have an enormous impact in shaping behavior. Boye and Jones (1997) suggest that modifying several elements of organizational climate can help reduce aggression. Some of their suggestions include: (a) setting an example (climate of honesty displayed by leadership); (b) treating employees with trust, respect, and dignity; (c) providing adequate compensation; (d) communicating a policy concerning counterproductive behavior; (e) consistently punishing unacceptable behavior; and (f) reducing job stress. As noted previously, perceptions of unfair treatment, anxiety, fear, stress, and frustration are all well-known antecedents to, and consequences of, interpersonal aggression. Consequently, assessing the degree to which these factors are perceived to exist (by means of surveys, speak-up programs, and other feedback mechanisms) can prove helpful in addressing the potential causes and consequences of aggression and violence.

Employee Support

Related to culture and climate, perceptions of organizational support have been shown to reduce aggression and other counterproductive behaviors, increase organizational commitment, and have a positive impact on health (Bilgel, Aytac, & Bayram, 2006; Chen, Eisenberger, Johnson, Sucharski, & Aselage, 2009; Djurkovic et al., 2008; Eisenberger, Fasolo, & Davis-LaMastro, 1990; Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986; Schat & Kelloway, 2003). In part, perceived organizational support involves the degree to which employees perceive they are valued by the organization, that the organization is sensitive to their needs, supportive in times of trouble, and concerned with their satisfaction and development (Eisenberger et al., 1986). This type of support is demonstrated in supportive and empathic leadership behavior, family friendly policies, organizational socialization and mentoring practices, opportunities for training and development, open-door policies, flexible benefits, and employee assistance programs. Recently, research has begun to focus on organizational compassion, sensitive treatment in times of difficulty or trauma (Dutton, Frost, Worline, Lilius, & Kanov, 2002; Lilius et al., 2008; Solomon, 1998).

As suggested by the research on reciprocity (Becker, 1956; Gouldner, 1960), individuals are likely to reciprocate the kinds of behavior they experience—either positive or negative (Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007; Neuman, 2000).

Employee Termination

Forced terminations are extremely stressful events for those being discharged, those who must conduct the dismissals, and those left behind. While terminations for economic or disciplinary reasons are often necessary, organizations should give careful consideration to alternatives to downsizing (Anfuso, 1996) and the procedures they employ when reductions in force are unavoidable. Consideration must also be given to the individuals being terminated, with respect to their potential for violence. Should this potential exist, healthcare professionals and security personnel should be consulted.

As noted previously, employees must be treated with respect and dignity, especially during a time when their dignity is being so severely threatened. In the case of planned downsizings and layoffs, many organizations have committed significant resources in an effort to help employees with outplacement, counseling, and a period of salary and healthcare continuation. Not only is this beneficial for departing employees but also those remaining behind—the “survivors.” Evidence suggests that during reductions in force, survivors carefully observe how layoff victims were treated (Brockner et al., 1997). To the extent that this is true, unfair treatment may result in widespread anxiety, discontent, anger, and, potentially, increased levels of aggression (Greenberg & Alge, 1998; Tahmincioglu, 2001). In an effort to reduce stress for layoff victims and restore some sense of control, some organizations have allowed employees to select their own date of departure—within a specific period of time. For example, when eBay reduced its global workforce by 10%, they allowed their departing employees to remain for up to 4 weeks (Cascio, n.d.).

Workplace Aggression and Bullying Initiatives

As noted previously, the causes of aggression and violence are a complex mix of social, situational, and dispositional factors. Consequently, the management and prevention of aggression and bullying calls for a comprehensive and systemic approach employing many of the strategies outlined above. Similar to the case that I made for personnel screening (i.e., identifying potentially dangerous individuals before they are hired), research suggests that it is important to address relatively minor forms of aggression before they escalate into more serious instances of bullying and violence (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Felson & Steadman, 1983; Zapf & Gross, 2001). Ideally, we could work toward the creation of a civil and respectful work environment in which individuals are valued, treated with dignity and respect, and the sources of stress, frustration, and injustice are identified and addressed. While this may seem excessively optimistic, there are numerous examples of organizations where this work climate is a reality (Dutton, 2003; Sirota, Mischkind, & Meltzer, 2005).

In part, building such an organization involves the implementation of a major culture change initiative—one focused on changing the way individuals behave toward one another in day-to-day interaction. Since the nature of those interactions varies significantly across work settings (industry sector, job, organizational structure, etc.), a “one-size-fits-all” approach is not likely to be effective. In the words of Peters and Waterman (1982), the initiative is best characterized as being simultaneously loose and tight. That is, the overall *process* must be structured (tight), but

the *applications* must vary (be loose) in order to address a variety of issues across different work settings and organizational realities. An example of this type of initiative can be found in a 5-year project within the United States Department of Veterans Affairs (VA).

The Collaborative Action Inquiry (CAI) Process

The Workplace Stress and Aggression (WSA) Project within VA involved the use of participative action learning (Yorks, O'Neil, & Marsick, 1999) and action research (Argyris & Schön, 1993) techniques that my colleagues and I refer to as *Collaborative Action Inquiry* (for more detail, see Keashly & Neuman, 2009a; Neuman, 2004; Yorks, Neuman, Kowalski, & Kowalski, 2007). In response to a question from one VA employee who asked, "What exactly are you trying to do here?" Our answer was, "We are trying to make VA a better place to work." In more academic language, our efforts were focused on improving the quality of work life.

The use of "action teams" within each organization or work unit is central to our process. The selection of team members is based on the following criteria. First, individuals must be representative of the organization or work unit (including management, labor, and unions, if applicable). That is, the composition of the team must reflect the composition of the worksite in which the intervention is being implemented. Second, the members of the action team must have credibility within the organization. These are individuals who are valued and considered trustworthy. Fourth, these individuals must possess good communications skills, demonstrate a commitment to learning, and have a track record of success. Once formed, these teams are then trained in data collection techniques; data analysis and interpretation; action research and action learning (discussed below); the design, implementation, and evaluation of interventions; the dissemination of their findings; and the ongoing use of cycles of action and reflection (Kowalski, Harmon, Yorks, & Kowalski, 2003).

The use of action teams familiar with the organization, its challenges, and its people allows the process to be customized to address issues as they are being experienced "on the ground." In addition to the training that the teams receive in the CAI process, additional training is provided on the nature and causes of aggression and violence. This is done in an effort to sensitize these individuals to both overt and covert forms of aggression and bullying. Then, the action teams (working with consultants expert in issues related to workplace aggression and violence and conflict management) begin to collect data on issues of local importance. This involves the administration of a questionnaire designed to assess the nature, prevalence, and potential causes of aggression, organizational climate and culture, employee attitudes, and demographic data. In addition, specific items of concern may be included in this questionnaire as well. For example, one facility perceived that there was a climate of fear in particular work units, and so a "climate of fear" scale was integrated into the instrument. In another facility, issues related to "favoritism" were included as this was viewed as a serious problem. In short, the survey instrument employs core items that allow us to identify the overall nature of aggression, the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim (e.g., supervisor, coworker, subordinate, customer, client, and student), and the degree to which individuals experience a range of verbal, physical, active, passive, direct, and indirect forms of aggression, violence, and bullying. The questionnaire data serve as a baseline measure of workplace aggression and violence, culture/climate, and employee attitudes on a range of issues.

Our culture change initiative makes extensive use of action learning tools and techniques (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Senge, 1990; Senge, Kleiner, Roberts, Ross, & Smith, 1994). In particular, team members are taught how to (1) test their tacit assumptions, (2) assess their level of confidence in their own knowledge, and (3) reflect on what they say, think, and do. For example, in describing what they called the ladder of inference, Argyris & Schön (1974, 1993) point out

that individuals (a) filter information in order to simplify life, (b) choose data to “see,” (c) add meanings to these data based on personal experience, (d) make assumptions based on those meanings, (e) draw conclusions, (f) adopt beliefs, and then (g) act on those beliefs. Unfortunately, we often “jump up the ladder,” moving quickly from assumptions to actions without questioning those assumptions or being influenced by the data we chose (consciously or unconsciously) to ignore. This is particularly dangerous as relates to interpersonal aggression in work settings. When experiencing an adverse outcome, individuals seem predisposed toward making a hostile attribution for the cause of that outcome—even when no malice exists (Dodge, Price, Bachorowski, & Newman, 1990; Kramer, 1994). Teaching people techniques to surface and test those assumptions can be extremely useful in reducing the likelihood of aggression. In short, we must act on accurate and complete information, which brings me to another important element in our process. It is based on evidence-based management—“...using better, deeper logic and employing facts, to the extent possible, permits leaders to do their jobs more effectively” (Pfeffer & Sutton, 2006, p. 74). We would extend this to all individuals in work settings, not just leaders.

Our process is data-driven and reflexive in nature; that is, people are taught to reflect on their thinking, the data supporting that thinking, and the actions that they have taken or are planning to take in the future. They are taught how to use this approach in their daily interactions with individuals and groups. Most importantly, our action team members (and consultants) model the behaviors that they expect from others. Standards of conduct are established (team charters) and enforced by the teams. That is, we hold each other accountable to (and for) other people. When peers observe violations of these standards, they intercede on behalf of the targets of inappropriate behavior. Related to this, training is provided on how to intervene effectively (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Keashly & Neuman, 2009b).

With regard to the establishment of standards of conduct, each organization or work unit identifies important governing values and defines what civility, respect, and fair treatment should look like in their work settings. Then, measures are created to assess the extent to which these values are being enacted and this begins an iterative process of action and reflection. As an outgrowth of our work, VA designed and implemented a program that they call the CREW initiative—Civility, Respect, and Engagement in the Workplace (Belton & Dyrenforth, 2007; Levine, 2008; Osatuke, Ward, Dyrenforth, & Belton, 2007, 2009), and there has been a recent rollout of this initiative in Canada (Centre for Organizational Research and Development, n.d.). Evidence collected over the past 5 years suggests that the process reduces instances of aggression and violence in a variety of work settings.

Two other aspects of the CAI process are important. First, as an evidence-based (data-driven) process, interventions are created to address specific problems based on quantitative and qualitative organizational (or work unit) data. After the interventions have been implemented, data are collected and analyzed to track the effectiveness of those interventions. Second, the initial and follow-up data are used to create a “business case” for action. As I described earlier in this chapter, this involves establishing the organizational costs associated with aggression and violence. This can be used to justify requests for both financial and nonfinancial support from leadership—a very important and practical consideration given our present economic circumstances. Third, this process can be employed across very different work settings. For example, when asked to define what civility and respect means, police, educators, nurses, retail clerks, and attorneys may have very different perspectives. Clarifying important values and then establishing criteria for measuring those values is critical in a culture change initiative. Finally, the use of action teams is the basis for an important grassroots, bottom-up, social learning process. The action team members share their tools, techniques, and findings with others in the organization.

Over time, the philosophy and applications described above diffuse throughout the organization, which leads me to a critical insight from this project. Our choice to use action teams and employ action learning/research tools and techniques was inspired by the observation that a

“one size fits all approach” was not likely to work. We were using these techniques simply as a way to train our teams to work effectively in their search for effective interventions. In short, the teams were the *process* that we were using to find the *products* (the interventions) we needed. In a somewhat belated epiphany, we came to realize that the process *was* the product. We were, in fact, changing the nature of the interactions that people were having with each other, reducing interpersonal aggression and improving the quality of work life.

Concluding Comments

I opened this chapter by describing a press conference in which Mr. Joseph Califano, chair of the United States Postal Commission on a Safe and Secure Workplace, described the results of a 2-year study on workplace violence. The commission’s findings suggested that “going postal” was a myth and that postal workers were no more likely to physically assault, sexually harass, or verbally abuse their coworkers than employees in the national workforce. As I have documented throughout this chapter, this is hardly a reason to rejoice. Aggression and violence are all too common in work and nonwork settings in the United States and abroad.

After describing the nature and prevalence of workplace homicide and nonfatal physical assault, I expanded the discussion to less dramatic but more frequent acts of interpersonal aggression. I demonstrated that these more covert forms of harm-doing pose serious consequences to individuals and organizations and described a number of underlying causes for these behaviors and various strategies for the prevention and management of disruptive behavior. As research on workplace aggression and violence has been substantial over the past 20 years, complete coverage of each area is not possible, and so I have included numerous references for those interested readers.

In conclusion, although workplace homicide statistics have been trending downward for the past 12–13 years, there is no assurance that this will continue. Nor does this offer much solace, given the fact that incivility, interpersonal aggression, and workplace bullying are ubiquitous and, possibly, on the rise. As I sit here completing work on this chapter, two suicides related to bullying are in the news. Phoebe Prince, age 15, and Carl Joseph Walker-Hoover, age 11, apparently took their own lives after experiencing relentless bullying by other children. The public outrage sparked by these incidents prompted the unanimous approval of an anti-bullying bill by the Massachusetts House of Representatives (Abel, 2010). As usual, it takes highly publicized tragedies to prompt public and legislative action. But what about the countless lives that have been (or will be) shattered in work settings as a result of a similar phenomenon. As I described earlier, adult bullying and mobbing has been linked to suicide in work settings, and the true scope of this problem will never be known. And even in those instances in which suicide is not attempted, or successful, the human toll can be incalculable. If we spent more time and energy addressing quality of work life issues, it would have an enormously positive impact on organizational and personal bottom lines. We have the knowledge and tools to make this a reality. If we are able to muster the will, we would all be proud to have our companies on the news.

References

- Abel, D. (2010). *Bullying bill OK'd in House, 148 to 0: Advocates praise late changes in measure*. Retrieved March 22, 2010, from http://www.boston.com/news/education/k_12/articles/2010/03/19/bullying_bill_okd_in_house_148_to_0/
- Ambrose, M. L., Seabright, M. A., & Schminke, M. (2002). Sabotage in the workplace: The role of organizational injustice. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 89, 947–965.

- Analoui, F. (1995). Workplace sabotage: Its styles, motives and management. *The Journal of Management Development*, 14, 48–65.
- Andersson, L. M., & Pearson, C. (1999). Tit-for-tat? The spiraling effect of incivility in the workplace. *The Academy of Management Review*, 24, 452–471.
- Anfuso, D. (1994). Deflecting workplace violence. *The Personnel Journal*, 73, 66–77.
- Anfuso, D. (1996). Save jobs: Strategies to stop the layoffs. *The Personnel Journal*, 75, 66–69.
- Applebome, P. (1986, August 21). Mail carrier kills 14 in post office, then himself. *New York Times*, p. A1.
- Aquino, K., Tripp, T. M., & Bies, R. J. (2001). How employees respond to personal offense the effects of blame attribution, victim status, and offender status on revenge and reconciliation in the workplace. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 52–59.
- Argyris, C., & Schön, D. A. (1974). *Theory in practice: Increasing professional effectiveness*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Argyris, C., & Schön, D. A. (1978). *Organizational learning: A theory of action perspective*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.
- Argyris, C., & Schön, D. A. (1993). *Knowledge for action: A guide to overcoming barriers to organizational change*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Ashforth, B. (1994). Petty tyranny in organizations. *Human Relations*, 47, 755–777.
- Aupperle, K. E., Carroll, A. B., & Hatfield, J. D. (1985). An empirical examination of the relationship between corporate social responsibility and profitability. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 28, 446–463.
- Bachman, R. (1994, July). Violence and theft in the workplace. *Crime Data Brief: National Crime Victimization Survey*. Retrieved December 20, 2001, from <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/thefwork.pdf>
- Barling, J., Dupré, K. E., & Kelloway, E. K. (2009). Predicting workplace aggression and violence. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 671–692.
- Baron, R. A., & Neuman, J. H. (1996). Workplace violence and workplace aggression: Evidence on their relative frequency and potential causes. *Aggressive Behavior*, 22, 161–173.
- Baron, R. A., & Neuman, J. H. (1998). Workplace aggression—The iceberg beneath the tip of workplace violence: Evidence on its forms, frequency, and targets. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 21, 446–464.
- Baron, R. A., Neuman, J. H., & Geddes, D. (1999). Social and personal determinants of workplace aggression: Evidence for the impact of perceived injustice and the Type A behavior pattern. *Aggressive Behavior*, 25, 281–296.
- Baron, R. A., & Richardson, D. R. (1994). *Human aggression* (2nd ed.). New York: Plenum.
- Baron, S. A. (1993). *Violence in the workplace: A prevention and management guide for business*. Ventura, CA: Pathfinder Publishing.
- Barreca, R. (2010, January/February). Sweet revenge. *Psychology Today*, 43(1), 58–59.
- Becker, H. (1956). *Man in reciprocity*. New York: Praeger.
- Belton, L. W., & Dyrenforth, S. R. (2007, September/October). Civility in the workplace: Measuring the positive outcomes of a respectful work environment. *Healthcare Executive*, 22, 40–43.
- Berkowitz, L. (1965). The concept of aggressive drive: Some additional considerations. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 301–329). New York: Academic.
- Berkowitz, L. (1989). Frustration-aggression hypothesis: Examination and reformulation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106, 59–73.
- Berkowitz, L. (1993). *Aggression: Its causes, consequences, and control*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Bies, R. J., & Tripp, T. M. (1996). Beyond distrust: Getting even and the need for revenge. In R. M. Kramer & T. Tyler (Eds.), *Trust in organizations* (pp. 246–260). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bies, R. J., & Tripp, T. M. (1998, August). *Doing justice: The motivational dynamics of revenge*. In A. M. O’Leary-Kelly & D. P. Skarlicki Chairs (Ed.), *Advances in organizational justice theories: The motivation to engage in dysfunctional behavior*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Academy of Management, San Diego, CA.
- Bies, R. J., & Tripp, T. M. (2005). The study of revenge in the workplace: Conceptual, ideological, and empirical issues. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 65–82). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Bilgel, N., Aytac, S., & Bayram, N. (2006). Bullying in Turkish white-collar workers. *Occupational Medicine*, 56, 226–231.
- Bing, M. N., Stewart, S. M., Davison, H. K., Green, P. D., McIntyre, M. D., & James, L. R. (2007). An integrative typology of personality assessment for aggression: Implications for predicting counterproductive workplace behavior. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 722–744.
- Bing, S. (2002). *What would Machiavelli do? The ends justify the meanness*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Blosser, F. (1993). *NIOSH urges immediate action to prevent workplace homicide*. Retrieved October 25, 1993, from <http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/updates/94-101.html>

- Bordia, P., Restubog, S. L. D., & Tang, R. L. (2008). When employees strike back: Investigating mediating mechanisms between psychological contract breach and workplace deviance. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*, 1104–1117.
- Bowes-Sperry, L., & O’Leary-Kelly, A. M. (2005). To act or not to act: The dilemma faced by sexual harassment observers. *The Academy of Management Review, 30*, 288–306.
- Boye, M. W., & Jones, J. W. (1997). Organizational culture and employee counterproductivity. In R. Giacalone & J. Greenberg (Eds.), *Antisocial behavior in organizations* (pp. 172–184). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence. (n.d.). *Facts on workplace shootings*. Retrieved January 15, 2010, from <http://www.bradycampaign.org/xshare/pdf/facts/workplace-shootings.pdf>
- Brandt, G. T., & Brennan, J. M. (1993). Workplace time bombs can be defused. *Human Resource Professional, 6*, 10–12.
- Braverman, M. (1999). *Preventing workplace violence: A guide for employers and practitioners*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Brockner, J., Wiesenfeld, B., Stephan, J., Hurley, R., Grover, S. L., Reed, T., et al. (1997). The effects on layoff survivors of their fellow survivors’ reactions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 27*, 835–863.
- Bulatao, E. Q., & VandenBos, G. R. (1996). Workplace violence: Its scope and the issues. In G. R. VandenBos & E. Q. Bulatao (Eds.), *Violence on the job: Identifying risks and developing solutions* (pp. 1–23). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1998). *Special report: National Crime Victimization Survey, Workplace violence, 1992–96*. Retrieved July 25, 2002, from <http://www.ojp.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/wv96.pdf>
- Bureau of Labor Statistics. (1992). *National census of fatal occupational injuries*. Washington, DC: Author.
- C-SPAN. (2000). *Press conference: Report of the United States Postal Service Commission on a Safe and Secure Workplace*. Retrieved August 31, 2000, from <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/159027-1>
- Cal/OSHA Guidelines for Workplace Security. (1995). Retrieved March 30, 1995, from <http://www.dir.ca.gov/dosh/dosh%5Fpublications/worksecurity.html>
- Cascio, W. F. (1993). Downsizing: What do we know? What have we learned? *The Academy of Management Executive, 7*, 95–104.
- Cascio, W. F. (2003). Corporate restructuring and the no-layoff payoff. *Perspectives on Work, 7*(1), 4–6.
- Cascio, W. F. (n.d.). *SHRM Foundation executive briefing: Use and management of downsizing as a corporate strategy*. Retrieved March 30, 2010, from <http://www.shrm.org/about/foundation/products/Documents/609%20Exec%20Briefing-%20Downsizing%20FINAL.pdf>
- Cascio, W. F., & Wynn, P. (2004). Managing a downsizing process. *Human Resource Management, 43*, 425–436.
- Cascio, W. F., Young, C. E., & Morris, J. R. (1997). Financial consequences of employment-change decisions in major U.S. corporations. *The Academy of Management Journal, 40*, 1175–1189.
- Centre for Organizational Research and Development. (n.d.). *CREW Initiative*. Retrieved February 23, 2010, from <http://cord.acadiau.ca/ewc/crew.htm>
- Chen, Z., Eisenberger, R., Johnson, K. M., Sucharski, I. L., & Aselage, J. (2009). Perceived organizational support and extra-role performance: Which leads to which? *The Journal of Social Psychology, 149*, 119–124.
- Cooper, C. L., Dewe, P., & O’Driscoll, M. P. (2001). *Organizational stress: A review and critique of theory, research, and applications (foundations for organizational science)*. London: Sage.
- Cortina, L. M., Magley, V. J., Williams, J. H., & Langhout, R. D. (2001). Incivility in the workplace: Incidence and impact. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 6*, 64–80.
- Cropanzano, R., Goldman, B., & Folger, R. (2003). Deontic justice: The role of moral principles in workplace fairness. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 24*, 1019–1024.
- Daniel, T. A. (2009). Tough boss or workplace bully? *HRMagazine, 54*(6), 82–86.
- Deisinger, G., Randazzo, M., O’Neill, D., & Savage, J. (2008). *The handbook for campus threat assessment and management teams*. Stoneham, MA: Applied Risk Management.
- Di Martino, V. (2002). *Workplace violence in the health sector—Country case studies Brazil, Bulgaria, Lebanon, Portugal, South Africa, Thailand, plus an additional Australian study: Synthesis report*. Retrieved October 9, 2009, from http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/activities/workplace/WVsynthesisreport.pdf
- Dietz, J., & Gill, H. (2006). Community sources of workplace violence. In E. K. Kelloway, J. Barling, & J. J. Hurrell Jr. (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace violence* (pp. 331–349). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- DiLorenzo, L. P., & Carroll, D. J. (1995). Screening applicants for a safer workplace. *HRMagazine, 40*(3), 55–58.
- Djurkovic, N., McCormack, D., & Casimir, G. (2004). The physical and psychological effects of workplace bullying and their relationship to intention to leave: A test of the psychosomatic and disability hypotheses. *International Journal of Organization Theory and Behavior, 7*, 469–497.

- Djurkovic, N., McCormack, D., & Casimir, G. (2008). Workplace bullying and intention to leave: The moderating effect of perceived organizational support. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 18, 405–422.
- Dodge, K. A., Price, J. M., Bachorowski, J. A., & Newman, J. P. (1990). Hostile attributional biases in severely aggressive adolescents. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 99, 385–392.
- Dollard, J., Doob, L., Miller, N., Mowrer, O. H., & Sears, R. R. (1939). *Frustration and aggression*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Downs, A. (1995). *Corporate executions: The ugly truth about layoffs—How corporate greed is shattering lives, companies, and communities*. New York: American Management Association.
- Drory, A., & Gluskinos, U. M. (1980). Machiavellianism and leadership. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 65, 81–86.
- Duffy, M. K., Ganster, D. C., & Pagon, M. (2002). Social undermining in the workplace. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 45, 331–351.
- Dunlap, A. J., & Andelman, B. (1997). *Mean business: How I save bad companies and make good companies great*. New York: Fireside.
- Dutton, J. E. (2003). *Energize your workplace: How to create and sustain high-quality connections at work*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Dutton, J. E., Frost, P. J., Worline, M. C., Lilius, J. M., & Kanov, J. M. (2002). Leading in times of trauma. *Harvard Business Review*, 80, 54–61.
- Einarsen, S. (1996). *Bullying and harassment at work: Epidemiological and psychosocial aspects*. Bergen, Norway: University of Bergen.
- Einarsen, S. (1999). The nature and causes of bullying at work. *International Journal of Manpower*, 20, 16–27.
- Einarsen, S. (2000). Harassment and bullying at work: A review of the Scandinavian approach. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 5, 379–401.
- Einarsen, S., & Hoel, H. (2001, May). *The negative acts questionnaire: Development, validation and revision of a measure of bullying at work*. Paper presented at the meeting of the 9th European Congress of Work and Organizational Psychology, Prague.
- Einarsen, S., Hoel, H., & Notelaers, G. (2009). Measuring exposure to bullying and harassment at work: Validity, factor structure and psychometric properties of the negative acts questionnaire-revised. *Work and Stress*, 23, 24–44.
- Eisenberger, R., Fasolo, P., & Davis-LaMastro, V. (1990). Perceived organizational support and employee diligence, commitment, and innovation. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75, 51–59.
- Eisenberger, R., Huntington, R., Hutchison, S., & Sowa, D. (1986). Perceived organizational support. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71, 500–507.
- Everton, W. J., Jolton, J. A., & Mastrangelo, P. M. (2007). Be nice and fair or else: understanding reasons for employees' deviant behaviors. *The Journal of Management Development*, 26, 117–131.
- Farkas, S., & Johnson, J. L. (2002). *Aggravating circumstances: A status report on rudeness in America. A report from Public Agenda prepared for the Pew Charitable Trusts*. Retrieved March 10, 2009, from http://www.publicagenda.org/files/pdf/aggravating_circumstances.pdf
- Felson, R. B., & Steadman, H. J. (1983). Situational factors in disputes leading to criminal violence. *Criminology*, 21, 59–74.
- Filipczak, B. (1993, July). Armed and dangerous at work. *Training*, 30, 39–43.
- Folger, R., & Skarlicki, D. (1998). A popcorn metaphor for employee aggression. In R. W. Griffin, A. M. O'Leary-Kelly, & J. M. Collins (Eds.), *Dysfunctional behavior in organizations: Violent and deviant behavior* (Vol. 23, Part A, pp. 43–81). Stanford, CT: JAI Press.
- Folger, R., & Skarlicki, D. P. (2005). Beyond counterproductive work behavior: Moral emotions and deontic retaliation. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 83–105). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Fox, S., & Spector, P. E. (Eds.). (2005). *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Fox, S., Spector, P. E., & Miles, D. (2001). Counterproductive work behavior (CWB) in response to job stressors and organizational justice: Some mediator and moderator tests for autonomy and emotions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 59, 1–19.
- Friedman, M. (1970, September 13). A Friedman Doctrine: The social responsibility of business is to increase its profits. *The New York Times Magazine*, pp. 33, 122–124
- Geen, R. G. (1991). *Human aggression*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Giacalone, R. A. (1990, July). Employee sabotage: The enemy within. *Supervisory Management*, 35(7), 6–7.
- Giacalone, R. A., Riordan, C. A., & Rosenfeld, P. (1997). Employee sabotage: Toward a practitioner-scholar understanding. In R. A. Giacalone & J. Greenberg (Eds.), *Antisocial behavior in organizations* (pp. 109–129). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity. *American Sociological Review*, 25, 161–178.

- Greenberg, J., & Alge, B. J. (1998). Aggressive reactions to workplace injustice. In R. W. Griffin, A. M. O'Leary-Kelly, & J. M. Collins (Eds.), *Dysfunctional behavior in organizations: Violent and deviant behavior* (Vol. 23, Part A, pp. 83–117). Stamford, CT: JAI Press.
- Griffin, G. R. (1991). *Machiavelli on management: Playing and winning the corporate power game*. New York: Praeger.
- Hendricks, S. A., Jenkins, L. E., & Anderson, K. R. (2007). Trends in workplace homicides in the U.S., 1993–2002: A decade of decline. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine*, *50*, 316–325.
- Hoel, H., Cooper, C. L., & Faragher, B. (2001). The experience of bullying in Great Britain: The impact of organizational status. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *10*, 443–466.
- Hoel, H., Rayner, S., & Cooper, C. L. (1999). Workplace bullying. In C. L. Cooper & I. T. Robertson (Eds.), *International review of industrial and organizational psychology* (Vol. 14, pp. 195–229). New York: Wiley.
- Hogan, J., & Hogan, R. (1986). *Hogan personnel selection series manual*. Minneapolis, MN: National Computer Systems.
- Hogan, J., & Hogan, R. (1989). How to measure employee reliability. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *74*, 273–279.
- Hogan, J., Michel, R., & Walker, R. (1996, April). *Personality patterns and organizational deviance*. Paper presented at the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, San Diego, CA.
- Hollinger, R. D., & Clark, J. P. (1982). Formal and informal social controls of employee deviance. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *23*, 333–343.
- Hornstein, H. A. (1997). *Brutal bosses and their prey: How to identify and overcome abuse in the workplace*. New York: Riverhead Books.
- Huesmann, L. R. (Ed.). (1994). *Aggression: Current perspectives*. New York: Plenum.
- Jex, S. M., & Beehr, T. A. (1991). Emerging theoretical and methodological issues in the study of work-related stress. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, *9*, 311–365.
- Johnson, L. K. (2005, Winter). Managing corrosive customers: Strategies for mitigating the negative effects of nasty on-the-job encounters. *MIT Sloan Management Review*, *46*(2), 15.
- Jones, D. A. (2004). *Counterproductive work behavior toward supervisor & organizations: Injustice, revenge, & context*. Paper presented at the Academy of Management, New Orleans, LA.
- Keashly, L. (1998). Emotional abuse in the workplace: Conceptual and empirical issues. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, *1*, 85–117.
- Keashly, L. (2001). Interpersonal and systemic aspects of emotional abuse at work: The target's perspective. *Violence and Victims*, *16*, 233–268.
- Keashly, L., & Harvey, S. (2005). Emotional abuse in the workplace. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 201–236). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Keashly, L., & Neuman, J. H. (2009a). Building a constructive communication climate: The workplace stress and aggression project. In P. Lutgen-Sandvik & B. Sypher (Eds.), *Destructive organizational communication: Processes, consequences and constructive ways of organizing* (pp. 339–362). London: Routledge.
- Keashly, L., & Neuman, J. H. (2009b, November). *Building community to address workplace bullying: From research to practice in healthcare settings*. In P. L. Grubb Chair (Ed.), *Wounding our nurses while they nurse our wounds: Bullying in the nursing profession*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the APA-NIOSH Conference: Work, Stress, and Health 2009, Puerto Rico.
- Keashly, L., Trott, V., & MacLean, L. M. (1994). Abusive behavior in the workplace: A preliminary investigation. *Violence and Victims*, *9*, 341–357.
- Kern, J. H., & Grandey, A. A. (2009). Customer incivility as a social stressor: The role of race and racial identity for service employees. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *14*, 46–57.
- Kingma, M. (2001). Workplace violence in the health sector: A problem of epidemic proportion. *International Nursing Review*, *48*, 129–130.
- Kowalski, R., Harmon, J., Yorks, L., & Kowalski, D. (2003). Reducing workplace stress and aggression: An action research project at the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. *Human Resource Planning*, *26*, 39–53.
- Kramer, R. M. (1994). The sinister attribution error: Paranoid cognition and collective distrust in organizations. *Motivation and Emotion*, *18*, 199–230.
- Kramer, R. M. (2006). The great intimidators. *Harvard Business Review*, *84*, 88–96.
- Labich, K., & Ehrenfeld, T. (1992, April 20). The new crisis in business ethics. *Fortune*, *125*(8), 167–170.
- Lanza, M. L. (2006). Violence in nursing. In E. K. Kelloway, J. Barling, & J. J. Hurrell Jr. (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace violence* (pp. 147–167). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- LeBlanc, M. M., & Barling, J. (2005). Understanding the many faces of workplace violence. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 41–63). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

- Lehmann, L. S., McCormick, R. A., & Kizer, K. W. (1999). A survey of assaultive behavior in Veterans Health Administration Facilities. *Psychiatric Services, 50*, 384–389.
- Levine, H. (2008). A respectful workplace can improve your bottom line. *SmartAnswers for Fed Managers*. Retrieved May 12, 2008, from <http://www.smartfeds.com/MENTOR/splash.jsp>
- Leymann, H. (1988). Stress reactions after bank robberies: Psychological and psychosomatic reaction patterns. *Work and Stress, 2*, 123–132.
- Leymann, H. (1990). Mobbing and psychological terror at workplaces. *Violence and Victims, 5*, 119–126.
- Leymann, H. (1996). The content and development of mobbing at work. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 5*, 165–184.
- Lilius, J. M., Worline, M. C., Maitlis, S., Kanov, J., Dutton, J. E., & Frost, P. (2008). The contours and consequences of compassion at work. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 29*, 193–218.
- House, L. (1980). *Personnel selection inventory*. Park Ridge, IL: Author.
- Lousiest bosses. (1995, April 4). *Wall Street Journal*, p. A1.
- Mantell, M., & Albrecht, S. (1994). *Ticking bombs: Defusing violence in the workplace*. Burr Ridge, IL: Irwin Professional Publishing.
- Marcus-Newhall, A., Pedersen, W. C., & Miller, N. (2000). Displaced aggression is alive and well: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*, 670–689.
- Martinko, M., Gundlach, M., & Douglas, S. C. (2002). Toward an integrative theory of counterproductive workplace behavior: A causal reasoning perspective. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment, 10*, 36–50.
- Maslow, A. H. (1954). *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- McDaniel, M. A. (1989). Biographical constructs for predicting employee suitability. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 74*, 964–970.
- McGregor, J., Hamm, S., & Kiley, D. (2007). Sweet revenge. *Business Week, 4018*, 64–70.
- McGuire, J. B., Sundgren, A., & Schneeweis, T. (1988). Corporate social responsibility and firm financial performance. *The Academy of Management Journal, 31*, 854–872.
- Merchant, J. A., & Lundell, J. A. (2001). Workplace violence intervention research workshop, April 5–7, 2000, Washington, DC: Background, rationale, and summary. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 20*, 135–140.
- Merecz, D., Rymaszewska, J., Mościcka, A., Kiejna, A., & Jarosz-Nowak, J. (2006). Violence at the workplace—A questionnaire survey of nurses. *European Psychiatry, 21*, 442–450.
- Michigan Municipal League. (2009). *Reducing exposures from workplace violence*. Retrieved December 28, 2009, from http://www.mml.org/insurance/shared/pdf/risk_solutions/workplace_violence.pdf
- Mikulay, S., Neuman, G., & Finkelstein, L. (2001). Counterproductive workplace behaviors. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs, 127*, 279–300.
- Mitchell, M. S., & Ambrose, M. L. (2007). Abusive supervision and workplace deviance and the moderating effects of negative reciprocity beliefs. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 1159–1168.
- National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. (1993, December 5). *Violence in the workplace* (Document 705003).
- National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. (1996). *Violence in the workplace: Risk factors and prevention strategies*. Retrieved July 16, 1996, from <http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/violrisk.html>
- National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. (2004). *Violence on the job*. Retrieved December 1, 2004, from <http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/docs/video/violence.html>
- National Institute for the Prevention of Workplace Violence. (n.d.). *Self Audit*. Retrieved December 29, 2009, from <http://www.workplaceviolence911.com/SelfAudit/selfaudit.html>
- Neuman, J. H. (2000, April 15). *The role of reciprocity in both pro-and anti-socialization of the workforce*. In J. H. Neuman & J. Coyle-Shapiro Chairs, Employee and employer reciprocity: Within and beyond the employment relationship. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, New Orleans, LA.
- Neuman, J. H. (2004). Injustice, stress, and aggression in organizations. In R. W. Griffin & A. M. O'Leary-Kelly (Eds.), *The dark side of organizational behavior* (pp. 62–102). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Neuman, J. H., & Baron, R. A. (1997). Aggression in the workplace. In R. Giacalone & J. Greenberg (Eds.), *Antisocial behavior in organizations* (pp. 37–67). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Neuman, J. H., & Baron, R. A. (1998). Workplace violence and workplace aggression: Evidence concerning specific forms, potential causes, and preferred targets. *Journal of Management, 24*, 391–419.
- Neuman, J. H., & Baron, R. A. (2005). Aggression in the workplace: A social psychological perspective. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 13–40). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Neuman, J. H., & Baron, R. A. (2011). Social antecedents of bullying: A social interactionist perspective. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Bullying and harassment in the workplace: Developments in theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed., pp. 201–225). London, England: CRC Press.

- Neuman, J. H., & Keashly, L. (2004, April 4). *Development of the Workplace Aggression Research Questionnaire (WAR-Q): Preliminary data from the Workplace Stress and Aggression Project*. In R. J. Bennett & C. D. Crossley Chairs (Eds.), *Theoretical advancements in the study of anti-social behavior at work*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Chicago.
- Niedhammer, L., David, S., Degioanni, S., Drummond, A., & Philip, P. (2009). Workplace bullying and sleep disturbances: Findings from a large scale cross-sectional survey in the French working population. *Sleep*, *32*, 1211–1219.
- Northwestern National Life. (1993). *Fear and violence in the workplace: A survey documenting the experience of American workers*. Minneapolis, MN: Author.
- O'Leary-Kelly, A. M., Griffin, R. W., & Glew, D. J. (1996). Organization-motivated aggression: A research framework. *The Academy of Management Review*, *21*, 225–253.
- O'Toole, M. E. (2000). *The school shooter: A threat assessment perspective*. Retrieved July 18, 2006, from <http://www.fbi.gov/publications/school/school2.pdf>
- Occupational Safety and Health Administration. (1970). *Occupational Safety and Health Act*. Retrieved March 24, 2010, from http://www.osha.gov/pls/oshaweb/owadisp.show_document?p_id=3356&p_table=OSHA
- Osatuke, K., Ward, C., Dyrenforth, S. R., & Belton, L. W. (2007, August). *Civility, respect, engagement in the workforce (CREW): Conceptual model and organization development intervention*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Academy of Management, Philadelphia.
- Osatuke, K., Ward, C., Dyrenforth, S. R., & Belton, L. W. (2009). Civility, respect, engagement in the workforce (CREW): Nationwide organization development intervention at Veterans Health Administration. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *45*, 384–410.
- Owens, W. A. (1976). Background data. In M. D. Dunnette (Ed.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (pp. 609–644). Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Pearson, C., & Porath, C. (2005). On the nature, consequences and remedies of workplace incivility: No time for “nice”? Think again. *The Academy of Management Executive*, *19*, 7–18.
- Pearson, C. M., Andersson, L. M., & Wegner, J. W. (2001). When workers flout convention: A study of workplace incivility. *Human Relations*, *54*, 1387–1420.
- Pearson, E. (2009). *Grad student Abdulsalam al-Zahrani held in stabbing death of Prof. Emeritus Richard Antoun*. Retrieved December 6, 2009, from http://www.nydailynews.com/news/ny_crime/2009/12/06/2009-12-06_grad_student_held_in_slay_of_professor.html
- Peek-Asa, C., & Howard, J. (1999). Workplace-violence investigations by the California Division of Occupational Safety and Health, 1993–1996. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, *41*, 647–653.
- Peek-Asa, C., Runyan, C. W., & Zwerling, C. (2001). The role of surveillance and evaluation research in the reduction of violence against workers. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *20*, 141–148.
- Personnel Decisions Incorporated. (1985). *Development and validation of the PDI Employment Inventory*. Minneapolis, MN: Author.
- Peters, T. J., & Waterman, R. H., Jr. (1982). *In search of excellence: Lessons from America's best run companies*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Pfeffer, J., & Sutton, R. I. (2006). Evidence-based management. *Harvard Business Review*, *84*, 62–75.
- Pinder, C. C. (2008). *Work motivation in organizational behavior* (2nd ed.). New York: Psychology Press.
- Price, L. (2002). *Expulsion by the book, superintendent says*. Retrieved March 20, 2002, from <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/649961/posts>
- Rayner, C., & Keashly, L. (2005). Bullying at work: A perspective from Britain and North America. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 271–296). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Roberts, W. (1987). *Leadership secrets of Attila the Hun*. New York: Warner Books.
- Robinson, S. L., & Bennett, R. J. (1995). A typology of deviant workplace behaviors: A multi-dimensional scaling study. *The Academy of Management Journal*, *38*, 555–572.
- Robinson, S. L., & Bennett, R. J. (1997). Workplace deviance: Its definition, its manifestations, and its causes. *Research on Negotiation in Organizations*, *6*, 3–27.
- Roland, E. (2002). Bullying, depressive symptoms and suicidal thoughts. *Educational Research*, *44*, 55–68.
- Rospenda, K. M., & Richman, J. A. (2004). The factor structure of generalized workplace harassment. *Violence and Victims*, *19*, 221–238.
- Rospenda, K. M., Richman, J. A., Wislar, J. S., & Flaherty, J. A. (2000). Chronicity of sexual harassment and generalized work-place abuse: Effects on drinking outcomes. *Addiction*, *95*, 1805–1820.
- Rumberger Kirk & Caldwell. (2008). *The employer reference problem: How much, if anything, to disclose?* Retrieved May 28, 2008, from <http://www.rumberger.com/?t=11&la=721&format=xml>
- Ryan, J., & Poster, E. (1993). Violence. Workplace violence. *Nursing Times*, *89*, 38–41.
- Sagie, A., Stashevsky, S., & Koslowsky, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Misbehavior and dysfunctional attitudes in organizations*. New York: Plenum Press.

- Salin, D. (2001). Prevalence and forms of bullying among business professionals: A comparison of two different strategies for measuring bullying. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 10*, 425–442.
- Sataline, S., & Searcey, D. (2009). *Shooting rampage kills 14 in upstate New York: Gunman is believed to be among the dead in morning attack that also injured dozens at an immigrant-resources center*. Retrieved April 4, 2009, from <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123877508503886971.html>
- Schat, A. C. H., & Kelloway, E. K. (2003). Reducing the adverse consequences of workplace aggression and violence: The buffering effects of organizational support. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 8*, 110–122.
- Senge, P. M. (1990). *The fifth discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization*. New York: Currency-Doubleday.
- Senge, P. M., Kleiner, A., Roberts, C., Ross, R., & Smith, B. (1994). *The fifth discipline fieldbook: Strategies and tools for building a learning organization*. New York: Currency-Doubleday.
- Sirota, D., Mischkind, L. A., & Meltzer, M. I. (2005). *The enthusiastic employee: How companies profit by giving workers what they want*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.
- Slora, K. B., Joy, D. S., Jones, J. W., & Terris, W. (1991). The prediction of on-the-job violence. In J. W. Jones (Ed.), *Preemployment honesty testing: Current research and future directions* (pp. 171–183). Westport, CT: Quorum.
- Slora, K. B., Joy, D. S., & Terris, W. (1991). Personnel selection to control employee violence. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 5*, 417–426.
- Smith, R. B. (1993). Reports detail problems of violence in the workplace. *Occupational Health and Safety, 62*(11), 66.
- Solomon, R. C. (1998). The moral psychology of business: Care and compassion in the corporation. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 8*, 515–533.
- Spector, P. E. (1975). Relationship of organizational frustration with reported behavioral reactions of employees. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 60*, 635–637.
- Stern, A., & Herbst, S. (2010). *Four dead in Missouri ABB factory shooting*. Retrieved January 7, 2010, from <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE6063D420100107>
- Sutton, R. I. (2007). *The no asshole rule: Building a civilized workplace and surviving one that isn't*. New York: Warner Business Books.
- Tahmincioglu, E. (2001, August 1). Vigilance in the face of layoff rage: Employer miscues can breed retaliation. *New York Times*, C1, C6.
- Tedeschi, J. T., & Felson, R. B. (1994). *Violence, aggression, and coercive actions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Tepper, B. J. (2000). Consequences of abusive supervision. *The Academy of Management Journal, 43*, 178–190.
- Tepper, B. J. (2007). Abusive supervision in work organizations: Review, synthesis, and research agenda. *Journal of Management, 33*, 261–289.
- Toch, H. (1992). *Violent men: An inquiry into the psychology of violence* (revth ed.). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Toscano, G., & Weber, W. (1995, April). Violence in the workplace: Patterns of fatal workplace assaults differ from those of nonfatal ones. *Compensation and Working Conditions, 47*, 1–4.
- Tripp, T. M., Bies, R. J., & Aquino, K. (2002). Poetic justice or petty jealousy? The aesthetics of revenge. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 89*, 966–984.
- U. S. Department of Labor. (1999). *Testing and assessment: An employer's guide to good practices*. Retrieved January 26, 2000, from <http://www.uniformguidelines.com/testassess.pdf>
- United States Postal Commission on a Safe and Secure Workplace. (2000). *Report of the United States Postal Service Commission on a Safe and Secure Workplace*. New York: National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University.
- Urbina, I. (2009). *It's a fork, it's a spoon, it's a... Weapon?* Retrieved October 11, 2009, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/12/education/12discipline.html>
- Vardi, Y., & Weitz, E. (2004). *Misbehavior in organizations: Theory, research, and management*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Vartia, M. (1993). Psychological harassment (bullying, mobbing) at work. In K. Kauppinen-Tropopainen (Ed.), *OECD Panel group on women, work, and health* (pp. 149–152). Helsinki: Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.
- Vartia, M. (2001). Consequences of workplace bullying with respect to the well-being of its targets and the observers of bullying. *Scandinavian Journal of Work, Environment and Health, 27*, 63–69.
- Wager, N., Fieldman, G., & Hussey, T. (2001). The impact of perceptions of supervisor style upon employees' blood pressure. *Consciousness and Experiential Psychology, 6*, 5–11.
- Wager, N., Fieldman, G., & Hussey, T. (2003). The effect on ambulatory blood pressure of working under favorably and unfavorably perceived supervisors. *Occupational and Environmental Medicine, 60*, 468–474.

- Wakefield, H. (1993). Get ready for some workplace violence. *Australian Business Monthly*, 14(2), 130–131.
- Westhues, K. (2007). *Before drafting your policy on workplace decency, compare these two alternatives*. Retrieved February 27, 2010, from <http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/~kwesthue/dignitypolicies01.htm>
- Wheaton, S., & Dewan, S. (2010). *Professor said to be charged after 3 are killed in Alabama*. Retrieved February 13, 2010, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/13/us/13alabama.html?scp=1&sq=University%20of%20alabama%20shooting&st=cse>
- White, D. D., Kinckowski, L. M., Speelman, P., & Olijnyk, M. J. (2002). Is domestic violence about to spill into your client's workplace? *Michigan Bar Journal*, 81, 28–31.
- Workplace Bullying Institute, & Zogby International. (2007). *U. S. Workplace Bullying Survey*. Retrieved September 21, 2007, from <http://bullyinginstitute.org/wbi-zogby2007.html>
- Yamada, D. C. (2000). The phenomenon of "workplace bullying" and the need for status-blind hostile work environment protection. *The Georgetown Law Journal*, 88, 475–536.
- Yamada, D. C. (2003). Workplace bullying and the law: Towards a transnational consensus. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Bullying and emotional abuse in the workplace: International perspectives in research and practice* (pp. 399–411). London: Taylor & Francis.
- Yamada, D. C. (2004). Crafting a legislative response to workplace bullying. *Employee Rights and Employment Policy Journal*, 8, 475–521.
- Yandrick, R. M. (1999). *Lurking in the shadows: Workplace bullying can cause high turnover, low productivity and decreased morale*. Retrieved April 25, 2005, from <http://www.shrm.org/hrmagazine/articles/1099yandrick.asp>
- Yorks, L., Neuman, J. H., Kowalski, D. R., & Kowalski, R. (2007). Lessons learned from a five-year project within the Department of Veterans Affairs: Applying theories of interpersonal aggression and organizational justice to the development and maintenance of collaborative social space. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 43, 352–372.
- Yorks, L., O'Neil, J., & Marsick, V. J. (1999). Action learning: Theoretical bases and varieties of practice. In L. Yorks, J. O'Neil, & V. J. Marsick (Eds.), *Action learning: Successful strategies for individual, team, and organizational development* (pp. 1–17). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Zapf, D., & Gross, C. (2001). Conflict escalation and coping with workplace bullying: A replication and extension. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 10, 497–523.

Chapter 20

Hostile Work Environment: “Is It Just Me or Is It Chilly in Here?”

Alicia S.M. Leung and Ed Snape

The workplace environment can have both positive and negative effects on employees. A positive environment may help employees meet their needs, realize their roles and responsibilities within the organization, and be more productive. In contrast, a negative or hostile work environment may have negative consequences for employee welfare and performance and may lead to workplace deviance, defined as “voluntary behavior that violates significant organizational norms and in so doing threatens the well-being of an organization, its members or both” (Robinson & Bennett, 1995, p. 556). Employees working in hostile work environments may try to avoid the perpetrator of the hostility or spend their energies coping with negative aspects of the work environment, resulting in lost work time spent on worrying, reduced work effort, absenteeism, theft, and unproductiveness.

Management has a stake in the employment relationship, involving both an implicit and an explicit employment contract, with a duty to protect the interests of employees. In this fiduciary relation, it may be argued that management has a duty to create a culture of respect and a positive work environment to safeguard employees’ well-being. Employer decisions can affect employees in terms of their rights and obligations, as the employer-employee relationship is characterized by a variety of competing interests underlying the pluralist assumptions – lower costs versus higher wages, flexibility versus job security, and productivity versus a safe environment. These relationships are reciprocal but not equal, relying on levels of power and the intensity of dependence.

Hence, a hostile work environment does not necessarily originate with employees; it may also originate from the organization and its managers. Employees may be viewed instrumentally as expendable objects to be manipulated as necessary for higher profitability or the achievement of organizational objectives. When the organization does not look after the welfare of employees, the consequence is not merely to waste their human potential but to harm their rights and interests. Enron serves as a high-profile example of a hostile work environment and will be used throughout this chapter to illustrate the key concepts.

This chapter develops a conceptual model of the antecedents and outcomes of hostile work environments, considering possible interactions between personality traits and situational conditions and incorporating contextual factors as moderators. The aim is to further our understanding

A.S.M. Leung, Ph.D. (✉) • E. Snape, Prof., Ph. D.
Department of Management, Hong Kong Baptist University, Kowloon Tong, Hong Kong
e-mail: alicia@hkbu.edu.hk

of the effects of hostile work environments on employees and organizations. A key theme of the chapter is that managers should act in the interests of all stakeholders in the organization. The notion of stakeholder is built around the Principle of Corporate Rights that “the corporation and its managers may not violate the legitimate rights of others to determine their own future” (Evan & Freeman, 2004, p. 79). It is a form of Kantian capitalism based on the respect-for-persons principle that no individual should be treated merely as a means to an end. The implication is that ethics is duty-based, not a function of what consequences are produced by a given action.

Figure 20.1 presents our outline model. Ultimately, such a model may help us understand the antecedents and consequences of hostile work environments and so can guide us toward the design of measures aimed at minimizing the negative impacts of hostile work environments on individuals and organizations. Most importantly, we recommend a stakeholder approach in which employees are acknowledged as legitimate organizational stakeholders, implying that employers have fiduciary duties to use resources effectively by providing a work environment free of hostility with a view to improving employees’ quality of life.

Antecedents of Hostile Work Environments

Organizational Factors

Dysfunctional Organizational Cultures. Culture is to an organization what personality is to an individual (Wilson, 1989). It is “a basic set of assumptions that defines for us what to pay attention to, what things mean, how to react emotionally to what is going on, and what actions to take in various kinds of situations” (Schein, 2004, p. 32). This set of basic assumptions resides in values, artifacts (such as structure and system), and norms which consolidate the internal consistency and interpersonal relationships of the organization’s members and determine appropriate organizational behavior. Sethia and Von Glinow (1985) extend the concept of personality into a characterization of organizational culture. They propose two basic dimensions: concern for people (the organization’s efforts to care its employees’ well-being) and concern for performance (the organization’s efforts to focus on output and employee productivity). As shown in Table 20.1, the two-by-two matrix represents four general types of organizational culture. Specifically, the apathetic and exacting cultures are considered to be dysfunctional.

Organizational Culture

The apathetic culture shows minimal concern for people, coupled with an indifference to performance. In this culture, individuals focus on their own self-interest and managers are uncaring and unsympathetic to employees’ needs. Values and policies may be vague or not uniformly supported by the organizational culture. When the culture lacks clear values and policies to guide individual behavior, employees may choose to operate in their own self-interest other than in the best interests of the organization. Hence, with the informality and casual behavior characteristic of the apathetic culture, it may be difficult for employees to distinguish what constitutes proper behavior and conduct. The main effect appears to be demoralization, because self-interested behavior is more or less permitted as the way things are done. For example, Bordsky (1976) states that “for harassment to occur, harassment elements must exist within

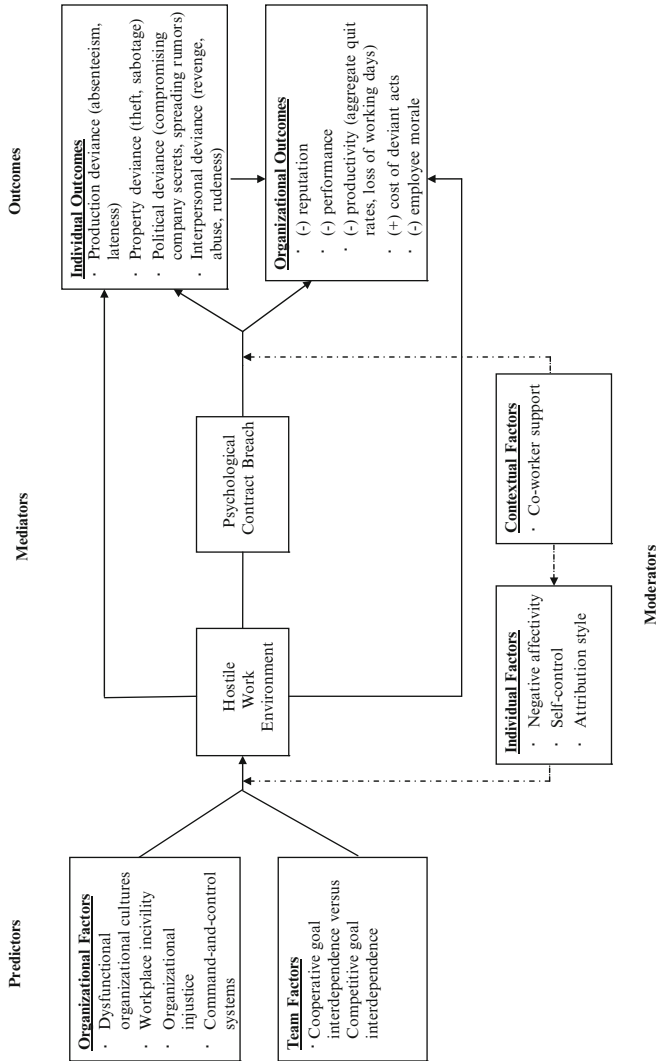


Fig. 20.1 Antecedents and consequences of a hostile work environment

Table 20.1 Organizational culture

Concern for people	High	Caring culture	Integrative culture
	Low	Apathetic culture	Exacting culture
		Low	High
		Concern for performance	

a culture that permits and rewards harassment” (p. 83). When there is no sanction regarding particular undesirable behaviors within an organization, a culture of deviant behavior may become the norm rather than the exception. Instead of labeling deviant behavior as reprehensible and intolerable, in apathetic cultures, such acts are inadvertently promoted, as apathy and silence run deep within the organization.

The exacting culture, on the other hand, shows little concern for people but a major concern for performance. Such a culture values competitiveness and the ability to outperform rivals. Individual, as opposed to group, performance is emphasized. Performance appraisal is often oriented toward “making the numbers” such as meeting sales quotas, competing for incentives, and participating in contests. People may use aggressive language, as they are fully aware that “some will fail here no matter what we do.” Jobs may not offer security, nor access to training or career development opportunities. The result is an expendable workforce, characterized by high financial incentives and bonuses tied to individual performance. PepsiCo, Texas Instruments, and Emerson Electric are examples of companies that apparently reflect the exacting culture (Edwards & Kleiner, 1998).

Enron provides another example in which the culture promoted noncompliance with respect to norms and regulations, placing the bottom line ahead of ethical considerations (Kuliks, 2005). Sherron Watkins, an Enron whistle blower, described her former employer: “Enron’s unspoken message was, ‘Make the numbers, make the numbers, make the numbers’ – if you steal, if you cheat, just don’t get caught. If you do, beg for a second chance, and you’ll get one” (Weiss, 2009, p. 30). Employees were evaluated not by supervisors alone but by a Performance Review Committee. Each department was required to terminate the bottom 15% of performers in the *rank-and-yank* system (Spector, 2003). This kind of reward system, as well as other extrinsic compensation mechanisms, creates a culture of greed because the organization focuses solely on motivating employees to achieve ambitious business target, discarding those who cannot (Sims & Brinkmann, 2003). At Enron, executives, lawyers, and accountants all sought to find and exploit loopholes in financial and accounting regulations to enable them to achieve financial targets, in effect setting up a system for self-enrichment at the expense of the majority of stakeholders (Mills, 2003). Enron’s story is not one of a few isolated “bad apples” but rather of a corporate culture that condoned and even encouraged unethical and illegal practices based on self-interest, motivated at the individual level by a bid to survive.

Exacting cultures induce situations in which the speed of reaction, integration, and creativity are more important than adherence to particular rules or procedures and where position and authority are less important than individual task contribution. By single-mindedly maximizing short-term profit growth, such a culture can lead the firm to neglect duties to different stakeholder groups. When corporate culture shows little sensitivity for employees but demands bottom-line

performance, the employer is providing a primary motivation for what would generally be seen as deviant behavior, because relationships with employees tend to be transactional and competitive, reinforcing personal accountability for performance outcomes.

Workplace Incivility. In the past decade, studies of hostile work environments have turned their attention to the notion of incivility, such as “workplace harassment” (e.g., Bowling & Beehr, 2006), “workplace abuse” (e.g., Johnson & Indvik, 2001), or “workplace bullying” (e.g., Namie, 2003). Workplace incivility is defined as “low intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target, in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect” (Andersson & Pearson, 1999, p. 457), which is persistent and repetitive, and “involves a perceived power imbalance and creates a hostile work environment” (Salin, 2003, p. 1215).

Pearson, Anderson, and Porath (2000) view incivility as personal mistreatment that may lead to disconnection, breach of relationships, and erosion of empathy. Compared to other forms of overt, direct, and visible behavior, it is often construed as subtle, covert, and ambiguous. Examples of uncivil behavior in the workplace include interrupting others, spreading rumors, criticizing others, and not fulfilling work obligations. Workplace incivility violates norms of mutual respect, affecting cooperation and motivation. It breaches formal rules of etiquette, professional conduct, and breaches the moral imperative (Gonthier, 2002), creating a culture of rudeness and allowing an attitude of disregard to permeate a workplace.

Incivility is an increasingly common phenomenon and is receiving growing interest (Lim, Cortina, & Magley, 2008). Interestingly, while there is legislation and many organizations have policies to prevent sexual harassment, there are no laws that prevent incivility (Bowling & Beehr, 2006). Results of the meta-analysis carried out by Bowling and Beehr (2006) indicate that incivility was negatively related to the well-being of individuals, workgroups, and organizations. In other words, the negative consequences of workplace incivility extend beyond the targets. It has the potential spill over to impact on coworkers. As research has shown, coworkers who witness or hear about an incident might also be affected indirectly by the abuse or stress of the victims (Bandow & Hunter, 2007; Hogh & Dofradottir, 2001).

A hostile work environment may be created when a manager engages in undesirable behavior that inflicts harm, distress, or fear on the victim, and such behavior is considered toxic and unethical. Incivility appears to be more stressful when it comes from the supervisor rather than from a peer (Cortina & Magley, 2009). Tepper (2000) studied nonphysical supervisory hostility, using the term “abusive supervision,” and this has generated considerable research interest due to its effect in impeding successful leadership and managerial performance. Abusive supervision is defined as the “subordinates’ perceptions of the extent to which their supervisors engage in the sustained display of hostile verbal and nonverbal behaviors, excluding physical contact” (Tepper, 2000, p. 178). Such behavioral hostility varies widely but can include criticizing publicly, ridiculing, shouting, threatening employees with dismissal or pay cuts, withholding needed information, refusing to speak to subordinates (the silent treatment), and making aggressive eye contact (Keashly, 1998; Tepper, 2000).

Abusive supervision happens when seniors use power as a means to control and exploit less powerful individuals to their own advantage. The sustained display of hostility may fall into the category of daily hassles which become routine nuisances in the victim’s everyday life (Lazarus, 1999). Chronic stressors repeating over time can “wear down” the victim, both psychologically and physically. Research has found that employees who are persistently exposed to abusive treatment experience greater signs of harm, such as psychological distress and job and life dissatisfaction, than those who are only occasionally exposed (Keashly & Harvey, 2005). Moreover, it provokes helplessness (Ashforth, 1997), reduced creativity (Cortina & Magley, 2009), and deviant behavior (Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007; Mulki, Jaramillo, & Locander, 2006; Tepper, Henle, Lambert, Giacalone, & Duffy, 2008), as a form of resistance to the power differential (Lawrence

& Robinson, 2007), potentially resulting in significant costs to the organization (Detert, Trevino, Burris, & Andiappan, 2007).

Organizational Injustice. Justice refers to “treating others as they should or deserve to be treated by adhering to standards of right and wrong” (Cropanzano, Goldman, & Folger, 2005, p. 1019). Employees care about organizational justice because they believe it is the morally appropriate way in which people should be treated. Research has demonstrated that concern about justice can affect the attitudes and behaviors of employees, such as their job satisfaction and turnover intention (Tekleab, Takeuchi, & Taylor, 2005), organizational commitment, and work motivation (Colquitt & Chertkoff, 2002), and it is a promising approach for understanding workplace deviance (Krings & Facchin, 2009).

The literature has identified three dimensions of organizational justice: procedural justice (the perceived fairness of the decision-making processes), distributive justice (the perceived fairness of decision outcomes), and interactional justice (the perceived quality of interpersonal treatment, e.g., sincerity and respect). Procedural and distributive justices can be organization-focused perceptions associated with organizational identification (Olkkonen & Lipponen, 2006) and are influenced by rules and practices (Colquitt, 2001). Interactional justice is a supervisor-focused perception associated with work-unit identification (Olkkonen & Lipponen, 2006), and managers are the primary source of interactional justice (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Cropanzano, Bowen, & Gilliland, 2007).

Procedural justice may interact with distributive justice, so that if procedural justice is perceived as high, employees will place less emphasis on distributive justice. However, if procedures are perceived to be unjust, then employees will focus to a greater extent on distributive justice (Cox, 2004). In organizational settings, questions of distributive justice are primarily concerned with perceptions of equity. Adams' (1963) equity theory posits that employees will evaluate distributive justice by comparing their inputs (e.g., time, skill, effort) versus outcomes (e.g., pay, promotions, status) ratio with a referent other (e.g., a coworker). Adams contends that both conditions of perceived underpayment and overpayment can influence subsequent behavior. A ratio in their favor may result in guilt or embarrassment, whereas if the referent's ratio is less favorable, anger and resentment may result, followed by negative behavioral decisions. The implication is that judgments related to distributive justice are based on social comparisons.

Furthermore, research suggests that individuals' responses to the perceived injustice are likely to correspond to the perceived source of injustice. Some deviant behaviors are displayed to protest dissatisfaction toward the individual, such as subordinates, peers, and supervisors (person-centered justice), whereas some are directed toward the work units or entire organization (organization-centered justice). Hence, if employees perceive the organization to be responsible, they may retaliate against the organization; however, if the management's decision is perceived as biased, any retaliation is likely to be directed toward the specific target or the individual who is perceived to be responsible. Research by Ambrose, Seabright, and Schminki (2002) supported this argument, suggesting that when the source of injustice was interactional, employees were more likely to engage in retaliation against a harm-doer (individual deviance) and when the source of injustice was distributive, employees were more likely to engage in equity restoration (organizational deviance).

Command-and-Control Systems. Command-and-control systems focus on monitoring people's behavior via the threat of punishment or sanctions for misbehavior. Monitoring may take many forms, including the use of cameras, taping phone conversations and voicemail messages, perusing emails, blocking internets, and video surveillance. According to the 2007 Surveillance Survey, almost half (48%) of the companies in the sample used video monitoring to counter theft, violence, and sabotage (American Management Association, February 28, 2008). Moreover, the survey reported that 84% of employers have email-use policies in place, 43% engage in some active form of email monitoring, and 28% have terminated employees for inappropriate email use.

It seems that organizations are taking an active role in enforcing rules regarding employees' conduct. Recent estimates place the growth rate for email monitoring software at about 30% per year (Tam, White, Wingfield, & Maher, 2005). These technological advances may lead to conflicts between the interests of employers and employees.

Command-and-control systems have been seen as playing a crucial role in promoting cooperation (Tenbrunsel & Messick, 1999) or ethical behavior among employees (Lindsay, Irvine, & Lindsay, 1996). It has been argued that the "failure to seriously monitor, measure and reward (punish) the performance of individuals on the ethical plane will leave codes of conduct operating in a vacuum, of little use in actually promoting ethical behavior" (Lindsay et al., 1996, p. 403). Hence, many employers see it as necessary to monitor and control the use of computer and network resources (Hornung, 2005), based on the assumption that employees have a tendency to maximizing their own interests and outcomes in work settings (Blair & Stout, 2001). Under such an approach, employees are assumed to be extrinsically motivated, with a carrot (incentive to encourage desired behavior) and stick (sanction to discourage undesirable behavior) approach built into the control system. Incentives such as financial reward or promotion are used to enhance desired behavior, whereas sanctions such as discipline or dismissal are used to reduce undesirable behavior. According to such a perspective, surveillance techniques may have their instrumental purposes, shaping employee behavior to ensure compliance.

However, there appears to be increasing skepticism about the use of such systems. Among the problems are "increased [employer] vulnerability to corporate espionage and liability for fostering a hostile work environment" (Todd, 2002, p. 101). Employers may believe that monitoring is necessary to discourage such activity and to limit their liabilities. From the organizational perspective, this may be seen to require the use of systems to detect negative or deviant behavior. However, the costs of such surveillance and incentives should not be underestimated. In addition to the financial costs to the organization, there are social costs, associated with the invasion of employee privacy, which may themselves contribute to deviance. Thus, systems that are seen as controlling behavior, rather than promoting autonomy, have also been argued to provoke negative effect, hinder creativity, reduce cognitive ability, and affect self-esteem (Deci & Ryan, 1987).

Furthermore, these systems have the potential to impede the feeling of trust in employees, which can lead to resentment and encourage oppositional relationships with management (Cialdini, 1996; Kramer, 1999; Todd, 2002). Cialdini (1996) explains that when employees' behavior is under the control of extrinsic motivators, intrinsic motivation may be reduced. For example, innocent employees who are subjected to drug testing policies and practices to deter misbehavior may become less committed to internal standards of integrity in the workplace (Kramer, 1999). The corrosive effects of surveillance may be extended to those responsible for the surveillance. Kruglanski (1970) noted that people who conduct surveillance becomes less trusting. Hence, interpersonal relationships are often affected, as those being scrutinized may be likely to engage in hostile behavior against employees who maintain such systems. Thus, surveillance may undermine individual's motivation to engage in desirable behavior and has negative consequences with respect to trust.

Team Factors

Although organizations use teams to solve problems and accomplish important tasks, teamwork does not automatically result in improving team performance. Developing an effective team is often a challenging task. Explanations for negative team performance outcomes include groupthink in which discussions are limited to a few alternative courses of action (e.g., Kerr & Tindale, 2004), member perceptions of social loafing to benefit from others' efforts (e.g., Van der Vegt, Van de Vliert, & Osterhof, 2003), and effects of motives on team

performance (e.g., Wegge & Kleinbeck, 1996). Goal interdependence, defined as team members' perception of how their goals are related to other members' goals, is critical to long-term team effectiveness, and such perceptions impact team interactions and outcomes (Deutsch, 1973). Beliefs about goals influence team members' expectations, communication, problem solving, and performance (Deutsch, 1973). If members believe that their goals are positively related, they perceive a shared fate, which promotes supportive behavior such as exchanging insights and information.

There are two types of goal interdependence – cooperative and competitive – which affect team members' orientation and intentions toward each other differently. Cooperative goal interdependence occurs when individuals believe that achieving their personal goals could help other members attain their goals (Deutsch, 1973). As one succeeds, others succeed. People in cooperation appreciate that they want each other to pursue their goals effectively, as the effectiveness of others helps all to reach their goals. Numerous studies have shown that teams with cooperative goals are more constructive in discussing opposing views, leading to effective team performance (Alper, Tjosvold, & Law, 1998), and team innovation and commitment (Chen, Tjosvold, & Su, 2005). Cooperative goals can create a sense of interdependence among group members. With the perception of shared common goals, members are motivated not only to improve communication but also to accommodate each other's ideas (Chen et al., 2005).

In contrast, when group members believe that their goals are competitive, competition may drive them against each other in a struggle to win, resulting in hostility, mutual goal independence, and a blocking of each other's efforts. Moreover, the emphasis on competitive interests restricts communication and distracts members from the task, leading to closed-minded attitudes in order to prove one's value and worth to the team. Under such circumstances, individuals will be frustrated when others develop new ideas and work hard, and the "I win, you lose" dominant position makes some members reluctant to argue for their opinions (Tjosvold, Hui, Ding, & Hu, 2003). Hence, individuals have grounds to be suspicious of each other and may be reluctant to assist and, indeed, may be tempted to obstruct the goal-directed efforts of others. Research has found that members exposed to competitive ego conditions and competing individually experienced higher levels of negative affect (Standage, Duda, & Pensgaard, 2005).

As in Enron's case, although managers were supposed to be graded on teamwork, everyone was self-directing because the culture was heavily built upon star players, with little value attached to team building. The organizations rewarded highly competitive people who were less likely to share power and exchange information but were preoccupied with their own performance. Gradually, teamwork disappeared, replaced by the self-interest greed principle, rather than an ethical principle. In many companies that put great emphasis on individual achievement, this may be counterbalanced by guiding principles or a set of rules to be strictly followed. But there was no such counterbalance at Enron. According to Watkins (2003), "ethical lapses at the top permeated throughout Enron even though Enron had a pristine code of ethics, code of conduct, and corporate governance procedures but were not being followed by top executives, middle management and lower management" (p. 16). As a consequence, such competition creates a hostile work environment because members conclude that they are better off when others act ineffectively.

Moderating Variables

Individual Factors

There is growing interest in incorporating personality traits into explanations of organizational behavior (Chiu & Peng, 2008; Colbert, Mount, Harter, Witt, & Barrick, 2004; Henle, 2005; Penney & Spector, 2005), since many factors do not affect individuals the same. Specifically,

there is renewed interest in the role of individual differences in work-related attitudes and outcomes, including deviant behavior. Some people appear to respond more negatively to hostile work environments, whereas others appear to retain their dispositions regardless of organizational and environmental influences.

Negative Affectivity. Negative affectivity is a predisposition for individuals to express distress and dissatisfaction, leading to negative emotional states such as stress, frustration, and anger (Watson & Clark, 1984). Negative affectivity reflects both cognitive and affective components and has received a great deal of attention recently. For example, Fox, Spector, and Miles (2001) reported significant positive correlations between negative emotions such as frustration, anger, and anxiety and a variety of counterproductive work behavior including sabotage, interpersonal aggression, absenteeism, and theft. While there has been very little research investigating the relationship between negative affectivity and hostile work environments, Penney and Spector (2005) found that negative affectivity moderates the relationship between job stressors and counterproductive work behavior. In general, such relationships were stronger for individuals high in negative affectivity, suggesting that organizations employing such individuals may incur higher costs through counseling programs or increased turnover.

Self-Control. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) contend that all deviance is subsumed under self-control theory and that individuals who commit deviant acts tend to be aggressive. Self-control composes of six dimensions of personality (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). The first of these is impulsivity. Low-self-control individuals have a tendency to satisfy their needs now rather than later. Second, these people lack persistence and tend to be active, with preferences for physical rather than verbal and cognitive activities. They like to associate with those who lack self-control and are similarly deviant. Third, they are more likely to engage in risk-taking behaviors that tend to be associated with crime and delinquency. Fourth, people with low self-control are self-centered in that they focus more on themselves, without considering the needs and desires of others. Fifth, an explosive temper is a behavioral manifestation of low self-control, and such people therefore have greater problem making and keeping friends. Finally, the loss of behavioral control is an obstacle to long-term commitment. Low-self-control employees are more likely to experience greater job instability. The ability of self-control is related to interpersonal workplace deviance. Hence, self-control is likely to moderate the relationship between a hostile work environment and its negative outcomes.

Attribution Style. Attribution theory postulates that individuals form attributions in order to understand the causes of behaviors and outcomes that are relevant to their lives (Heider, 1958). Weiner (1986) explained that individuals are most likely to engage in a thorough attributional search when they encounter negative and/or unexpected outcomes or behaviors. A causal search involves both an information gathering process and a cognitive appraisal of this information. Weiner (1986) identifies three dimensions of causes which can be classified as internal or external, as stable or unstable, and as controllable or uncontrollable. Internal causes reside in the individual or organization, and external causes reside elsewhere in the environment. A cause is stable if it persists over time and unstable if it does not. Finally, a cause is controllable if the individual or organization has influence over the cause or power to change that cause; it is uncontrollable if that individual or organization cannot do anything about it. Causal reasons for behavioral and organizational outcomes can be characterized along these three dimensions.

Research has demonstrated that people tend to attribute favorable outcomes to causes internal to themselves and to attribute unfavorable outcomes to forces external to themselves (Bettman & Weitz, 1983). Thus, poor performing employees are more likely to form external attributions by blaming management rather than internalizing failure to themselves. This tendency has been labeled “self-serving” which indicates a distortion of causal reasoning, leading to dysfunctional consequences. As in the Enron case, “ethical employees find themselves

participating in less-than-ethical deals and transactions and comfort themselves that it is not them; it is the behavior that is expected behind the corporate mask” (Pearce, 2003, p. 122) while less ethical employees rationalize their wrongdoings by focusing on unique applications of complex accounting rules (Beenen & Pinto, 2009). Employees blaming external causes have the potential to engage in deviant behavior rather than changing their own attitudes or behavior. For example, Chiu and Peng (2008) found that a hostile attributional style had interactive effects on the relationship between psychological contract breach and workplace deviance. Specifically, the higher the hostile attributional style, the stronger the positive relationship between psychological contract breach and employee deviance.

Contextual Variables

Coworker Support

Tepper (2007) postulates that subordinates’ workplace context moderates abusive supervision and its outcomes. Given the negative impact of a hostile work environment on victims, support from coworkers may buffer or minimize the negative impact. However, according to a survey taken by the Workplace Bullying Institute (*August 2008*), 97% of coworkers who witnessed bullying chose not to support colleagues under attack, and 15% joined the bully in tormenting the victim. Thus, coworkers’ reactions can actually escalate the process of hostility rather than reducing the negative impact. Colleagues may choose to abandon bullied coworkers because they fear that they might be the next target if they voice objections or show empathy for the victim. Self-preservation may also drive them into silence and acquiescence to decrease the probability of being a target. In many cases, coworkers are compelled to take sides. Pearson (1999) reported that 46% of workers considered quitting because of the increased pressure due to a hostile environment created by bullies and 12% did quit their jobs. If the victims feel worthless or believe themselves deserving of mistreatment, they can be targets for other aggressive behaviors and may even become the scapegoat for other members of the group (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004). With all of the emotional labor needed to deal with the fright of becoming a target, coworkers are caught in a dilemma, resulting in difficulties in maintaining productive interpersonal relationships with victims.

The Mediating Role of Psychological Contract Breach

The psychological contract is defined as a set of personal beliefs about the reciprocal obligations established in an exchange relationship between employer and employee (Rousseau, 1989). It is a subjective perception, viewed from the employee’s perspective. Robinson, Kraatz, and Rousseau (1994) indicate that fairness perceptions are central to the psychological contract, because employees’ evaluation of their psychological contract focuses on the contract outcome. Thus, the psychological contract fills perceptual gaps in the working relationship and impacts on employee behavior in ways that may not be discerned from a formal written contract of employment (O’Donnell & Shields, 2002). Psychological contract theory is built on social exchange theory and the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960), that is, rewarding kind treatment (positive reciprocity) or punishing unkind treatment (negative reciprocity).

A hostile work environment may lead to reciprocation through psychological contract breach. Psychological contract breach implies that the employer has failed to fulfill their promised obligations (Robinson, 1996), such as providing high quality relationships and a fair organizational culture, even though there has been no direct material or physical impact on the employee (Thompson & Bunderson, 2003). The breach may take two forms: renegeing and incongruence (Morrison & Robinson, 1997). Both lead to discrepancies between an employees' understanding of what was promised and their perception of what has been experienced.

Renegeing occurs when the organization knowingly fails to meet an exchange obligation. This may occur because the employer is either unable or unwilling to fulfill the terms of the agreement. Unwillingness reflects a lack of motivation to keep promises or even manipulation on the part of the violating party. Hence, trust will likely decrease more if unwillingness is viewed as the source of the broken promise, compared to inability. Incongruence, on the other hand, occurs when employees and organizations have different understandings about whether an obligation exists or about the nature of a given obligation. Incongruence can result when a promise is established, or it may emerge over time as perceived promises fade away from memory.

An important point argued by Morrison and Robinson (1997) is that psychological contract breach depends on the extent to which an individual perceives a breach and the intensity of emotional reaction. Renegeing and incongruence produce a discrepancy, viewed as a perceived contract breach, but some employees are more vigilant than others. Employee vigilance is defined as the extent to which the employee actively monitors how well the organization is meeting the terms of the psychological contract (Morrison & Robinson, 1997). Ho, Weingart, and Rousseau (2004) findings suggest that personality not only affects people's responses to breach but also determines their perceptions of the severity of the breach. Low vigilance employees may allow a larger discrepancy before perceiving that a breach has occurred. In contrast, high vigilance employees are not only more likely to detect true contract breach events but may also be on the lookout for contract breach. They may be more likely to blame the organization for failing to meet an obligation even if the event presents some doubts and ambiguity. Generally, vigilance increases if the cost of an unmet promise is high and trust decreases. When vigilance is high, any instance of renegeing or incongruence is more likely to be readily detected.

Psychological contract breach has been linked to the dysfunctional aspects of the work environment. Organizational justice, such as the extent of perceived fairness of organizational practices, will have a major impact on how employees respond to the psychological contract breach (Restubog, Bordia, & Bordia, 2009). In particular, reactions to procedural injustice are likely to be salient in relation to performance management practices such as individual performance appraisal and team goal setting, whereas distributive injustice is more likely to be linked to reward equity. Moreover, distributive and procedural injustice are experienced when hostile behavior is attributed to the organization (e.g., organizational culture), and interactional justice is experienced when the hostile behavior is attributed to the perpetrator (e.g., abusive supervision). Employees react most strongly to distributive justice when procedural and/or interactional justice is also low (Rahim, Magner, Antonioni, & Rahman, 2001).

Psychological contract breach has become a significant theory in explaining a broad range of individual and organizational outcomes. The unethical and illegal behavior of top executives at Enron may be seen as an example of psychological contract breach. The Enron board failed to apply proper professional accounting standards, instead allowing misreporting practices that led to illusory earnings growth. Moreover, members of the board had each profited by millions of dollars from cashing in share options at a time when the company's share price was falling and its future looked bleak (Deakin & Konzelmann, 2004). Apart from the climate of greed and arrogance that pervaded the corporate culture, Enron also failed to implement serious risk controls and maintain a relationship of openness and trust with employees. The unethical acts committed

by the top executives not only destroyed stakeholders' confidence in Enron but also constituted a breach of contract and fiduciary duty to act with due care and in good faith.

Once a breach has occurred, employees enter into a sensemaking process in response to poor exchange relations between the parties (Morrison & Robinson, 1997; Robinson, 1996; Rosen, Chang, Johnson, & Levy, 2009). Employees may endorse the norms of negative reciprocity ("an eye for an eye"), where "the emphasis is placed not on the return of benefits but on the return of injuries" (Gouldner, 1960, p. 172). At the organizational level, employees' perceptions of psychological contract breach weaken their trust in the organization (Ho et al., 2004; Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski, & Bravo, 2007), which, in turn, damages the organization's long-term sustainability. As a process of social exchange, employees may be less able to fulfill their promises to the organization in terms of loyalty, integrity, and good performance. Negative reciprocity has been found to predict uncooperative behavior (Gallucci & Perugini, 2003), resulting in loss of working days due to absenteeism, loss of training investment associated with organizational leavers, leading to increasing costs of recruiting, selecting, and training new hires.

At the individual level, employees' responses to the breach can be emotional, cognitive, and behavioral. It may elicit negative emotional and cognitive reactions, which in turn trigger negative behavioral outcomes, such as deviant behavior. Emotional responses include feelings of dissatisfaction, mistrust, and resentment (Rousseau, 1989) while cognitive responses engender negative attitudes toward the jobs, such as job satisfaction (Tekleab et al., 2005), organizational citizenship behavior (Coyle-Shapiro, 2002; Zellars, Tepper, & Duffy, 2002), intention to leave (Tekleab et al.), and decreased liking for the other party. Behavioral responses include increased absenteeism (Deery, Iverson, & Walsh, 2006), retaliation, sabotage, and theft (Bies & Tripp, 2005) or pursuing aggressive behaviors such as cynicism regarding management and organizational life. Specifically, employees may target their aggression toward the perceived source of frustration (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Inness, Barling, & Turner, 2005; Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007). Such behavior may be seen as a form of exchange to regain cognitive and equitable balance (Uhl-Bien & Maslyn, 2003). As a consequence, the deviant acts may be against the person (interpersonal deviance) or take the form of displaced deviance against the organization (organizational deviance) or the less powerful such as coworkers (Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007). However, Chiu and Peng (2008) have shown that psychological contract breach has a stronger effect on interpersonal deviance than on organizational deviance. Perhaps, the victims perceive retaliation against the perpetrator as a morally justifiable means of restoring their pride and self-esteem (Skarlicki, Folger, & Gee, 2004).

Recommendations for HRD Practice

The model we present here provides theoretical insights into the nature of hostile work environments. Our model suggests that hostility arises in part when management tends to ignore the needs of the employees. Hence, building a healthy or positive environment is critical for the development and maintenance of effective psychological contracts because it provides guidance on ethical standards and conditions of employment. In this part of the chapter, we discuss the importance of stakeholder-organization relationships and develop recommendations which may help minimize the occurrence and continuation of hostile work environments.

Ethical Leadership

Ethical leadership can help in the facilitation of a positive work environment. From a virtue theory perspective, ethical leaders can influence corporate culture by displaying explicit behaviors

via role modeling (Flynn, 2008; Neubert, Carlson, Kacmar, Roberts, & Chonko, 2009). Explicit behaviors of ethical leadership include “the demonstration of normatively appropriate conduct through personal actions and interpersonal relationships, and the promotion of such conduct to followers through two-way communication, reinforcement, and decision-making” (Brown, Trevino, & Harrison, 2005, p. 120). The centerpiece of the explicit element stresses the nature of stakeholder relationships which is equated with Kant’s moral philosophy. Kantian leaders are obliged to give equal consideration to all affected stakeholders in decision-making so as to ensure that relations among stakeholders are governed by rules of justice (Bowie, 1998). In particular, they provide good judgments rather than following particular rules; they translate their moral reasoning to moral actions and in doing so contributing to the collective good (Fortin & Fellenz, 2008; Wright & Goodstein, 2007). Enron’s fall is linked to the lack of ethical leadership, and in particular Chief Executive Kenneth Lay’s toleration of ethical lapses by certain corporate officers, even waiving the company’s ethics code to permit the CFO to form off-the-books partnerships created for the purpose of hiding Enron’s huge debt (Deakin & Konzelmann, 2004).

Ethical Work Climate

Work climate may breed uncivil behaviors when the costs and dangers associated with incivility are perceived as low. As Tepper and his colleagues (Tepper, 2000; Tepper, Duffy, & Shaw, 2001) posit, abusive supervision may be aligned with the prevailing cultural norms and organizational policies in which top management does nothing to intervene. To minimize acts of incivility, organizations must translate norms into concrete institutional policies and actions. Otherwise, employees who observe the unethical behaviors of others will not speak up and report misconduct because organizational culture may encourage a perception of whistle-blowers as disgruntled employees who are not good team players. Hence, whistle-blowing, as a governance mechanism, should be recognized as a significant tool to encourage responsible workplace governance practices and prevent future Enron-like managerial malpractice. When whistle-blowing is viewed as a meaningful internal reporting system to enforce norms, then whistle-blowing will be viewed as a beneficial behavior in response to managerial wrongdoing (Warren, 2003).

Peterson (2002) examined the relationship between ethical climate and deviant behavior and found a strong link between political deviance and a caring climate. Political deviance is classified as a minor form of deviance including gossiping, spreading rumors, favoritism, and blaming coworkers. Hence, when the organization fosters mutual respect, trust, and open communication, it can help reduce deviant behavior (Hoobler & Swanberg, 2006). Moreover, when employees perceive their organization or leader as being much more caring or supportive, they are more likely to exhibit extra-role behavior (Leung, 2008). Over time, the reciprocation of valued exchanges should ameliorate and neutralize the adverse effects of workplace incivility by enabling subordinates to feel more satisfied with their role, thus contributing to better workplace relationships.

Ethical Organizational Practices

Justice is a critical element in the employment relationship. Managers can show respect for employees by emphasizing the importance of workplace justice. Justice perceptions are not formed in isolation; rather, they are subject to the sharing among individual employees through existing social ties and/or social influence received from others (Kray & Allan-Lind, 2002). The role of social interaction thus helps in the formation of collective perceptions of justice within

work groups (Roberson, 2006). Justice perceptions can be changed not only through evaluating actions and events within a particular normative framework of justice, but also changed through frames, ideologies, through opening up questions, or shaping mechanisms. From a pluralist perspective, justice sees employment with a human face in which equity and voice play a crucial role in strengthening workplace governance, through consultation and negotiation with stakeholder groups, to realize their rights.

Fortin and Fellenz (2008) contend that the best way to create justice perceptions is through the reframing of situations. Frames are offered by key stakeholders, such as union leaders, customers, and management. For example, unions might promote equality as a basis for distribution while management promotes merit-based allocations. Alignment of stakeholders' subjective justice norms will help shape different stakeholder groups' justice norms and reduce the likelihood of employees to engage in deviant behavior. In a study of restaurant employees (Eddleston, Kidder, & Litzky, 2002), the firm held staff meetings where they discussed appropriate responses to both routine and unusual customer encounters, helping to create guidelines on when and how to compensate customers for poor service and clarifying when it was appropriate to offer a complimentary product sample to a customer. When employees are explicitly aware of the shared standards and norms, it will reduce the costs associated with deviant behavior and deter them from rationalizing their acts.

Distributive Justice. Distributive justice ensures accountability for competent work and appropriate behavior through identifying and rewarding outstanding performance and eliminating non-merit barriers. Performance evaluation systems must be consistent in terms of the application of standards for all employees. Managers can evaluate performance with a fair rating system that solicits input from the employee (e.g., self-appraisal) as well as other stakeholder groups (e.g., coworkers and union representatives). Rewards, such as bonuses and raises, may then be based upon performance ratings. Therefore, compensation and discipline systems should be set up to reward appropriate, and punish inappropriate, behavior. When disciplinary actions are necessary, they should be fair and timely because they can help counter the effects of workplace deviance. Moreover, policies of conduct must be explicitly communicated and understood, and sanctions must be consistent and match the severity of offense. For example, violations of codes of conduct or showing favoritism to certain groups should result in similar punishments with the appropriate level of severity, such as written warnings and/or some retraining. Employees must be made aware of the expectations for proper conduct in the organization and what behaviors are regarded as deviant.

Procedural Justice. Issues of procedural justice have become increasingly recognized as important for creating an effective corporate governance system. Research has found that employees are motivated by their evaluations of the legitimacy of corporate rules and fairness in group decision-making procedures (Tyler & Blader, 2000, 2005) because procedural justice is viewed as an act of social influence (Tyler, 2001). Thus, the notion of procedural justice is connected with workplace voice. Those directly affected by decisions should have a voice and representation in the process. This is especially important for less powerful groups or minorities whose voices often go unheard.

During the process, subordinates may also seek frequent feedback from their supervisors to help them meet their goals and regulate their behavior, and this feedback provides the basis for maintaining better supervisor-subordinate relationships (Davis & Gardner, 2004). Moreover, the processes should be open and transparent, without secrecy or deception. Whistle-blowing is a way to reinforce transparency, contributing to a feeling of procedural justice. Participation in decision-making is another way. Employees that are given an opportunity to be involved in decision-making will be less likely to act negatively, as they can see that their voice is valued. Roberson, Moye, and Locke (1999) found that when employees are allowed to participate in the

goal-setting procedures and voice their opinions, they perceive higher levels of procedural justice. Perhaps more importantly, if leaders act in procedurally fair ways, they are seen as more legitimate and more competent, and subordinates are more supportive of their goals and accepting of organizational change (Tyler & Cremer, 2005) which helps weaken anti-normative behavior that violates established norms of appropriateness.

Interactional Justice. An employee is in regular exchange relations with their supervisor. Research on psychological contracts indicates that employees expect their employers to provide a pleasant work environment that supports harmonious working relationships (Kickul & Matthew, 2003). From the “felt obligation” perspective (Eisenberger, Armeli, Rexwinkel, Lynch, & Rhoades, 2001), employees expect fair, courteous, and truthful treatment from the management. Because of the importance of good quality social exchange relationships in the workplace, organizations must strive to encourage supervisors and their subordinates to interact with each other through information exchange and mutual respect. Research indicates that many positive individual and organizational outcomes are associated with quality social exchange in supervisor-subordinate relationships (Raabe & Beehr, 2003; Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001). Based on the norm of reciprocity, employees who perceive fair treatment by supervisors are more likely to exhibit higher job satisfaction and OCB and commitment to the values and goals of the organization, reduced withdrawal behaviors (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001), and are less likely to perform interpersonal deviance.

Cooperative Behavior in Groups

Given that justice research suggests that justice perceptions develop largely based on one’s social or team context (Colquitt & Jackson, 2006), one potentially powerful approach is to promote the justice-cooperative behavior relationship. Cooperative behavior is essential to group viability and cohesiveness. While cooperative goals can influence the success of a group, Tyler and Blader (2000) found that people will cooperate with groups if they feel proud of the group’s status and respected by their group members. The results of their study suggested that people normally use procedural justice as a cue to evaluate the status of the group and their status within the group. When group processes are seen as fair, people perceive both the group’s status and their relative status within the group to be positive. Feeling respected, they will work harder and engage in extra-role behavior aimed at helping group members. Respect is also linked to satisfaction with one’s supervisor and commitment to the group. As indicated by Tyler and Blader (2000), pride directs people’s attention to the group and its rules and norms, leading to conformity in behavior, whereas respect directs their attention to themselves and their relationship to the group, leading to more extra-role behaviors on behalf of the group. These findings are an important step in deepening our understanding of how to reduce deviant behavior within a group and prevent a repeat of the Enron case.

Conclusion

We have developed a conceptual model of the antecedents and consequences of hostile work environments, integrating situation-, context-, and person-based explanations. This allows us to understand diverse phenomena, raises insights for empirical investigation, and ultimately illuminates the complex dynamics of what contributes to a hostile work environment and what its consequences to individuals and organization. Our recommendations justify the pluralistic perspective that employers should not treat their employees simply as commodities. Instead, the workplace

should be organized as a community that requires serving the interests of different stakeholders, so that each group operates as a part of the organization's stakeholder system. It is more important to note that, with the application of stakeholder theory, this chapter can contribute to understanding of the ethical nature and moral obligation of the employer-employee relationship for maintaining a hostile-free work environment.

References

- Adams, S. J. (1963). Towards an understanding of inequality. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 67*, 422–436.
- Alper, S., Tjosvold, D., & Law, S. A. (1998). Interdependence and controversy in group decision making: Antecedents to effective self-managing teams. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 74*, 33–52.
- Ambrose, M. L., Seabright, M. A., & Schminke, M. (2002). Sabotage in the workplace: The role of organizational injustice. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 89*, 947–965.
- Andersson, L. M., & Pearson, C. M. (1999). Tit for tat? The spiraling effect of incivility in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review, 24*, 452–471.
- Aquino, K., & Lamertz, K. (2004). A relational model of workplace victimization: Social roles and patterns of victimization in dyadic relationships. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 89*, 1023–1034.
- Ashforth, B. E. (1997). Petty tyranny in organizations: A preliminary examination of antecedents and consequences. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences, 14*(2), 126–140.
- Bandow, D., & Hunter, D. (2007). The rise of workplace incivilities: Has it happened to you? *The Business Review, 7*, 212–217.
- Beenen, G., & Pinto, J. (2009). Resisting organizational-level Corruption: An interview with Sherron Watkins. *The Academy of Management Learning and Education, 8*, 275–289.
- Bettman, J. R., & Weitz, B. A. (1983). Attributions in the board room: Causal reasoning in corporate annual report. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 28*, 165–183.
- Bies, R. J., & Tripp, T. M. (2005). The study of revenge in the workplace: Conceptual, ideological and empirical issues. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 65–81). Washington, DC: APA Press.
- Blair, M. M., & Stout, L. A. (2001). Director accountability and the mediating role of the corporate board. *Washington University Law Quarterly, 79*, 403–447.
- Bowie, N. (1998). A Kantian theory of capitalism. *Business Ethics Quarterly, Special Issue, 1*, 37–60.
- Bowling, N. A., & Beehr, T. A. (2006). Workplace harassment from the victim's perspective: A theoretical model and meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*, 998–1012.
- Brodsky, C. M. (1976). *The harassed work*. Toronto, Canada: Lexington Books/DC Health and Company.
- Brown, M. E., Trevino, L. K., & Harrison, D. A. (2005). Ethical leadership: A social learning perspective for construct development and testing. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 97*, 117–134.
- Chen, Y. F., Tjosvold, D., & Su, S. F. (2005). Goal interdependence for working across cultural boundaries: Chinese employees with foreign managers. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29*, 429–447.
- Chiu, S. F., & Peng, J. C. (2008). The relationship between psychological contract breach and employee deviance: The moderating role of hostile attributional style. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 73*, 426–433.
- Cialdini, R. B. (1996). Social influence and the triple tumor structure of organizational dishonesty. In D. M. Messick & A. E. Tenbrunsel (Eds.), *Codes of conduct: Behavioral research into business ethics* (pp. 44–58). New York: Russell Sage.
- Cohen-Charash, Y., & Spector, P. E. (2001). The role of justice in organizations: A meta-analysis. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 86*, 278–321.
- Colbert, A. E., Mount, M. K., Harter, J. K., Witt, L. A., & Barrick, M. R. (2004). Interactive effects of personality and perceptions of the work situation on workplace deviance. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 89*, 599–609.
- Colquitt, J. A. (2001). On the dimensionality of organizational justice: A construct validation of a measure. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 386–400.
- Colquitt, J. A., & Chertkoff, J. M. (2002). Explaining injustice: The interactive effects of explanation and outcome on fairness perceptions and task motivation. *Journal of Management, 28*, 591–610.
- Colquitt, J. A., Conlon, D. E., Wesson, M. J., Porter, C. O. L. H., & Ng, K. Y. (2001). Justice at the millennium: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of organizational justice research. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 425–445.

- Colquitt, J. A., & Jackson, C. L. (2006). Justice in teams: The context-sensitivity of justice rules across individual and team contexts. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36*, 870–901.
- Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2009). Patterns and profiles of responses to incivility in the workplace. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 14*, 272–288.
- Cox, A. (2004). Managing variable pay systems in smaller workplaces: The significance of employee perceptions of organizational justice. In J. Storey, M. Ram, & S. Marlow (Eds.), *Employment relations in SMEs* (pp. 179–199). London: Routledge.
- Coyle-Shapiro, J. (2002). A psychological contract perspective on organizational citizenship behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 23*, 927–946.
- Cropanzano, R., Bowen, D. E., & Gilliland, S. W. (2007). The management of organizational justice. *Academy of Management Perspective, 21*, 34–48.
- Cropanzano, R., Goldman, B. M., & Folger, R. (2005). Self-interest: Defining and understanding a human motive. *Journal of Organisation Behavior, 26*, 985–991.
- Cropanzano, R., & Mitchell, M. S. (2005). Social exchange theory: An interdisciplinary review. *Journal of Management, 31*, 874–900.
- Davis, W., & Gardner, W. (2004). Perceptions of politics and organizational cynicism: An attributional and leader-member exchange perspective. *The Leadership Quarterly, 15*, 439–465.
- Deakin, S., & Konzelmann, S. (2004). Learning from Enron. *Corporate Governance, 12*, 134–142.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1987). The support of autonomy and the control of behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*, 1024–1037.
- Deery, S. J., Iverson, R. D., & Walsh, J. T. (2006). Toward a better understanding of psychological contract breach: A study of customer service employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*, 166–175.
- Detert, J. R., Trevino, L. K., Burris, E. R., & Andiappan, M. (2007). Managerial modes of influence and counter productivity in organizations: A longitudinal business-unit-level investigation. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 993–1005.
- Deutsch, M. (1973). *The resolution of conflict*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Eddleston, K. A., Kidder, D. L., & Litzky, B. E. (2002). Who's the boss? Contending with competing expectations from customers and management. *The Academy of Management Executive, 16*, 85–95.
- Edwards, J. D., & Kleiner, B. H. (1998). Transforming organizational values and culture effectively. *Leadership and Organizational Development Journal, 9*, 13–16.
- Eisenberger, R., Armeli, S., Rexwinkel, B., Lynch, P. D., & Rhoades, L. (2001). Reciprocation of perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 42–51.
- Evan, W. M., & Freeman, R. E. (2004). A stakeholder theory of the modern corporation: Kantian capitalism. In T. L. Beauchamp & N. E. Bowie (Eds.), *Ethical theory and business*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Flynn, G. (2008). The virtuous manager: A vision of leadership in business. *Journal of Business Ethics, 78*, 359–372.
- Fortin, M., & Fellenz, M. (2008). Hypocrisies of fairness: Towards a more reflexive ethical base in organizational justice research and practice. *Journal of Business Ethics, 78*, 415–433.
- Fox, S., Spector, P. E., & Miles, D. (2001). Counterproductive work behavior (CWB) in response to job stressors and organizational justice: Some mediator and moderator tests for autonomy and emotions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 59*, 291–309.
- Gallucci, M., & Perugini, M. (2003). Information seeking and reciprocity: A transformational analysis. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*, 473–495.
- Gonthier, G. (2002). *Rude awakenings: Overcoming the civility crisis in the workplace*. Chicago: Dearborn Trade Publishing.
- Gottfredson, M. R., & Hirschi, T. (1990). *A general theory of crime*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American Sociological Review, 25*, 161–178.
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York: Wiley.
- Henle, C. A. (2005). Predicting workplace deviance from the interaction between organizational justice and personality. *Journal of Managerial Issues, 17*, 247–263.
- Ho, V. T., Weingart, L., & Rousseau, D. M. (2004). Responses to broken promises: Does personality matter? *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 65*, 276–293.
- Hogh, A., & Dofradottir, A. (2001). Coping with bullying in the workplace. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 10*, 485–495.
- Hoobler, J. M., & Swanberg, J. (2006). The enemy is not us: Unexpected workplace violence trends. *Public Personnel Management, 35*, 229–246.
- Hornung, M. S. (2005). Think before you type: A look at email privacy in the workplace. *Fordham Journal of Corporate and Financial Law, 11*, 115–160.

- Inness, M., Barling, J., & Turner, N. (2005). Understanding supervisor-targeted aggression: A within-person, between-jobs design. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 90*, 731–739.
- Johnson, P. R., & Indvik, J. (2001). Rudeness at work: Impulse over restraint. *Public Personnel Management, 30*, 457–465.
- Keashly, L. (1998). Emotional abuse in the workplace: Conceptual and empirical issues. *Journal of Emotional Abuse, 1*, 85–117.
- Keashly, L., & Harvey, S. (2005). Emotional abuse in the workplace. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 201–236). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Kerr, N. L., & Tindale, R. S. (2004). Small group decision making and performance. *Annual Review of Psychology, 55*, 623–656.
- Kickul, J., & Matthew, L. T. (2003). Making sense of the meaning behind the message: Climate perceptions and the psychological contract. *Mid-American Journal of Business, 18*, 23–32.
- Kramer, R. (1999). Trust and distrust in organizations: Emerging questions, enduring questions. *Annual Review of Psychology, 50*, 569–598.
- Kray, L., & Allan-Lind, E. (2002). The injustices of others: Social reports and the integration of others' experiences in organizational justice judgments. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 89*, 906–924.
- Krings, F., & Facchin, S. (2009). Organizational justice and men's likelihood to sexually harass: The moderating role of sexism and personality. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*, 501–510.
- Kruglanski, A. W. (1970). Attributing trustworthiness in supervisor-worker relations. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 6*, 214–632.
- Kuliks, B. W. (2005). Agency theory, reasoning, and culture in Enron: In search of a solution. *Journal of Business Ethics, 59*, 347–360.
- Lawrence, T. B., & Robinson, S. L. (2007). Ain't misbehaving: Workplace deviance as organizational resistance. *Journal of Management, 33*, 378–394.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1999). *Stress and emotion: A new synthesis*. New York: Springer.
- Leung, A. (2008). Matching ethical work climate to in-role and extra-role behaviors in a collectivist work setting. *Journal of Business Ethics, 79*, 43–55.
- Lim, S., Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2008). Personal and workgroup incivility: Impact on work and health outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*, 95–107.
- Lindsay, R. M., Irvine, V. B., & Lindsay, L. M. (1996). Instilling ethical behavior in organizations: A survey of Canadian companies. *Journal of Business Ethics, 15*, 393–407.
- Mills, Q. (2003). *Wheel, deal, and steal: Deceptive accounting, deceitful CEOs, and ineffective reforms*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Financial Times/Prentice-Hall.
- Mitchell, M. S., & Ambrose, M. L. (2007). Abusive supervision and workplace deviance and the moderating effects of negative reciprocity beliefs. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 1159–1168.
- Morrison, E. W., & Robinson, S. L. (1997). When employees feel betrayed: A model of how psychological contract violation develops. *Academy of Management Review, 22*, 226–256.
- Mulki, J. P., Jaramillo, F., & Locander, W. B. (2006). Emotional exhaustion and organizational deviance: Can the right job and a leader's style make a difference? *Journal of Business Research, 59*, 1222–1230.
- Namie, G. (2003, November/December). Workplace bullying: Escalated incivility. *Ivey Business Journal, 13*, 1–6.
- Neubert, M. J., Carlson, D. S., Kacmar, K. M., Roberts, J. A., & Chonko, L. B. (2009). The virtuous influence of ethical leadership behavior: Evidence from the field. *Journal of Business Ethics, 90*, 157–170.
- O'Donnell, M., & Shields, J. (2002). Performance management and the psychological contract in the Australian federal public sector. *Journal of Industrial Relations, 44*, 435–457.
- Olkkonen, M., & Lipponen, J. (2006). Relationships between organizational justice, identification with the organization and the work-unit, and group-related outcomes. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 100*, 202–215.
- Pearce, J. L. (2003). Executive voice: Former Enron vice president Sherron Watkins on the Enron collapse. *The Academy of Management Executive, 17*, 119–125.
- Pearson, C. (1999, March). Rude managers make for bad business. *Workforce, 78*, 18.
- Pearson, C. M., Andersson, L. M., & Porath, C. L. (2000). Assessing and attacking workplace incivility. *Organizational Dynamics, 29*, 123–137.
- Penney, L. M., & Spector, P. E. (2005). Job stress, incivility, and counterproductive work behavior (CWB): The moderating role of negative affectivity. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 26*, 777–796.
- Peterson, D. K. (2002). Deviant workplace behavior and the organization's ethical climate. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 17*, 47–61.
- Raabe, B., & Beehr, T. (2003). Formal mentoring versus supervisor and coworker relationships: Differences in perceptions and impact. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 24*, 271–293.

- Rahim, M. A., Magner, N. R., Antonioni, D., & Rahman, S. (2001). Do justice relationships with organization-directed reactions differ across U.S. and Bangladesh employees? *International Journal of Conflict Management*, *12*, 333–349.
- Restubog, S. L. D., Bordia, P., & Bordia, S. (2009). The interactive effects of procedural justice and equity sensitivity in predicting responses to psychological contract breach: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *24*, 165–178.
- Roberson, Q. M. (2006). Justice in teams: The activation and role of sense making in the emergence of justice climates. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *100*, 177–192.
- Roberson, Q. M., Moye, N. A., & Locke, E. A. (1999). Identifying a missing link between participation and satisfaction: The mediating role of procedural justice perceptions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *84*, 585–593.
- Robinson, S. L. (1996). Trust and breach of the psychological contract. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *41*, 574–599.
- Robinson, S. L., & Bennett, R. J. (1995). A typology of deviant workplace behaviors: A multidimensional scaling study. *Academy of Management Journal*, *38*, 555–72.
- Robinson, S. L., Kraatz, M. S., & Rousseau, D. M. (1994). Changing the obligations and psychological contract. *Academy of Management Journal*, *37*, 437–452.
- Rosen, C. C., Chang, C.-H., Johnson, R. E., & Levy, P. E. (2009). Perceptions of the organizational context and psychological contract breach: Assessing competing perspective. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *108*, 202–217.
- Rousseau, D. M. (1989). Psychological and implied contracts in organizations. *Employee Rights and Responsibilities Journal*, *2*, 121–139.
- Salin, D. (2003). Ways of explaining workplace bullying: A review of enabling, motivating and precipitating structures and processes in the work environment. *Human Relations*, *56*, 1213–1232.
- Schein, E. H. (2004). *Organizational culture and leadership* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sethia, N. K., & Von Glinow, M. A. (1985). Arriving four cultures by managing the reward system. In R. Kilmann, M. Saxton, & R. Serpa (Eds.), *Gaining control of the corporate culture* (pp. 400–420). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sims, R., & Brinkmann, J. (2003). Enron ethics (Or: Culture matters more than codes). *Journal of Business Ethics*, *45*, 243–256.
- Skarlicki, D. P., Folger, R., & Gee, J. (2004). When social accounts backfire: The exacerbating effects of a polite message or an apology on reactions to an unfair outcome. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *34*, 322–341.
- Spector, B. (2003). The unindicted co-conspirator. *Organizational Dynamics*, *32*, 207–220.
- Standage, M., Duda, J. L., & Pensgaard, A. M. (2005). The effect of competitive outcome and task-involving, ego-involving and cooperative structures on the psychological well-being of individuals engaged in a coordination task: A self-determination approach. *Behavioral Science*, *29*, 41–68.
- Tam, P. W., White, E., Wingfield, N., & Maher, K. (2005). Snooping email by software is now a workplace norm. *Wall Street Journal*, *March*, 9, B1.
- Tekleab, A. G., Takeuchi, R., & Taylor, M. S. (2005). Extending the chain of relationships among organizational justice, social exchange, and employee reactions: The role of contract violations. *Academy of Management Journal*, *48*, 146–157.
- Tenbrunsel, A. E., & Messick, D. M. (1999). Sanctioning systems, decision frames, and cooperation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *44*, 684–707.
- Tepper, B. J. (2000). Consequences of abusive supervision. *Academy of Management Journal*, *43*, 178–190.
- Tepper, B. J. (2007). Abusive supervision in work organizations: Review, synthesis, and research agenda. *Journal of Management*, *33*, 261–289.
- Tepper, B. J., Duffy, M., & Shaw, J. (2001). Personality moderators of the relationship between abusive supervision and subordinates' resistance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *86*, 974–983.
- Tepper, B. J., Henle, C. A., Lambert, L. S., Giacalone, R. A., & Duffy, M. K. (2008). Abusive supervision and subordinates' organization deviance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*, 721–732.
- Thompson, J. A., & Bunderson, J. S. (2003). Violations of principle: Ideological currency in the psychological contract. *Academy of Management Review*, *28*, 571–586.
- Tjosvold, D., Hui, C., Ding, D., & Hu, J. (2003). Conflict values and team relationships: Conflict's contribution to team effectiveness in China. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *24*, 69–88.
- Todd, M. W. (2002). Reading your every keystroke: Protecting employee email privacy. *Journal of High Technology Law*, *1*, 101–118.
- Tyler, T. R. (2001). A psychological perspective on the legitimacy of institutions and authorities. In J. T. Jost & B. Major (Eds.), *The psychology of legitimacy* (pp. 416–436). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tyler, T. R., & Blader, S. L. (2000). *Cooperation in groups: Procedural justice, social identity and behavioral engagement*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.

- Tyler, T. R., & Blader, S. L. (2005). Can businesses effectively regulate employee conduct? The antecedents of rule following in work settings. *Academy of Management Journal*, *48*, 1143–1158.
- Tyler, T. R., & Cremer, D. D. (2005). Process-based leadership: Fair procedures and reactions to organizational change. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *16*, 529–545.
- Uhl-Bien, M., & Maslyn, J. M. (2003). Reciprocity in manager-subordinate relationships: Components, configurations, and outcomes. *Journal of Management*, *29*, 511–32.
- Van der Vegt, G. S., Van de Vliert, E., & Osterhof, A. (2003). Informational dissimilarity and organizational citizenship behavior: The role of intrateam interdependence and team identification. *Academy of Management Journal*, *46*, 715–727.
- Warren, D. (2003). Constructive and destructive deviance in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *28*, 622–632.
- Watkins, S. S. (2003). Ethical conflicts at Enron: Moral responsibility in corporate capitalism. *California Management Review*, *45*, 6–19.
- Watson, D., & Clark, L. A. (1984). Negative affectivity: The disposition to experience aversive emotional states. *Psychological Bulletin*, *96*, 465–490.
- Wege, J., & Kleinbeck, U. (1996). Goal setting and group performance: Impact of achievement and affiliation motives, participation in goal-setting. In T. Gjesme & R. Nygard (Eds.), *Advances in motivation* (pp. 1–34). Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
- Weiner, B. (1986). *An attributional theory of motivation and emotion*. New York: Springer.
- Weiss, J. W. (2009). *Business ethics: A stakeholder and issues management approach* (5th ed.). Mason, OH: South-Western Cengage Learning.
- Wilson, J. Q. (1989). *Bureaucracy: What government agencies do and why they do it*. New York: Basic Books.
- Wright, T. A., & Goodstein, J. (2007). Character is not “dead” in management research: A review of individual character and organizational-level virtue. *Journal of Management*, *33*, 928–958.
- Zdaniuk, B., & Levine, J. M. (2001). Group loyalty: Impact of members’ identification and contribution. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *37*, 502–509.
- Zellers, K. L., Tepper, B. J., & Duffy, M. K. (2002). Abusive supervision and subordinates’ organizational citizenship behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *87*, 1068–1076.
- Zhao, H., Wayne, S. J., Glibkowski, B. C., & Bravo, J. (2007). The impact of psychological contract breach on work-related outcomes: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology*, *60*, 647–680.

Chapter 21

Sexual Harassment: “Is It Just Me or Are You Hot?”

Camille Gallivan Nelson and Keith A. Carroll

It is reasonable to believe that nearly all working women and many working men will encounter sexual harassment at some point in their careers, either from being on the immediate receiving end of it or from witnessing or hearing about it occurring. Sexual harassment is highly commonplace, with roughly 50% of all working women and a sizeable number of working men directly experiencing it at some point during their careers (Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003; Stockdale & Bhattacharya, 2009). The average person can probably recall an experience that happened to them or to a coworker that seemed to be sexual harassment or made them wonder if it was. Many of us have also had family members or friends share stories of insulting, or just plain creepy behavior at work, and probably wondered if it was nothing more than a violation of workplace norms or if it was a textbook case of sexual harassment. Knowing what sexual harassment is requires an understanding of the behaviors that constitute it and an understanding of some of the cases that shaped sexual harassment law. Some people reading the title of this chapter, “Is It Just Me or Are You Hot?”, may consider it to be provocative and possibly offensive; however, would this comment be considered sexual harassment if it were uttered in the workplace? According to the US Supreme Court, the term “sexual harassment” is not meant to govern every workplace behavior; “ordinary tribulations of the workplace, such as the sporadic use of abusive language, gender-related jokes, and occasional teasing,” do not constitute sexual harassment (*Faragher v. City of Boca Raton*, 1998). Because of this, organizations have to be vigilant when regulating behavior to ensure that they are neither overreacting to situations nor ignoring occurrences of sexual harassment.

What Is Sexual Harassment and What Is a “Reasonable” Complaint?

Over the past half century or so, sexual harassment and the accompanying law prohibiting its occurrence have been progressively defined through Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, its 1991 amendment, and by numerous court rulings. Generally speaking, sexual harassment is

C.G. Nelson, Ph.D. (✉)
Aclarity Partners, Ltd., Portland, ME 04101, USA
e-mail: cnelson.aclarity@maine.rr.com

K.A. Carroll, Ph.D.
Business Psychology Department, The Chicago School
of Professional Psychology, Chicago, IL 60654, USA
e-mail: Kcarroll@thechicagoschool.edu

employment discrimination that negatively contributes to an organization's climate and is prohibited by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is offensive, unwanted sexual conduct that occurs specifically because of the target's gender. Gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion are the three key types of harassment according to one of the more widely accepted sexual harassment frameworks. These types may occur singly or in combination. Let us take a look at each and clarify the differences between them.

Gender harassment refers to verbal or nonverbal behavior not aimed at sexual cooperation, but that which conveys insulting, hostile, and degrading attitudes about one's gender. Gender harassment may or may not be sexual in nature. For example, it could entail a male employee making repeated derogatory and/or demeaning comments, jokes, or gestures to a female employee about women in general. A more sexualized example, however, would be the display or distribution of sexually explicit and offensive material or images. In contrast to gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention refers to verbal and/or nonverbal behaviors that are by their very definition sexual in nature and are also offensive, nonconsensual, and unreciprocated. Examples include unwanted touching and repeated unwanted requests for dates and/or sexual favors. Gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention commonly occur together. Both fall under the legal umbrella of hostile work environment harassment and can be highly damaging to an organization's climate, its employees' quality of work life, and organizations as a whole – not to mention the fact that it can lead to a host of legal woes (e.g., Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995).

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 safeguards employees from employment discrimination based on key protected characteristics, including employee sex, and is enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Sexual harassment is covered because it is a form of sex discrimination. From a legal perspective, whether unwelcome sexual behavior results in actual psychological harm to the victim is irrelevant. Instead, what matters is whether the behavior is viewed by the victim as sufficiently severe or pervasive to constitute a hostile work environment, as well as whether the behavior would be viewed by any reasonable person (of the same gender as the victim) as constituting a hostile work environment (had the other reasonable person been in the victim's shoes) (Gutek et al., 1999; *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.*, 1993). This concept is often referred to as the "reasonable person standard." While the purpose of the reasonable person standard is to decrease reliance on subjective victim evaluations, and adjust for the possibility of overly sensitive victims, it requires that the person evaluating the harassment conjures up a fictional yet reasonable person, mentally places that person in the victim's shoes, and subsequently surmises whether that fictional person would judge the work environment to be "intimidating, hostile, or abusive" and, therefore by definition, constitute a hostile work environment (EEOC, 1994). Of course, the application of this standard puts organizations (and the courts) in the predicament of having to decide what is and is not a reasonable complaint and how they should respond. Recent debates have focused on a variety of topics, including differences in a man's and a woman's interpretation of what behavior reasonably threatens a target's well-being and interferes with their work (Gutek et al., 1999; Perry, Kulik, & Bourhis, 2004).

The third type of harassment, sexual coercion, commonly referred to as *quid pro quo* harassment, is sexually coercive behavior aimed at extorting sexual cooperation in exchange for job-related considerations. In other words, work-related rewards, such as pay increases or promotions, are given if a sexual favor is granted. Sexually coercive behavior may also occur if a form of punishment, such as less desirable responsibilities or the threat of termination, is removed when a sexual favor is granted. Unlike hostile environment harassment, which is generally a pattern of repeated, unwelcome behavior, a single occurrence of *quid pro quo* harassment is sufficient to constitute sexual coercion from a legal perspective (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Gelfand et al., 1995). As a result, this type of harassment can be more straightforward to evaluate in court. The plaintiff must show that there was unwelcome sexual behavior based on the plaintiff's gender, the behav-

ior took the form of a sexual advance or request for a sexual favor, and the submission or failure to submit to the advance was used as the basis for making a decision impacting their employment. Understanding these unsavory workplace behaviors that place organizations at legal risk provides valuable insight into the behaviors that are the most damaging to an employee's quality of work life. Perhaps, most importantly, however, knowing what constitutes sexual harassment can provide vital insight into ways to prevent it and to protect employee quality of work life, and other outcomes associated with sexual harassment, such as overall life satisfaction and physical health. Knowing the boundaries of liability is also critical to effectively monitoring workplace behavior for potential incidents of harassment, thereby protecting organizations from harmful litigation and damaging publicity.

Where Is the Line Between Appropriate and Inappropriate Behavior?

The passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as it pertains to sex-based employment discrimination (Title VII) was undoubtedly spurred in part by the influx of women into the US workforce during WWII. After the war, the long tradition of men being the sole breadwinners was broken. This, coupled with the long tradition of men and women's interactions focusing on private matters, created an environment where the line between appropriate and inappropriate work behavior was blurred and legislation was required to define it. Organizations and society as a whole changed as a result of this landmark piece of legislation. However, real, deep-seated change was not introduced until the first round of sexual harassment legal cases made their way through the courts, spurring the EEOC to issue implementation guidelines to aid organizations seeking to shield themselves and their employees from the occurrence of sexual harassment. In-depth studies on the issue of sexual harassment followed, many using data gathered by the Department of Defense and the US Merit Systems Protection Board surveys of federal government employees in the 1980s and 1990s. Today, much of the research on sexual harassment and recommendations for dealing with it still rely on the case law and data gathered during that time.

Title VII is far reaching in that it applies to schools, government workers, and private sector employers, including employment agencies and labor organizations. Furthermore, it governs liability for the harassment of job applicants, clients, customers, and employees.¹ From a liability perspective, it makes no difference whether the sexual harassment victim and perpetrator are male or female. The victim and the perpetrator can be and sometimes are of the same sex.

As with heterosexual harassment, same-sex harassment occurs when a person is exposed to disadvantageous employment terms or conditions because of their sex. This could occur, for example, when an employee makes unwanted harassing advances or treats employees of their own sex in a sex-specific, hostile manner. With heterosexual or same-sex sexual harassment, if both sexes are treated in the same manner, then Title VII protection does not apply (Mitchell, Koen, & Crow, 2008; *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.*, 1998). The relative job level, hierarchical relationship, and supervisory status of the victim and the perpetrator are also legally inconsequential, although, of course, quid pro quo harassment requires that the perpetrator have sufficient power to govern or influence employment decisions or actions affecting the victim. In the case of quid pro quo harassment, what really matters with regard to harassment liability is

¹ Small businesses are exempt if they have fewer than 15 total employees on the payroll for at least four and one-half months out of the year in question (*EEOC & Walters v. Metropolitan Educational Enterprises*, 1997).

whether the behavior in question results in a tangible employment action (such as demotion, termination, or assignment of less desirable or intolerable duties or working conditions). In the case of gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention, what matters from a liability perspective is whether the behavior in question is so pervasive or severe that it creates a hostile work environment for the victim(s) and/or other employee(s) in the victim's work environment (EEOC, 1990a).

One particular case that clarified the extent of organizational liability is *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.* (1993). In this landmark case, the plaintiff worked as a manager at Forklift Systems, Inc. During her tenure with the company, the company president often insulted her, made derogatory remarks about women being inferior to men, and made her the target of unwanted sexual innuendos and sexually suggestive remarks. For example, he called her "a dumb ass woman" on more than one occasion and suggested that she accompany him to a hotel to negotiate her raise. She asked him to stop, and when he failed to do so, she resigned and sued Forklift, alleging that the president's conduct created a hostile work environment for her due to her sex. What is interesting about this case is that the district court initially dismissed it. The explanation for its dismissal was that although the president's behavior was likely to have been perceived by any reasonable woman as offensive, there was, however, insufficient proof that his behavior caused injury to the plaintiff's psychological well-being or that it adversely affected her work performance. The US Supreme Court subsequently reversed the district court's decision, stating that sexual harassment is illegal irrespective of whether job-related or psychological harm results. As long as the environment is perceived as hostile by the victim, and would be perceived as hostile by a reasonable person, then Title VII can apply. Furthermore, a Supreme Court justice pointed out that there is no "mathematically precise test" for determining whether a hostile environment exists (*Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.*, 1993, p. 22). To determine whether an environment is hostile, one must consider all of the contributing circumstances including: the frequency of the harassing behavior, its severity, whether the behavior was physical or verbal (or both), the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim (supervisor, coworker, etc.), and whether the harassment was directed at one or at multiple individuals (EEOC, 1994; *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.*, 1993).

Another kind of sexual harassment is referred to as "implicit" quid pro quo harassment, which occurs when other employee(s) were qualified for a reward (e.g., promotion), but instead, the victim received the reward due to his or her harassment, not merit. The term "implicit" is used because in this case, the occurrence of harassment alters the conditions of the similarly qualified employee(s)' employment by placing them at an unfair disadvantage for the reward and by sending them the message that submitting to sexual advances is a prerequisite for reward.

The case of *Miller v. Department of Corrections* (2005) is an interesting example of how sexual favoritism resulting from the sexual harassment of one employee can lead to bystander charges for the implicit sexual harassment of many. It also illustrates the damaging effects sexual harassment can have on bystanders' opportunities and overall quality of work life. This case took place during a 7-year period when a department of corrections warden engaged in seemingly voluntary, concurrent sexual affairs with several female subordinates. Some of the subordinates were promoted, despite a lack of merit, which outraged other employees who attributed the promotions to the affairs. These other employees began to question whether engaging in a sexual relationship was the only means to achieve a promotion, and as a result, they filed suit. The US Supreme Court found that sexual favoritism not only impeded the merit-based advancement of the plaintiffs (bystanders) but also caused them to be subjected to sexual harassment. This was a landmark case, because the plaintiffs were not alleging explicit sexual harassment. Instead, they were alleging that sexual favoritism created a climate in which submission to a sexual affair was perceived as a criterion for advancement. The key here is that the sexual partners that were

promoted were clearly underqualified, and the favoritism they experienced was not isolated, but rather, there was a pattern of them receiving favorable treatment, which violated the basic right of other employees to be eligible for promotion based on merit.

The verdict in *Miller v. Department of Corrections* (2005) illustrates the fact that the law surrounding sexual harassment continues to evolve and confirms that the sexual harassment of one employee can constitute the sexual harassment of many by communicating that being coerced into a sexual affair is the only way to get ahead (implicit quid pro quo harassment). Other precedents have been established which also clarify that the harassment of one can constitute the harassment of many, such as when a hostile environment for others is created as a result of them being offended by blatant, egregious sexual behavior at work that communicates that members of one sex are devalued (EEOC, 1990b). The above case law should serve to remind employers that the presence of an organizational climate that conveys tolerance of sexual harassment (e.g., lacks a clear antiharassment policy, demonstrates that sexual harassment complaints will not be taken seriously and appropriately acted upon, and/or that victims who complain about it will be at a risk of being retaliated against) is one of the most surefire, toxic ways to diminish the quality of work life for all employees and place their organizations in harm's way.

Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson (1986) is another landmark case that shaped sexual harassment law and underscores the critical importance of building an organizational climate that communicates clear intolerance of harassment. In this case, a female bank employee alleged that her supervisor, a vice president at the bank, forced her to engage in sexual relations while at work and outside of work, touched her inappropriately in front of others at work, exposed himself to her at work, and even raped her. The issues were that (1) her original entry into the relationship with her supervisor was arguably voluntary, and (2) her employer did not know the harassment was taking place because she never reported it, despite an established grievance procedure and clear policy against sex-based discrimination. The plaintiff testified that she never reported the harassment because she was afraid of her supervisor. The initial trial judge dismissed her case on the basis that she voluntarily entered into the relationship and that no tangible damages could be assessed. She appealed to the federal appellate court, which overturned that decision. The appellate court's decision stated that her supervisor's demands did in fact constitute hostile work environment harassment, and it made no difference whether tangible consequences had occurred. The bank then appealed to the Supreme Court, which affirmed the appellate court's decision (*Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*). This case clarifies that while it certainly helps a victim's case to complain, object, and refuse sexual harassment, and for organizations to have a well-established grievance procedure for addressing harassment complaints, supervisors are agents of the organization, and organizations are ultimately accountable for supervisory behavior. Furthermore, sexual harassment need not have any tangible or economic results. A hostile work environment is enough to have deleterious effects on a victim's quality of work life, and it is actionable.

The *Meritor Savings Bank* case is a commonly cited example of harassment stemming from what arguably began as a voluntary relationship. The resulting fear of harassment allegations, and slew of court cases involving interoffice romance and sexual favoritism, has led many organizations to restrict dating and consensual relationships in the workplace among individuals with differing power levels. For example, institutions of higher education have implemented policies banning students from dating instructors and professors. Implementation of these policies is an attempt to decrease the possibility of sexual harassment allegations, as well as negative perceptions from the student community that may stem from a student having a personal relationship with their professor due to the assumption that students who date professors receive preferential treatment.

Can't Sexual Harassment Be Just Harmless Fun?

Although it is impossible to know whether each reported experience of sexual harassment would legally qualify as sexual harassment without a trial, its impact on those experiencing it is profound, regardless of legal substantiation (Nelson, Halpert, & Cellar, 2007). Sexual harassment has a documented, negative impact on critical aspects of victims' quality of work life, defined for our purposes as including job satisfaction, self-reported job productivity, absenteeism, organizational commitment, and/or psychological well-being. Psychologically based effects can include heightened stress, lowered life satisfaction, depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress disorder, as well as physical problems (Collinsworth, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 2009; de Haas, Timmerman, & Höing, 2009; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Although eliminating the occurrence of harassment is fully expected to have restorative effects on the outcomes mentioned above, the experience of sexual harassment even in comparatively minor forms can have long-lasting, negative effects on employees' quality of work life. Research shows job satisfaction, self-reported job productivity, absenteeism, organizational commitment, and psychological health (e.g., life satisfaction, psychological well-being, and stress) are affected for years after harassment occurs (Glomb, Munson, Hulin, Bergman, & Drasgow, 1999; Street, Gradus, Stafford, & Kelly, 2007). Furthermore, the effects of harassment are commonly not only experienced by the victims themselves but also by the victims' work group members who witness, hear about, or are otherwise cognizant of sexual harassment taking place (Glomb et al., 1997). This means that not only do organizations need to worry about the impact of harassment on victims' well-being and performance, there is also good reason to worry about the toll even limited harassment can have on the well-being and quality of work life of employees at large.

The stress created when other employees within an organization are aware of sexual harassment occurring is routinely referred to as ambient sexual harassment (Glomb et al., 1997). Ambient sexual harassment, which can be experienced by men and women alike, can have powerful effects on the job satisfaction and psychological functioning of bystander employees. The deleterious effects bystanders experience can be even stronger than the effects of being the direct target of sexual harassment. This is particularly likely when bystanders believe the organization is tolerant of harassment (Glomb et al., 1997; Richman-Hirsch & Glomb, 2002). Ambient sexual harassment has also been shown to have harmful effects on work group productivity (Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007), and also on work group functioning, by way of increased conflict and cohesion difficulties, which in turn has been linked to declines in actual team financial performance (Raver & Gelfand, 2005).

Even the best designed and well-intentioned procedures for reporting and addressing sexual harassment will not work if targets of sexual harassment do not recognize their perpetrator's behavior as being problematic. While having employees fail to label their experiences with sexually harassing behavior as constituting sexual harassment may seem harmless, or even advantageous for organizations seeking to avoid legal exposure, unlabeled sexual harassment is still highly problematic due to the previously explained effects of ambient sexual harassment, and the direct effects unlabeled sexual harassment has on its targets. Evidence suggests that even when victims do not view experiences of sexual harassment as constituting sexual harassment when technically it qualifies as such, the victims still experience the same lowered productivity, reduced job satisfaction, and negative effects on psychological well-being, and life satisfaction outcomes as those who do label their experiences as sexual harassment (Magley, Hulin, Fitzgerald, & DeNardo, 1999; Munson, Miner, & Hulin, 2001). The fact that less than 20% of victims consider unwanted and offensive sex-related behaviors they experience at work to be sexual harassment is a problem (Magley et al., 1999). If victims do not label these behaviors as sexual harassment,

then logic would have it that they would not report it or attempt to do something to make it stop. In the event that this happens, the victim, victims' work group, and arguably the broader organizational climate and organization as a whole are placed at risk. Furthermore, it is reasonable to think that witnessing or hearing about the existence of sexual harassment in the workplace communicates a lack of support for victims and, possibly, improper monitoring and harassment prevention. These perceptions in turn may adversely affect the organizational climate by communicating tolerance of sexual harassment. Tolerance of sexual harassment is strongly related to heightened incidence rates of harassment in addition to poorer victim outcomes (Bergman, Langhout, Palmieri, Cortina, & Fitzgerald, 2002; Fitzgerald et al., 1997).

Furthermore, sexual harassment is a contributor to overall job stress. Specifically, incidents of sexual harassment influence job attitudes, which lead to behaviors such as work withdrawal, attempts to avoid work tasks through absenteeism, tardiness, and pretending to look busy, as well as job withdrawal, which is characterized by behavior related to quitting (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). The negative health effects, decreased job satisfaction, and increased psychological problems that are created by sexual harassment increase the likelihood that harassment victims will choose to leave their jobs (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Workplace studies indicate that at least 15% of women who are sexually harassed at work quit their jobs as a result of the harassment (Petrocelli & Repa, 2000).

Is Sexual Harassment Really Alive and Well Today?

Although by now most organizations have adopted policies and procedures to prevent sexual harassment, this does not mean that sexual harassment claims have decreased. The total number of claims filed with the EEOC and fair employment practices agencies around the country by women and men has been holding steady since 2003 at nearly 12–13,000 claims per year. In fact, certain types of sexual harassment, such as the harassment of men, are being reported with greater frequency. The sheer volume of claims filed each year is startling when considering the toll harassment takes on employees and fact that these incidence rates are based on actual sexual harassment claims filed. The truth, however, is that as many as 30% of all cases that would likely qualify as sexual harassment from a legal perspective go completely unreported and less than 1% lead to actual legal claims (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Fischer, 1995; Wayte, Samra, Rubbenolt, Heuer, & Koch, 2002). Furthermore, it is estimated that inappropriate sexualized verbal behavior is experienced by 33–66% of women and 10–15% of men, unwanted touching or similar activities are experienced by 15–38% of women and 1–12% of men, and demands for sexual activity are experienced by 8–16% of women and roughly 2% of men (Foote & Goodman-Delahunty, 2005). While the vast majority of sexual harassment claims have always been filed by women, claims from men across the US have been on the rise for over a decade – from nearly one out of ten claims filed in 1997 to one out of six in 2010 (EEOC, 2010). According to the EEOC, this rise stems from increased reports of male-on-male sexual harassment (Gesaman, 2010), which often includes gender harassment in the form of inappropriate sexualized banter, teasing, intimidation, and the like. Although some (e.g., Mattioli, 2010) suggest that financial hardship from the recession may be what is encouraging more men to seek damages for being sexually harassed, other theories for the rise in male claims include increased awareness of male-on-male harassment (e.g., as a result of the 1998 landmark case of *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.*, 1998, which affirmed that Title VII does, in fact, cover same-sex harassment), as well as decreases in the number of available jobs. When men (or women) have no choice but to stay in their current jobs, and are therefore dependent on their organization, they may believe that there is no alternative other than to end their harassment by filing a complaint. In other words, male sexual harassment incidence

rates could be fairly stable; however, more claims could be being filed by men during the economic downturn simply because men who would normally terminate their employment due to harassment have no choice but to stay in their current situation or take steps to end their harassment. This argument seems probable given research showing that the more financially dependent a harassment victim is on their employing organization, the more likely they are to join a class action lawsuit (Wright & Fitzgerald, 2009). Regardless of the reason behind the rise in male claims, male sexual harassment is still considered to be highly underreported because of the stigma associated with male victimization and needing to report it (Bergman et al., 2002; Donovan & Drasgow, 1999). Despite underreporting, same-sex male harassment tends to have long-lasting, severe psychological consequences. Men who are targeted by same-sex harassers are typically victims of gender harassment in the form of vulgar jokes, teasing, sexual hazing, and/or put-downs, rather than quid pro quo harassment. Often this is an attempt to humiliate or intimidate the victim rather than a sexual advance (Dubois, Knapp, Faley, & Kustis, 1998), which can be damaging to the victim's reputation, quality of work life, and overall well-being. An example case occurred in 2008 when the EEOC filed a suit against the Cheesecake Factory after six employees reported having been victims to male-on-male sexual harassment, which included sexual fondling and aggression as well as simulated sexual activity. Although the restaurant vehemently denied the charges, they did pay a considerable amount to the alleged victims in an out-of-court financial settlement (EEOC, 2009). Establishing an organizational climate with workplace norms that deter this type of behavior would have likely prevented these legal troubles.

Especially high sexual harassment incidence rates are found among military personnel. A 1995 comprehensive study of over 28,000 US military personnel found that a whopping 78% of women and 38% of men had experienced sexual harassment during their previous year with the US military (Bastian, Lancaster, & Reyest, 1996). A subsequent study of over 3,900 male and female former reservists found similar incidence rates of sexual harassment with 73% of women and 42% of men reporting being on the receiving end of it at some point during their service in the reserves. Interestingly, this study also found that while women were more likely to be victims of the more extreme types of sexual harassment (e.g., assault or coercion) than men, men who experienced these appear to suffer more severe mental health outcomes, although these outcomes appear to be enduring for both men and women (Street et al., 2007).

Although data collected from studies of military and civilian samples vary, there are consistent trends. The first is that regardless of the setting, women are sexually harassed more than men. Depending on how sexual harassment was defined by researchers, women in general report sexually harassing experiences at a rate of two to seven times the incidence of men. Another trend is that seemingly milder forms of sexual harassment, such as sexually suggestive comments or suggestive looks, appear to be fairly common experiences regardless of the work setting, whether civilian or military, while more severe forms of harassment, such as sexual assault, thankfully, occur less frequently. Lastly, only a tiny fraction of individuals who have experienced sexual harassment actually report its occurrence and far fewer file legal claims (Foote & Goodman-Delahunty, 2005).

The fact that victims often do not label their experiences with sexually harassing behavior as being sexual harassment means that the negative results from these experiences are underrepresented in typical cost estimates. The latest statistics show that 11,717 claims were filed with the EEOC in 2010 and that the value of those settlements was a whopping 48.4 million dollars. This figure would be even higher if it included monetary damages obtained through litigation and the costs incurred by organizations attempting to defend against these claims. The average amount in damages awarded for a US sexual harassment case is about a quarter of a million dollars (Zugelder, Champagne, & Maurer, 2006). Out-of-court settlements can be substantial as evidenced by the \$34 million 1999 settlement that Mitsubishi Motors Manufacturing paid to current and former employees. Perhaps, Mitsubishi was lucky to even be able to reach this settlement

given that prior to this agreement it offered its employees their regular wages to embark on an all-expenses-paid trip, with their families, to protest the class action or stay behind and be required to work (EEOC, 1996).

Assessing actual incurred costs of sexual harassment is difficult due to victims often not identifying or reporting their experiences as being sexual harassment. However, we do know that the financial cost of victim turnover, including the cost of recruiting, hiring, and training a replacement, is no laughing matter. The attrition costs related to training and recruitment alone for the 1986 Army were between \$17,400 and \$30,888 (White, Nord, Mael, & Young, 1993). Translating those amounts into present day values yields costs of \$36,000–\$64,000. The US Department of Labor estimates that private companies lose around \$1 billion (not including judgment awards) annually due to sexual harassment (Boland, 2005), and ignoring sexual harassment has been estimated to cost the average organization as much as \$6.7 million per year in decreased productivity and morale and heightened work withdrawal and attrition (Petrocelli & Repa, 2000). None of these figures account for the fact that sexual harassment also negatively affects an organization's bottom line through costs associated with declines in victims' and bystanders' physical and psychological health as well as the potential for litigation (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Lim & Cortina, 2005; Sbraga & O'Donohue, 2000; Schneider et al., 1997).

Clearly, sexual harassment has numerous negative effects on victims, bystanders, and organizations as a whole, but are there really no benefits to sexual behaviors at work? Is it possible that some people find these behaviors enjoyable or humorous rather than offensive? Can sexual behavior at work be a welcome stress reliever, fun, and flattering to employees, and perhaps even be beneficial to organizations? Researchers have found that regardless of whether employees view direct or ambient sexual behaviors at work positively, employees exposed to such behaviors at work experience worse work-related outcomes, including job withdrawal (neglecting tasks, thoughts about quitting) and decreased psychological well-being (depression, alcoholism, and drug use) than those who are not exposed to these behaviors. Also, there is evidence that employees feel less valued at work, regardless of whether they enjoy sexualized behaviors at work, the more frequently they are exposed to these behaviors. Furthermore, negative psychological outcomes appear to be worse for employees that experience more frequent sexual behaviors in the workplace. Only employees who experience no or very few sexual behaviors report high levels of psychological well-being (Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008). In short, despite the pleasure sexualized behavior at work may bring to some, it is harmful to employees and organizations alike, regardless of fleeting enjoyment, and there are no benefits associated with its occurrence (Berdahl & Aquino, 2009).

Who Is at Risk and Why?

Given that sexual harassment is fairly commonplace, it is reasonable to wonder who is at greatest risk of being harassed. While nine out of ten harassers may say "no one" is at risk, the truth is that sexual harassment is a widespread and continuing problem that affects men and women across occupational categories, age groups, racial and ethnic groups, and income and education levels (Foote & Goodman-Delahunty, 2005). Although all age groups can be affected by sexual harassment, older men and women are somewhat less likely to be sexually harassed than their younger counterparts (Foote & Goodman-Delahunty, 2005; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981). There is also some evidence that victims tend to have less organizational power than their perpetrators (Uggen & Blackstone, 2004). This may be because perpetrators perceive victims with less power as less risky to harass, and also easier targets, since they may have a greater ability to intimidate or make demands of them. Also, individuals in higher-level positions often perceive themselves as having an increased sense of job security and importance, as well

as an increased ability to influence organizational decisions (Kanter, 1977). These sentiments may lead them to think that they will not be held accountable for sexually harassing behavior. This problem is further exacerbated by the fact that upper management and senior executives are largely responsible for shaping the overall organizational culture.

Traditionally, it was thought that sexual harassment was primarily motivated by desire; therefore, victims were chosen according to whether they met stereotypical, physical, and personality ideals for their gender. This theory suggested that women that closely meet gender role stereotypes would be the most attractive targets (Gutek, 1985; MacKinnon, 1997). The sexual desire theory may be slightly pertinent for some of the less common instances of harassment; however, research supports the exact opposite trend with the most common type of sexual harassment, gender harassment. Victims that do not meet gender prescriptive stereotypes such as women with more "masculine" personalities (assertive, outspoken, etc.) are at greater risk of being targeted by harassment perpetrators. This is especially true for victims that challenge gender prescriptive stereotypes by working in jobs that have a "job gender" context that is incongruent with their sex (Berdahl, 2007; Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Job gender context refers to the relative proportion of males and females in the work group and whether the task or job they are performing is typically considered to be traditional or nontraditional for members of each sex (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Traditionally, male jobs with disproportionately higher numbers of males than females include the military, firefighters, construction workers, and police officers. It has been theorized that women working in traditionally male jobs or in positions of high seniority may experience higher rates of sexual harassment because these women are more of a threat to the social status of men than those who do not work in this capacity (Berdahl).

Many also believe that sexual harassment is a by-product of the masculine cultures created and propagated in male-dominated job contexts. These cultures are thought to emphasize stereotypical male characteristics like "aggression, sexual bravado, embracing dangerous or risky situations, and bonding through rituals that celebrate male superiority" (Gruber, 1998, p. 303). When women enter these environments, they may be greeted with hostility for violating male territory. Additionally, because women in these contexts are scarce, they are likely to be viewed as tokens, or representatives of their gender, rather than as individuals. Tokenism tends to occur when female representation falls below 15% (Kanter, 1977). When this happens, gender becomes more salient, and women are expected to behave in a manner consistent with traditional female stereotypes. This is problematic, however, because the very existence of a woman in a masculine job gender context is inconsistent with female stereotypes and therefore sets the stage for perceptions that the woman does not belong and is infringing upon male territory (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Finally, women in male-dominated workplaces are likely at higher risk for sexual harassment simply because they are exposed to more males, thereby increasing the probability that harassment will occur (Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990).

Consistent power disparities between men and women are found in the majority of organizations. For example, a 1995 census revealed that women currently constitute nearly half of the US labor force but only account for a mere 2.4% of the highest ranking corporate leaders (Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998). More recent statistics suggest that women are becoming more prevalent in the upper echelons of organizations; however, they are still nowhere near parity. Indeed, a research report by Hewlett, Peraino, Sherbin, and Sumberg (2011) indicates that "women occupy 3% of Fortune 500 CEO positions, are outnumbered 4 to 1 in the C-suite, comprise less than 16% of all corporate officers, and occupy only 7.6% of Fortune 500 top-earner positions" (O'Neill & Boyle, 2011, p. 76). These statistics are in light of the fact that women constitute nearly half of the US labor force with 46.8% working outside the home (U.S. Department of Labor, 2009).

Sex role spillover is another factor that contributes to an organization's climate and can propagate sexual harassment. According to the concept of gender role spillover, disparities in

power between men and women are rooted within the larger framework of American society (Gutek, 1985). Sex roles spillover when they are inappropriately assumed to exist or apply in the workplace. Common sex stereotypes include viewing women as sex objects or nurturers and men as sexually aggressive and assertive. When gender roles spill over into the workplace, they can largely influence the overall culture of the organization as well as the way men and women are perceived within it. Female tokenism is thought to increase gender role spillover, which in turn leads to males objectifying women, thereby creating a culture that is supportive of sexual harassment (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Women that violate gender norms or are subject to sexual stereotyping may be at a significant risk of becoming targets of hostile work environment harassment, particularly in male-dominated environments (Berdahl, 2007) and in organizations with large and therefore very clear power differentials between hierarchical levels (Ilies et al., 2003). Although it is impossible to determine completely the causal relations among all factors that contribute to harassment, the possibility that job gender contexts, power disparities, sex role spillover, and overall organizational climate are factors that play a causal role in sexual harassment is likely. These factors, which are indicative of a deep-rooted gender divide, are associated with an increased frequency of harassment that is not likely to go away anytime soon. As will be discussed later, education for those who may be harassed as well as for possible harassers could assist with the transition to more gender neutral workplaces.

The presence or absence of any of the previously mentioned factors may not be enough to cause sexual harassment unless an individual possesses an additional factor, the propensity to commit sexual harassment. Research has demonstrated that people vary in their propensity to sexually harass. Pryor's (1987) likelihood to sexually harass (LSH) scale is a reliable tool for measuring an individual's propensity to sexually harass. Individuals who score high on this scale tend to have stronger preexisting associations between social dominance and sexuality, and more negative attitudes about women and femininity (Pryor, 1987; Pryor, Giedd, & Williams, 1995). Higher scores also predict sexual harassment in laboratory settings when people with high scores are given a substantial amount of power over potential victims. The degree of sexual harassment is even more pronounced when another person in the laboratory models sexually harassing behavior (Pryor et al., 1995). There are three main types of men that tended to score high on the LSH. The first type is naïve about heterosexual relationships. These men tend to misinterpret women's behavior as attraction and as an indication that she desires a sexual relationship. The second type is exploitative in their relationships with women. These men tend to connect sexuality to social dominance and view sexual relationships as a man exerting power over a woman. The final type dislikes women and tends to have misogynistic views. These men tend to divide the workplace according to sex and have a strong dislike for those that violate traditional gender norms (Pryor). Because LSH scores relate to deeply ingrained feelings that are extremely resistant to change, even when harassment awareness training is provided, these scores and accompanying feelings do not change (Perry, Kulik, & Shmidtke, 1998). Therefore, a strong possibility exists that even well-designed preventative measures cannot change the inclination of potential perpetrators to harass. As a result, the risk of sexual harassment occurring will always exist, and organizations must constantly work to create an organizational climate that demonstrates a commitment to eliminate sexual harassment and to take action against it whenever and wherever it occurs.

How to Combat Sexual Harassment

Research has shown that the more indifferent or neutral an organization is perceived to be with regards to sexual harassment, the higher the incidence rate will be (Pryor et al., 1995). The presence of an antiharassment policy as well as a clear complaint procedure are key; however, enforcement

and consistent application of the policy and complaint procedure are critical to prevention. Moreover, merely sharing an antiharassment policy and offering antiharassment education to employees are not enough to prevent occurrences. Paramount to avoiding workplace sexual harassment is the attitude of organizational leadership. Leaders act as role models for employees and set the tone for employees' interpretation of how sexual harassment will be handled (Bell, Quick, & Cychota, 2002).

Employees have the right to expect that the organizations that they work for will respect and protect their civil liberties, including the rights that are prerequisite for achieving at least a baseline level of quality of work life. Our legal system exists to protect these rights and thereby ensure that our society continues to thrive, prosper, and build the best possible lives for its people. Given the far reaching, long lasting, and negative consequences sexual harassment has on employees and organizations alike, coupled with the fact that the average full-time employee spends the majority of his or her waking hours at work, it is essential to understand the threats posed by harassment, as well as the dilemma organizations face when deciding what to do about it. Although organizations are accountable for protecting employees from harm and guarding rights that are fundamental to their quality of work life, organizations ultimately exist to produce, generate revenue, and compete. Sexual harassment clearly obstructs these goals. Therefore, logic would have it that organizations need not be strong-armed into acting in accordance with Title VII because of legal pressure but instead, should recognize that it is in their own best interest and be eager to comply. Compliance includes protecting employee and organizational well-being by providing a work environment that is free from harassment and based on mutual trust and respect. Compliance requires that persons in positions of authority are trained to appropriately handle reports of sexual harassment and that clear sexual harassment policies exist and are discussed with employees. Policies for preventing harassment and resolving complaints should explain, in no uncertain terms, the types of behavior that constitute harassment, how to report its occurrence, and that all reports will be taken seriously and result in a prompt, impartial investigation. Policies should also inform employees of their right to work in a harassment-free environment and encourage them to come promptly forward in the event this right is compromised. Not coming forward is a common coping mechanism resulting from fear of embarrassment, retaliation, social isolation, and/or not being taken seriously (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Gutek, 1985). The problem, nonetheless, is that fear of coming forward does nothing to salvage a victim's well-being and protect the organizational climate. Having a well-established grievance procedure and process for responding to instances of harassment is vital to preventing future occurrences, controlling the climate for harassment and avoiding negative outcomes. As for the grievance procedure itself, it should offer an alternative to reporting harassment to a supervisor since supervisors can be perpetrators thus requesting that they receive all grievances would not be effective. Upon receipt of a grievance, a prompt, fair investigation that safeguards the confidentiality of the victim(s), perpetrator(s), and witness(es) should commence.

Upon substantiation of a sexual harassment grievance, the employer is legally bound to do something to stop the harassment, correct its effects, and ensure that it does not reoccur (EEOC, 1980). The only legal recourse that organizations have to defend themselves against charges of liability for sexual harassment, once it has occurred, is to establish what is referred to as the affirmative defense. In order to satisfy the affirmative defense, the organization must prove that it (1) exercised "reasonable care" by disseminating a complete and well-enforced antiharassment policy and (2) took prompt and "reasonably calculated" remedial action to prevent and correct the harassing behavior. In the past, whether an organization's remedial actions were found to be reasonably calculated depended on whether the organization: (1) conducted a prompt, fair, and thorough investigation, (2) promptly and sufficiently punished or reprimanded the perpetrator, and (3) succeeded in stopping the harassment without punishing the victim (Brown, 1993; Faragher v. City of Boca Raton, 1998; McCann, 2000; Nelson et al., 2007; Willert, 1998).

Successfully stopping the harassment should also serve to safeguard the victim's quality of work life and right to justice as well as protect the well-being of other employees that may be aware of the harassment taking place, or worse, fearful that they could be next.

Determining how to best deal with perpetrators while shielding the broader organization from harm can place the right to justice in serious peril. If employees view the organization's corrective action as appropriate (i.e., as "fitting the crime"), then the actions will also be perceived as just (Lind & Tyler, 1988), and as a result, the risk of legal exposure and further harm is minimized. Anticipated justice and actual perceived justice are critical factors that likely influence a number of key outcomes, including whether the involved parties will report harassment and ultimately whether they will pursue legal action (Rudman, Borgida, & Robertson, 1995).

Because an organization must act promptly to minimize legal risk and harm to the organization, it is imperative that organizations have procedures in place to guide managers who conduct investigations and administer remedial actions. To avoid liability, it is recommended that organizations separate the alleged perpetrator and victim (within hours or days) upon discovery of possible sexual harassment and initiate an investigation (Franklin, 1999). Although the requirement of a prompt response could seemingly interfere with a thorough investigation, as long as there is a "reasonable belief" that harassment occurred, organizations retain the right and responsibility to punish perpetrators for their alleged behavior (Willert, 1998). In fact, organizations can be found liable for failing to punish sexual harassment perpetrators even if they stop their harassing behavior (Franklin), which can make deciding on an appropriate punishment a bit more tricky.

If a lawsuit ensues, the second prong of the affirmative defense requires the employer to demonstrate that the plaintiff unreasonably chose not to utilize preventative and corrective resources provided by the employer (*Burlington Industries v. Ellerth*, 1988). An employer that has exercised reasonable care is not liable for unlawful harassment if the aggrieved employee could have done something to prevent or stop it, but did not (*Burlington Industries v. Ellerth*, 1988; EEOC, 1990a). Nevertheless, there are reasonable explanations for why employees delay or fail to report sexual harassment, such as situations where there were obstacles to filing a complaint, the complaint process was considered ineffective, or the complaint process afforded a risk of retaliation. Ultimately, in order to defend against unreported sexual harassment, the employer needs to prove that the belief or perception underlying the plaintiff's decision not to complain was unreasonable (*Burlington Industries v. Ellerth*).

There are, however, certain circumstances under which the affirmative defense cannot be raised by an employer. Employers are liable for the sexually harassing conduct of their supervisors if it results in a "tangible employment action," regardless of whether the employer knew of the conduct and regardless of the type of harassment that occurred (hostile environment or *quid pro quo*) (EEOC, 1999; Kenneth, 2004). A tangible employment action is one that results in a significant change in employment status. Examples include actions such as hiring/firing, promotion/failure to promote, demotion, undesirable position reassignment, significant change in benefits or compensation, and changes in work assignments or job duties. Constructive discharge, which occurs when an employee chooses to resign from a position, can be considered a tangible employment action. However, the employee must show that conditions were bad enough that a reasonable person would have felt they needed to leave. The courts take this stance because an employer essentially acts through its supervisors; therefore, any tangible employment action taken by the supervisor constitutes an act of the employer (EEOC).

An example lawsuit that illustrates how an organization can successfully defend itself is *Barrett v. Omaha National Bank* (1984). In this particular case, an employee informed her employer that her coworker had sexually harassed her. Within 4 days of the report, the bank had launched an investigation of the claim, reprimanded the guilty employee, placed him on probation, and warned him that any further inappropriate conduct would result in termination. The employer went even further to reprimand a witness of the misconduct for not reporting it.

The court decided that the employer's response was immediate and appropriate, thereby making the employer not liable (*Barrett v. Omaha National Bank*).

Another example in which a company took inappropriate action is *Zabkowicz v. West Bend Co.* (1984). In this case, coworkers repeatedly harassed the victim over a period of roughly 4 years. The supervisor dealt with the victim's numerous complaints by scheduling occasional meetings in which he reminded the coworkers of the company's policy against sexual harassment. The supervisor never fully investigated the harassment and also did not reprimand any of the offenders until after the victim reported the harassment to the EEOC. Upon learning of the EEOC's involvement, the company discharged only one of the offenders and suspended the others. The court decided that the employer was liable in this case because it failed to take immediate and appropriate action to stop the harassment and to prevent future harassment from occurring.

To prevent reoccurrence of harassment, it is important that an employer take immediate action when a complaint is made by separating the alleged victim and perpetrator, pending the results of an investigation. This can be accomplished through scheduling changes, transferring the alleged harasser, or by placing the alleged harasser on nondisciplinary paid leave until the investigation has determined whether the harassment did in fact occur. The victim should not be negatively affected in any way, because these actions could qualify as unlawful retaliation (EEOC, 1999). Furthermore, the investigation itself should be as prompt, thorough, and as impartial as possible. The person conducting the investigation should be well trained in interviewing and evaluating credibility. Victims may be suspicious of an investigation conducted by management if the alleged perpetrator is also a member of management. As a result, it may be advisable to seek a third party investigator that has no relation to the alleged victim or perpetrator. Research also suggests that to increase the perceived fairness of the investigation, it may be helpful to choose an investigator that is the same sex as the victim (Elkins, Phillips, & Ward, 2008) or use a mixed-gender team to conduct the investigation (Elkins et al., 2008; Reese & Lindenberg, 2004). The bottom line is that when employees feel that the investigation is fair, they are more satisfied with the final decision, even if not in their favor, and are less likely to seek legal assistance (Neuser, 2005).

If a sexual harassment complaint is deemed valid through a thorough investigation, then the next step is to take remedial action. It may seem that organizations seeking to avoid liability would be wise to err on the side of severity in dealing with perpetrators, given that the degree to which their response is judged as reasonably calculated depends on its actual effectiveness in stopping the harassment, not its reasonably foreseeable effect (EEOC, 1990a; Franklin, 1999; Nelson et al., 2007; Robinson & Allen, 1993). However, terminating a perpetrator's employment, regardless of the circumstances, puts the employer in a difficult position for several reasons. First, although there is no published research on the productivity of sexual harassment perpetrators, there is no reason to believe that perpetrators should be any less valuable than nonperpetrators in terms of their personal work-related productivity. Second, as previously stated, sexual harassment perpetrators often hold positions of power, and persons holding positions of power generally possess specialized skills and abilities, making them difficult to replace. The potential organizational costs related to recruitment, hiring, and training of a replacement may not justify firing him or her if the harassment was not considered severe (Franklin, 1999; Nelson et al., 2007). Third, many accused sexual perpetrators have made successful countersuits, claiming that their punishment or discharge was not in compliance with Title VII and was not in accordance to due process requirements (Franklin, 1999; Robinson & Allen, 1993). Because of these factors, and perceived differences in the seriousness of some types of harassment, firing persons who commit sexual harassment or giving them the severest punishment possible may not be in the best interest of the company. That being said, an employer must balance competing concerns: on one hand, the employer has to make sure that disciplinary measures are stringent enough to ensure that harassment stops, while on the other hand overly severe corrective measures

may be subject to wrongful discharge claims by the perpetrator. To arrive at a solution to this dilemma, the EEOC suggests that disciplinary measures be proportional to the perceived severity of the offense (EEOC, 1990a). With less severe occurrences, remedial measures such as counseling and verbal warnings may be appropriate, whereas with more severe occurrences, dismissal may be warranted. Common interventions include the following: oral or written warning or reprimand, offering an apology, sexual harassment training, perpetrator counseling, transfer or reassignment of harasser or victim, demotion, suspension, and/or dismissal (Nelson et al., 2007). Finally, it is recommended that the implementation of a top-down culture change toward intolerance of sexual harassment accompany these interventions.

The strengths and weaknesses of potential interventions must be considered when deciding what action to take when harassment occurs. Milder interventions, such as oral or written warnings or reprimands (basically scolding the perpetrators), are appropriate for minor offenses or in combination with other interventions. This is because scolding is seen as less severe and less effective at communicating intolerance of harassment than other responses (Nelson et al., 2007). Transfer or reassignment is another alternative for intervention. This may involve moving the perpetrator to a different location or work group that does not include the victim. Moving the perpetrator may be effective at ending the immediate misconduct. However, the dilemma for the employer is that there is no evidence or reason to believe that this intervention would change the perpetrator's behavior, and along those lines, the "punishment" may not have adverse consequences for the perpetrator. It is possible and even likely that simply moving a perpetrator will result in future harassment within the newly assigned location or work group. The victim of the harassment may also be moved, either through transfer to a different location or to a new work group; however, an organization must be careful in using this action because this type of intervention may be perceived as punishing the victim rather than the perpetrator. Also, again, this does little to change the behavior of the perpetrator. Demotion and suspension are seen as more severe and more effective at communicating intolerance of sexual harassment and may be viable options for dealing with some instances of harassment (Nelson et al., 2007). Organizations commonly use sexual harassment training and/or counseling to ensure that the perpetrator understands why his or her behavior violated the organization's antiharassment policy. Research indicates that sexual harassment training is effective at improving a perpetrator's recognition of harassing behavior. However, training is not effective at actually changing a perpetrator's attitudes regarding sexual harassment, nor does it reduce their propensity to harass, which presents an ongoing problem for the employer (Bisom-Rapp, 2001; Kearney, Rochlen, & King, 2004; Perry et al., 1998). When dealing with recognized sexual harassment, demonstrating commitment and strict adherence to the organizational sexual harassment policy, punishing the perpetrator, and maintaining an inherent threat of severe sanctions for future policy violations are probably the most effective ways to prevent continued occurrences.

To demonstrate commitment and intolerance of sexual harassment, a top-down culture change must occur. Organizational leaders must recognize that they are ultimately responsible for creating the organizational culture (Schein, 1985) and therefore working to protect employee quality of work life. This is because the attitudes expressed by organizational leaders can have a great influence on employee attitudes and perceptions because leaders signal the types of attitudes and behaviors that are permissible. Research has demonstrated that employees that show a propensity to harass look to leaders for subtle cues that harassing behavior may be tolerated or condoned (Pryor, LaVite, & Stoller, 1993). Moreover, leaders develop and enact policies, procedures, and norms that mold the climate of the organization (Mueller, De Coster, & Estes, 2001; Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). Leaders should understand how to enforce antiharassment policies while simultaneously engaging in behavior that models intolerance for sexual harassment. Furthermore, employers should monitor its leaders' conduct to make sure that they are carrying out their responsibilities with regard to promotion and enforcement of the organizational antiharassment policy.

Quality-of-work life initiatives are also key to accomplishing this top-down culture change. Leaders should evaluate work group climates to determine whether there is evidence that incivility or harassment is tolerated or likely to occur. By the same token, it may be a good idea to monitor individuals that are likely to be victims of sexual harassment, especially women who are in positions typically filled by men and/or work in male-dominated settings. Finally, it is extremely important that an employer maintain records of all complaints of harassment. Records will not only enable an employer to identify patterns of harassing behavior, but also will aid in determining appropriate disciplinary measures and become critical should litigation arise.

In addition to taking corrective action to ensure that harassment does not recur, an organization should also make its best effort to correct the effect of the harassment on the victim. These corrective actions may involve offering an apology from the harasser, forgiving any leave taken because of the harassment, expunging any negative performance evaluation or demotion that may have stemmed from the harassment, monitoring the treatment of the employee to ensure that he or she is not subjected to retaliation, or in some cases offering compensation for losses incurred as a result of the harassment.

In summary, sexual harassment is a form of employment discrimination that is highly commonplace, illegal, and can have a profound negative impact not only on the quality of work life of all employees, but it can also severely impact the financial success of a business. Employees have the right to work for organizations that respect and protect them from sexual harassment. Research, however, indicates that sexual harassment is an ongoing organizational problem that is here to stay. To deal with this, all organizations are encouraged to actively take top-down steps which build an organizational climate that conveys a strict intolerance of harassment. Furthermore, plans must be made to effectively deal with sexual harassment before it occurs. This is important because employees undoubtedly attempt to get justice by taking their case to court when they believe their employer's actions were not fair and effective. Organizations that fully understand the importance of prevention and the appropriate ways of addressing sexual harassment are the organizations that are best equipped to avoid legal exposure and protect the overall health and well-being of their employees and organizations as a whole.

References

- Barrett v. Omaha National Bank, 726 F.2d 424, 33 EPD 34,132. (1984).
- Bastian, L. D., Lancaster, A. R., & Reyest, H. E. (1996). *Department of Defense 1995 sexual harassment survey* (Publication No. 96-014). Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center.
- Bell, M. P., Quick, J. C., & Cycyota, C. S. (2002). Assessment and prevention of sexual harassment of employees: An applied guide to creating healthy organizations. *International Journal of Selection & Assessment*, 10(1–2), 160–167. Retrieved from <http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=0965-075X>
- Berdahl, J. L. (2007). The sexual harassment of uppity women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(2), 425–437. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.92.2.425.
- Berdahl, J. L., & Aquino, K. (2009). Sexual behavior at work: Fun or folly? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(1), 34–47. doi:10.1037/a0012981.
- Bergman, M. E., Langhout, R. D., Palmieri, P. A., Cortina, L. M., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2002). The (un)reasonableness of reporting: Antecedents and consequences of reporting sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(2), 230–242. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2005.tb02156.x.
- Bisom-Rapp, S. (2001). An ounce of prevention is a poor substitute for a pound of cure: Confronting the developing jurisprudence of education and prevention in employment discrimination law. *Berkeley Journal of Employment and Labor Law*, 22(1). Retrieved from <http://www.bjell.org/>
- Boland, M. L. (2005). *Sexual harassment in the workplace*. Naperville, IL: Sphinx Publishing.

- Brown, T. D. (1993). When counseling is not enough: The ninth circuit requires employers to discipline sexual harassers. *Washington University Law Quarterly*, 71, 901–919.
- Burlington Industries v. Ellerth, 524 U.S. 742. (1988).
- Chan, D. K.-S., Lam, C. B., Chow, S. Y., & Cheung, S. F. (2008). Examining the job-related, psychological, and physical outcomes of workplace sexual harassment: A meta-analytic review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32(4), 362–376.
- Civil Rights Act of 1991. (1991). P.L. 102–166, 105 stat. 1071.
- Collinsworth, L. L., Fitzgerald, L. F., & Drasgow, F. (2009). In harm's way: Factors related to psychological distress following sexual harassment. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 33(4), 475–490. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2009.01525.x.
- de Haas, S., Timmerman, G., & Höing, M. (2009). Sexual harassment and health among male and female police officers. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 14(4), 390–401. doi:10.1037/a0017046.
- Donovan, M. A., & Drasgow, F. (1999). Do men's and women's experience of sexual harassment differ? An examination of the differential test functioning of the sexual experiences questionnaire. *Military Psychology*, 11(3), 265–282. doi:10.1207/s15327876mp1103_4.
- Dubois, C. L. Z., Knapp, D. E., Faley, R. H., & Kustis, G. A. (1998). An empirical examination of same- and other-gender sexual harassment in the workplace. *Sex Roles*, 39(9–10), 731–749. doi:10.1023/A:1018860101629.
- Eagly, A. H., Makhijani, M. G., & Klonsky, B. G. (1992). Gender and the evaluation of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 111(1), 3–22. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.111.1.3.
- Elkins, T. J., Phillips, J. S., & Ward, S. G. (2008). Organizational sexual harassment investigations: Observers' perceptions of fairness. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, 20(1), 88–108. <http://www.pittstate.edu/departments/economics/journal-of-managerial-issues/>
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC) (1980). Guidelines on discrimination because of sex. *Federal Register*, 45, 746–777.
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC) (1990a). *Policy guidance on current issues of sexual harassment* (N-915-050). Retrieved March 30, 2012, from <http://eeoc.gov/policy/docs/currentissues.html>
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC) (1990b). *Policy guidance on employer liability under Title VII for sexual favoritism* (N-915.048). Retrieved March 30, 2012, from <http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/sexualfavor.html>
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC) (1994). *Enforcement guidance on Harris v. Forklift Sys., Inc* (92-1168 slip op). Retrieved March 30, 2012, from <http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/harris.html>
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC) (1996, April). *EEOC chairman comments on lawsuit against Mitsubishi*. Retrieved March 30, 2012, from <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/newsroom/release/4-22-96.cfm>
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC) (1999). *Enforcement guidance: Vicarious employer liability for unlawful harassment by supervisors* (915.002). Retrieved March 30, 2012, from <http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/harassment.html>
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC) (2009). *Cheesecake factory settles EEOC suit in case of severe same-sex sexual harassment*. Retrieved March 30, 2012, from: <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/newsroom/release/11-10-09.cfm>
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC) (2010). *Sexual harassment charges EEOC & FEPAs combined: FY 1997–FY 2010*. Retrieved March 30, 2012, from: http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/sexual_harassment.cfm
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission & Walters v. Metropolitan Educational Enterprises, Inc., 117 S. Ct. 660. (1997).
- Faragher v. City of Boca Raton, 524 U.S. 775. (1998).
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Drasgow, F., Hulin, C. L., Gelfand, M. J., & Magley, V. J. (1997). Antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in organizations: A test of an integrated model. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82(4), 578–589. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.82.4.578.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Gelfand, M. J., & Drasgow, F. (1995). Measuring sexual harassment: Theoretical and psychometric advances. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 17(4), 425–445. doi:10.1207/s15324834baspp1704_2.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Swan, S., & Fischer, K. (1995). Why didn't she just report him? The psychological and legal implications of women's responses to sexual harassment. *The Journal of Social Issues*, 51(1), 117–138. Retrieved from <http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=0022-4537>
- Foote, W. E., & Goodman-Delahunty, J. (2005). *Evaluating sexual harassment: Psychological, social, and legal considerations in forensic examinations*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/10827-000.
- Franklin, E. D. (1999). Maneuvering through the labyrinth: The employer's paradox in responding to hostile environment sexual harassment – A proposed way out. *Fordham Law Review*, 67(4), 1517–1608. Retrieved from <http://fordhamlawreview.org>

- Gelfand, M. J., Fitzgerald, L. F., & Drasgow, F. (1995). The structure of sexual harassment: A confirmatory factor analysis across cultures and settings. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 47, 164–177.
- Gesaman, K. (2010, January 13). Abuse of power. *Newsweek*. Retrieved from <http://www.newsweek.com>
- Glomb, T. M., Munson, L. J., Hulin, C. L., Bergman, M. E., & Drasgow, F. (1999). Structural equation models of sexual harassment: Longitudinal explorations and cross-sectional generalizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 84(1), 14–28. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.84.1.14.
- Glomb, T. M., Richman, W. L., Hulin, C. L., Drasgow, F., Schneider, K. T., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1997). Ambient sexual harassment: An integrated model of antecedents and consequences. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 71(3), 309–328. doi:10.1006/obhd.1997.2728.
- Gruber, J. E. (1998). The impact of male work environments and organizational policies on women's experiences of sexual harassment. *Gender and Society*, 12, 301–320. doi:10.1177/0891243298012003004.
- Gutek, B. A. (1985). *Sex and the workplace: The impact of sexual behavior and harassment on women, men, and organizations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gutek, B. A., Cohen, A., & Konrad, A. (1990). Predicting social-sexual behavior at work: A contact hypothesis. *Academy of Management Journal*, 33(3), 560–577. doi:10.2307/256581.
- Gutek, B. A., O'Connor, M. A., Melançon, R., Stockdale, M. S., Geer, T. M., & Done, R. S. (1999). The utility of the reasonable woman legal standard in hostile environment sexual harassment cases: A multimethod, multi-study examination. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 5(3), 596–629. doi:10.1037/1076-8971.5.3.596.
- Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc., 510 U.S. 17. (1993).
- Hewlett, S. A., Peraino, K., Sherbin, L., & Sumberg, K. (2011, January 12). The sponsor effect: Breaking through the last glass ceiling. *The Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved from <http://hbr.org/>
- Illies, R., Hauserman, N., Schwochau, S., & Stibal, J. (2003). Reported incidence rates of work-related sexual harassment in the United States: Using meta-analysis to explain reported rate disparities. *Personnel Psychology*, 56(3), 607–631. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.2003.tb00752.x.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kearney, L. K., Rochlen, A. B., & King, E. B. (2004). Male gender role conflict, sexual harassment tolerance, and the efficacy of a psychoeducative training program. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 5(1), 72–82. doi:10.1037/1524-9220.5.1.72.
- Kenneth, R. J. (2004). 'Zero tolerance' for sexual harassment by supervisors in the workplace: Employers don't have a real choice. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*, 4, 57–64. doi:10.1300/J158v04n01_04.
- Lim, S., & Cortina, L. M. (2005). Interpersonal mistreatment in the workplace: The interface and impact of general incivility and sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(3), 483–496. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.90.3.483.
- Lind, E. A., & Tyler, T. R. (1988). *The social psychology of procedural justice*. New York: Plenum Press.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1997). *Sexual harassment of working women*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Magley, V. J., Hulin, C. L., Fitzgerald, L. F., & DeNardo, M. (1999). Outcomes of self-labeling sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 84(3), 390–402. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.84.3.390.
- Mattioli, D. (2010, March 23). Recession spurs harassment claims by men. *Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from <http://online.wsj.com>
- McCann, D. F. (2000). Supervisory sexual harassment and employer liability: The third circuit sheds light on vicarious liability and affirmative defenses. *Villanova Law Review*, 45(4), 767–792. <http://www.law.villanova.edu/Academics/Journals/Law%20Review.aspx>
- Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson, 477 U.S. 57. (1986).
- Miller v. Department of Corrections, 36 Cal 4th 446. (2005).
- Mitchell, M. S., Koen, C. M., & Crow, S. M. (2008). Harassment: It's not (all) about sex! Part I: The evolving legal environment. *The Health Care Manager*, 27(1), 13–22. Retrieved from <http://journals.lww.com/healthcaremanagerjournal>
- Mueller, C. W., De Coster, S., & Estes, S. B. (2001). Sexual harassment in the workplace: Unanticipated consequences of modern social control in organizations. *Work and Occupations*, 28(4), 411–446. doi:10.1177/0730888401028004003.
- Munson, L., Miner, A., & Hulin, C. (2001). Labeling sexual harassment in the military: An extension and replication. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86(2), 293–303. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.86.2.293.
- Nelson, C. G., Halpert, J. A., & Cellar, D. F. (2007). Organizational responses for preventing and stopping sexual harassment: Effective deterrents of continued endurance. *Sex Roles*, 56, 811–822. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9239-8.
- Neuser, D. J. (2005). How to Conduct Effective Internal Investigations of Workplace Matters. *Employee Relations Law Journal*, 31(1), 67–89.
- Oncala v. Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc., 523 US 75. (1998).
- O'Neill, C., & Boyle, S. (2011). Leadership challenges for women at work. *Chief Learning Officer*, 10(6), 76–78. Retrieved from <http://clomedia.com/>

- Perry, E. L., Kulik, C. T., & Bourhis, A. C. (2004). The reasonable woman standard: Effects on sexual harassment court decisions. *Law and Human Behavior*, 28(1), 9–27. doi:10.1023/B:LAHU.0000015001.07732.8e.
- Perry, E. L., Kulik, C. T., & Schmidtke, J. M. (1998). Individual differences in the effectiveness of sexual harassment awareness training. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28(8), 698–723. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.1998.tb01727.x.
- Petrocelli, W., & Repa, B. K. (2000). *Sexual harassment on the job: What it is and how to stop it*. Berkeley, CA: Nolo Press.
- Pryor, J. B. (1987). Sexual harassment proclivities in men. *Sex Roles*, 17(5–6), 269–290. doi:10.1007/BF00288453.
- Pryor, J. B., Giedd, J. L., & Williams, K. B. (1995). A social psychological model for predicting sexual harassment. *Journal of Social Issues*, 51(1), 69–84. <http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=0022-4537>
- Pryor, J. B., LaVite, C. M., & Stoller, L. M. (1993). A social psychological analysis of sexual harassment: The person/situation interaction. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 42(1), 68–83. doi:10.1006/jvbe.1993.1005.
- Ragins, B. R., Townsend, B., & Mattis, M. (1998). Gender gap in the executive suite: CEOs and female executives report on breaking the glass ceiling. *The Academy of Management Executive*, 12(1), 28–42. doi:10.5465/AME.1998.254976.
- Raver, J. L., & Gelfand, M. J. (2005). Beyond the individual team: Linking sexual harassment, team process and team performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48(3), 387–400. doi:10.5465/AMJ.2005.17407904.
- Reese, L. A., & Lindenberg, K. E. (2004). Employee satisfaction with sexual harassment policies: The training connection. *Public Personnel Management*, 33(1), 99–119. Retrieved from <http://www.ipma-hr.org/node/21487>
- Richman-Hirsch, W. L., & Glomb, T. M. (2002). Are men affected by the sexual harassment of women? Effects of ambient sexual harassment on men. In J. M. Brett & F. Drasgow (Eds.), *The psychology of work: Theoretically based empirical research* (pp. 121–140). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Robinson, R. K., & Allen, B. M. (1993). Sexual harassment in the workplace: A review of the legal rights and responsibilities of all parties. *Public Personnel Management* 22(1), 123–135. Retrieved from <http://www.ipma-hr.org/node/21487>
- Rudman, L. A., Borgida, E., & Robertson, B. A. (1995). Suffering in silence: Procedural justice versus gender socialization issues in university sexual harassment grievance procedures. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 17(4), 519–541.
- Sbraga, T. P., & O'Donohue, W. (2000). Sexual harassment. *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 11, 258–285. Retrieved from <http://www.sexscience.org/>
- Schein, E. H. (1985). *Organizational culture and leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Schneider, K. T., Swan, S., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1997). Job-related and psychological effects of sexual harassment in the workplace: Empirical evidence from two organizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82(3), 401–415. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.82.3.401.
- Stockdale, M. S., & Bhattacharya, G. (2009). Sexual harassment and the glass ceiling. In M. Barreto & M. K. Ryan (Eds.), *The glass ceiling in the 21st century: Understanding barriers to gender equality* (pp. 171–199). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/11863-008.
- Street, A. E., Gradus, J. L., Stafford, J., & Kelly, K. (2007). Gender differences in experiences of sexual harassment: Data from a male-dominated environment. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 75(3), 464–474. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.75.3.464.
- Timmerman, G., & Bajema, C. (2000). The impact of organizational culture on perceptions and experiences of sexual harassment. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 57(2), 188–205. doi:10.1006/jvbe.1999.1741.
- Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2004). Sexual harassment as a gendered expression of power. *American Sociological Review*, 69, 64–92. doi:10.1177/000312240406900105.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. (2009). *Quick stats on women workers, 2009*. Retrieved March 30, 2012, from <http://www.dol.gov/wb/stats/main.htm>
- U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board. (1981). *Sexual harassment in the federal workplace: Is it a problem?* Washington, DC: GPO.
- Wayte, T., Samra, J., Rubbenolt, J. K., Heuer, L., & Koch, W. J. (2002). Taking psychology and law into the twenty-first century. In J. R. P. Ogloff (Ed.), *Taking psychology and law into the twenty-first century* (pp. 323–369). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- White, L. A., Nord, R. D., Mael, F. A., & Young, M. C. (1993). The assessment of background and life experiences (ABLE). In T. Trent & J. H. Laurence (Eds.), *Adaptability screening for the armed forces*. Washington, DC: Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management and Personnel).
- Willert, S. J. (1998). Sexual harassment: Defining employer's rights. *For the Defense*, 40(11), 8–11.
- Willness, C. R., Steel, P., & Lee, K. (2007). A meta-analysis of the antecedents and consequences of workplace sexual harassment. *Personnel Psychology*, 60(1), 127–162. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.2007.00067.x.

- Wright, C. V., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2009). Correlates of joining a sexual harassment class action. *Law and Human Behavior, 33*(4), 265–282. doi:[10.1007/s10979-008-9156-6](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10979-008-9156-6).
- Zabkowitz v. West Bend Co., 589 F. Supp. 780, 35 EPD 34,766. (1984).
- Zugelder, M. T., Champagne, P. J., & Maurer, S. D. (2006). An affirmative defense to sexual harassment by managers and supervisors: Analyzing employer liability and protecting employee rights in the United States. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights, 18*(2), 111–122. doi:[10.1007/s10672-006-9008-9](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10672-006-9008-9).

Part V
Ethics at Work III: Cultural
Sources of Dilemmas

Chapter 22

Generational Differences: Something Old, Something New

Dianne Gardner and Keith Macky

It is certainly not difficult to find claims that generations such as those labeled Generation X, Generation Y (or Generation Me), and Baby Boomers differ from each other in motivation, work values, goals, optimism, and other characteristics that matter in the workplace. It is considerably harder to find reliable and generalizable evidence that supports claims that generations differ significantly and in important ways, and harder still to tease out the effects of age, maturity, and career and life stage from those of generational cohorts. Furthermore, most of the research has been carried in the United States, Australasia, and Europe, and it is important not to overgeneralize across cultures.

A generation can be defined as an “identifiable group that shares birth years, age, location, and significant life events at critical developmental stages” (Kupperschmidt, 2000, p. 66). In principle, each generation is shaped by the distinctive experiences it undergoes as it is developing, and these experiences are often thought to affect a generation’s personality, attitude to rules and authority, values and beliefs about work, ethics, and goals, and ambitions in life (Wong, Gardiner, Lang, & Coulon, 2008). If the theory of generational differences is correct, and people hold different values and beliefs due to the differential forces of socialization experienced by various generational groups, then we can expect generational differences to be a potential source of ethical dilemmas and conflicts. However, it is important first to examine two issues. Firstly, beyond the exhortations in the popular mass media, is there any evidence that the characteristics often attributed to the generational cohorts are accurately descriptive? And second, is there evidence to support the notion that work-relevant beliefs and values do differ across the generations?

The generational groups or cohorts prevalent in the workplace today are often seen as including Baby Boomers (for the boom in birthrates between 1946 and the mid-1960s), Generation X, born between 1965 and 1978, and Generation Y or the Millennials (born 1980 onward) (Cennamo & Gardner, 2008; Deal, Altman, & Rogelberg, 2010; Smola & Sutton, 2002). Writers on generational differences have generally sought to identify the significant sociocultural events that define each generation, and draw inferences about the impact of these events on the values, attitudes, and behaviors of people within each generational cohort. Baby Boomers, for example, have been

D. Gardner, Ph.D. (✉)

School of Psychology, Massey University, Private Bag 102 904, North Shore Mail Centre,
Albany, Auckland, New Zealand
e-mail: D.H.Gardner@massey.ac.nz

K. Macky, Ph.D.

Faculty of Business and Law, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand

characterized as having grown up in positive and optimistic times, as having experienced a range of major social changes (civil rights movements, for instance), and now feel the pressure of caring for aging parents as well as their own children (Kupperschmidt, 2000; Smola & Sutton, 2002). In contrast, Generation X grew up with financial, family, and societal insecurity; the Vietnam war and its associated antiwar protest movement; the rise of feminism and the impacts on gender roles in Western societies; the advent of globalization and increasing social diversity; the weakening of what had been seen as solid social traditions; and witnessed the impact of large-scale workplace restructuring and redundancies on the careers of their parents (Jurkiewicz, 2000). The strongest impact identified on the youngest generation now at work, Generation Y, is seen as the Internet and the growth of easy and rapid communication (Hershatter & Epstein, 2010). Because these are highly salient events that one generation experiences but another either does not or experiences them outside of their critical socialization years (Noble & Schewe, 2003; O'Guinn & Shrum, 1997; Twenge, 2000), each generation is purported to develop characteristics that differentiate it from those that precede and follow it, characteristics reflected in personality traits, work values, attitudes, and motivations to work in ways presumed to be important to managers (Kupperschmidt, 2000; Smola & Sutton, 2002). What is not generally acknowledged in the generational literature is the inherently culture-specific context in which generational boundaries and differences must develop, if they exist at all. For example, the name Millennials has little meaning outside non-Western calendars, birthrates differ in different regions, and each country has a unique history (D'Amato & Herzfeldt, 2008; Deal et al., 2010). The notion that sociocultural events that are seen as highly generationally salient in some countries, such as the assassination of President Kennedy or the fall of the Berlin Wall, will have the same significance on the development of ethics, beliefs, and values in other cultural spaces is highly suspect. That said, since most of the research into generational differences has used these labels and generational markers, this approach will be used in this chapter.

Following on from the generational premise outlined above, while societal and technological differences between generations in Western developed economies can be relatively easily identified, it is far less easy to identify to what extent, if any, these differences might have affected values, motives, and personalities. Both popular and academic literatures are full of general statements and stereotypes, often with convincing-sounding links to the different experiences of each generation. For instance, Baby Boomers are said to value job security and stability, to be loyal to their organizations, to be idealistic, optimistic, motivated, and diligent, and to value power and influence within their organizations (Wong et al., 2008). In contrast, Generation X, who are said to have grown up with more change and less job security, are seen to value individualism more than collectivism, to prefer teamwork to individual effort, to be cynical and untrusting of management, to expect immediate feedback, to be practical, technically competent, comfortable with diversity, change, multi-tasking, and competition, and to show loyalty to their own careers, values, and goals rather than to their jobs or organizations (Smola & Sutton, 2002; Wong et al., 2008). Generation Y or the Millennials are said to be comfortable with change, to not expect job security, to value skill development and new opportunities, to be demanding, optimistic, confident, highly social, and to value responsibility and input to decisions. Another summary of generational attributes of these three groups is given below (Howe & Strauss, 2000; Kowske, Rasch, & Wiley, 2010, p. 267; Strauss & Howe, 1991):

- *Boomers*. Much heralded but failing to meet expectations, smug, self-absorbed, intellectually arrogant, socially mature, culturally wise, critical thinkers, spiritual, religious, having an inner fervor, radical, controversial, nonconformist, self-confident, self-indulgent.
- *Gen Xers*. Cynical, distrusting, bearing the weight of the world, fearful, lost, wasted, incorrigible, in-your-face, frenetic, shocking, uneducated, shallow, uncivil, mature for their age, pragmatic, apathetic and disengaged politically, independent, self-reliant, fatalistic, mocking, underachieving.

- *Millennials*. Optimists, cooperative, team players, trusting, accepting of authority, rule followers, smart, civic-minded, special, sheltered, confident, achieving, pressured, conventional.

Irrespective of their truth, these and similar lists of attributes are widely broadcast in the public and social media and have become both a shaper and reflection of popular stereotyping of the generational cohorts. Such stereotypes are often selective – and negative. Baby Boomers can be seen as traditional, conservative, and arrogant or as experienced and willing mentors; Generation X can be characterized as “selfish” or “autonomous and independent” while Millennials can be “flighty” or “confident and optimistic.” As stereotypes, there is also the problem of over-generalizing by treating all those labeled with a generational tag as being the same in their fundamental characteristics. Such overgeneralization ignores the wide time bands used to categorize the generational cohorts. For example, those born early in the Baby Boom years entered the workforce in the economically strong 1960s while “late” Baby Boomers started work during the recessionary 1970s. Similarly, research into Millennials prior to 2008 reports the findings from a period of strong economic growth; since then, recessionary environments may have altered expectations (Levenson, 2010).

Ethical Dilemma 1: Fairness

DON'T HIRE GEN Y SAYS RESEARCHER. They're flighty, they're fickle, they're incredibly selfish (*Weekend Herald*, 2007).

Are the ethical dilemmas here obvious? Of course they are, and most readers will be aware that discrimination based on age is illegal in many jurisdictions.

But are the ethical issues as obvious in the quote below?

Boomers ... want to see the bottom line on payroll. Generation X, however, will pick a lower paying job if it offers less stringent work hours to allow for greater work-life balance. Millennials want to work for companies where there is collaborative decision-making, fast-track leadership programs, where managers recognize and reward contributions. Boomers want their colleagues and management to recognize their experience and daily efforts, and welcome the chance to mentor younger co-workers. Gen X members seek opportunities to learn in and place significance on self-improvement. Millennial workers need to see meaning and value in their workplace contributions ... (Glass, 2007, pp. 101–102).

The Code of Ethics of the American Psychological Association provides a useful framework for examining ethical issues (American Psychological Association, 2010). Although written for psychologists (including industrial/organizational psychologists), similar principles are presented in the ethical codes of other professional bodies including the Academy of Management (Academy of Management, 2005).

Three principles are particularly relevant to the issue of generational differences. The first is **Principle A: Beneficence and Nonmaleficence**. This states that we should aim to benefit those with whom we work and to take care to do no harm. The issue of “harm” will be discussed in more detail below. The first quote also violates **Principle D: Justice** which states that people are entitled to be treated fairly and **Principle E: Respect for People's Rights and Dignity** (American Psychological Association, 2010).

For those aware of these principles, their violation by the “Don't hire” quote above seems clear-cut. But what about the second quote? Are these statements overgeneralizations? Of course they are. Stereotypes? Certainly. Accurate? No. There are many Boomers who do not welcome the chance to be mentors, plenty of Millennials who do not want to be

(continued)

Ethical Dilemma 1 (continued)

fast-tracked, and people of all generations who value collaborative decision making, recognition, reward, and meaning and value at work.

Stereotyping or refusing to hire an entire age group is clearly unethical, impractical and will do harm – but what harm? This is worth exploring.

Firstly, with regard to younger employees, youth unemployment and underemployment are significant challenges in many places, often linked to crime, disadvantage, and poor life outcomes, as well as to lost opportunities to engage the skills and motivation of young people who want to, but cannot, work. In contrast, opportunities to work are associated with a range of positive outcomes for youth (Staff & Schulenberg, 2010).

For older workers, unfair discrimination based on their simply belonging to an age category means potential marginalization as valued organizational members, loss of self-esteem and self-confidence when faced with a recognition that their life and work experience are not valued simply because they are in the wrong age category, and potential victimization when economic circumstances lead employers to lay off workers.

Discrimination also means that organizations miss opportunities. In creative work, diversity can increase well-being, profit levels, and customer service (de los Reyes, 2000). Diversity can create conflict but also creativity; it can slow down decision making but give rise to better decisions (Shapiro, 2000). These advantages are lost if entire social groups are seen as “too difficult” or “not fitting in.”

Once hired, discrimination can continue. This can take the form of differential access to training, promotion, internal transfer, and other opportunities. More subtly, if a work environment is discriminatory, even jokingly, about generations, it is creating a culture where bullying and harassment can thrive, and these can lead to considerable harm (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2011). The potential for increased costs through voluntary turnover and litigation for unfair discrimination is real.

What then is the evidence that the generational stereotypes canvassed so far are in fact real or have some basis in truth? The next section will review the evidence for and against generational differences.

Generational Differences and Similarities

Changes Over Time

There are a few longitudinal studies that have found changes over time in personal attributes such as personality and motivation. Compared to previous decades, younger generations now appear to be more individualistic and to have higher self-esteem, self-reliance, competitiveness, and assertiveness, but increases in depression, anxiety, and narcissism (an inflated sense of self) have also been reported (Twenge, 2010; Twenge & Campbell, 2010). Narcissism, optimism, and high self-esteem could indicate overconfidence, lack of empathy, risk-taking, defensive reactions to criticism, and high expectations which may not be met (Twenge & Campbell, 2008), but they could equally well indicate confidence, self-sufficiency, and assertiveness (Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Robins, 2008). The research on personality is not, however, without its controversy, and there has been strong academic disagreement between researchers in this area (see the exchange between Jean Twenge and Kali Trzesniewski, for example).

With regard to work values, younger generations may see work as less central to their lives, take less pride in their work, want to work towards personal as well as organizational goals, value leisure more, and want to be promoted more quickly than older generations did at the same age. However, younger generations are just as willing to work hard and are just as likely to work long hours as older workers (Smola & Sutton, 2002; Twenge, 2010). These changes may have been driven by the widespread organizational restructuring and mass redundancies of the last few decades, often seen as indicating organizations' lack of commitment to employees, the loss of expectations of job security, and changing social values relating to work-life balance.

Changes appear to have been occurring steadily for many years, so it appears that for many years, younger people have felt more entitled, self-centered, and less motivated to work than older people. Gradual changes mean that "generations" are not separate and identifiable groups but a socially constructed and convenient way of summarizing gradual changes. It is of more use to managers to identify what, if any, meaningful differences exist between people of different ages currently in the workplace, regardless of whether differences are due to generation, age, career or life stage.

Generation Group Differences in the Workplace

While time-lag studies have found some differences over time, from a present-day perspective, comparing the groups currently in the workplace, there are fewer differences than might be expected (Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2009, 2010).

Younger people tend to value independence, leisure, and work-life balance more than those who are older (Cennamo & Gardner, 2008; Hershatter & Epstein, 2010; Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2010; Twenge, 2010). Paradoxically, younger workers also show high levels of ambition and career orientation, a preference for demanding roles and targets – and are no less willing to work hard (Ng et al., 2010; Wong et al., 2008). Younger workers are also ambitious, expect career advancement, and are willing to seek career opportunities, and they value status at work, perhaps because more senior organizational members have already achieved positions of influence (Cennamo & Gardner, 2008; Ng et al., 2010; Wong et al., 2008). Note, however, that these differences are likely to be related to age and career stage rather than true generational differences. Younger people may be more focused on goals and achievement than older ones because they have further to go in their careers, while older workers often have more independence and control at work, and better access to information because they tend to be in positions higher up organizational hierarchies (Macky & Boxall, 2008). There is also some evidence that young workers, at least those who are educated and aiming for professional roles, have a preference for structure, guidance, and quick, continuous, constructive feedback, which older staff and managers may find time-consuming to provide; they may also expect more direct communication with senior organizational members than some organizations have traditionally fostered (Hershatter & Epstein, 2010; Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010).

People of all age groups value social connections and social involvement at work. It is possible that younger workers are especially motivated by a cooperative workplace and opportunities to work in teams (Cennamo & Gardner, 2008; Hershatter & Epstein, 2010; Twenge & Campbell, 2008; Wong et al., 2008). Opportunities for training and learning are also highly valued, again as a function of career stage with early-career employees focused on learning opportunities to gain skills, enhance their career opportunities, and to be prepared for organizational change and possible job loss (D'Amato & Herzfeldt, 2008; Dries, Pepermans, & De Kerpel, 2008; Hershatter & Epstein, 2010; Ng et al., 2010). On the other hand, there is also evidence that older workers value learning opportunities (Jurkiewicz, 2000).

Interestingly, younger generations are more satisfied with their companies and jobs, job security, the levels of recognition they receive, and their career opportunities than older ones and are just

as committed to their organizations (Kowske et al., 2010). It is likely that younger workers have different understandings of what job security means than older workers did at the same career stage: expectations of long-term stable employment in the same organization have never featured in the expectations of young employees just entering the workforce, and although they value job security (Dries et al., 2008), they conceptualize it more as career security, in terms of their own long-term employability, and recognize that their careers are likely to comprise multiple jobs across multiple organizations. But again, while the research cited above may indicate valid and generalizable age related differences for the participant populations involved, that does not make them generational differences per se. It is a fundamental problem inherent in most of what purports to be generational research that the confounding of age cannot be ruled out from what are almost without exception cross-sectional research designs.

Reports into generational differences in work values also tend to focus on the differences – but there are far more similarities. For instance, no differences have been found in many work values such as the value placed on pay, on the level of variety and interest provided by work, or on opportunities to make a contribution to society through work (Cennamo & Gardner, 2008; Jurkiewicz, 2000; Wong et al., 2008). There are also no differences in satisfaction with pay or in intentions to leave the organization (Kowske et al., 2010; Twenge, 2010). It is likely that intentions to leave a job are more related to individual circumstances – and opportunities – than generational differences (Boxall, Macky, & Rasmussen, 2003).

Work values and expectations are also shaped by the context in which work takes place. Most of the research to date on generational differences in values, motives, and expectations at work has taken place in the context of Western countries (US, UK, Australia, New Zealand, Europe) during a time of strong economic growth in which there were many opportunities available within the workforce. Recessionary times since 2008 may have reduced young workers' levels of optimism and their job and career expectations related to job security, opportunities to meet their social needs at work, and work-life balance (De Hauw & De Vos, 2010; Levenson, 2010).

Overall, the evidence is that generations are more similar than different. Where differences are found, they are generally small, and relate to the average of a group rather than to individuals. For instance, although the average young worker may value work-life balance more than the average older worker, this says nothing about the preferences of specific individuals. There is far more variation within than between generations, and differences are more likely to be due to experience, position, or age than generation (Ng et al., 2010; Real, Mitnick, & Maloney, 2010). In the case of voluntary turnover, for example, tendencies to change and “sample” jobs when first starting work have been known for a long time, followed by a pattern of settling in to changes in job within a career (Levenson, 2010). This is not unique to the Millennial generation. In addition, much more is known about the work values, expectations, and motivations of educated professional employees than most other groups. Those with less education, of all generations, have far fewer job and career opportunities and more uncertainty throughout their careers, and this is likely to increase with rising international competition for jobs and the increasing costs, in many countries, of education (Levenson, 2010).

One of the most widely discussed “differences” between generations is familiarity with technology. The early years of the 1980s were the early years of the Internet, so many of those now entering work have grown up with the Internet, mobile phones, and online social networks, whereas older workers have had to continually adapt to technological change. Younger workers have been characterized for their ability to process information rapidly and to engage in multitasking but also for lacking, as yet, the ability to discriminate the quality of readily available information (Hershatter & Epstein, 2010). Older workers have also, generally successfully at least in professional roles, adapted to and learned to use technology over many years. There is little evidence that any generation is more effective in the use of technology at work than any other, although preferences for different ways of collecting and communicating information will vary.

Ethical Dilemma 2: Evidence

Our research shows that when you hold the stereotypes up to the light, they don't cast much of a shadow ... Everyone wants to be able to trust their supervisors, no one really likes change, we all like feedback and the number of hours you put in at work depends more on your level in the organization than on your age (Deal, 2007).

Many writers insist that generational differences exist, are important, and affect productivity, quality, and safety, but there is little evidence of significant differences between generations. Where age groups do differ, those differences are more likely to arise from age, life experience, and career stage than from "generations." Stereotypes become self-fulfilling prophecies. When preconceived ideas drive decisions about recruitment and selection, and when stereotypes filter what is noticed about an individual, then there is little chance that those stereotypes will be disconfirmed (Lane & Piercy, 2003).

Is this an ethical dilemma? Consider **Principle B: Fidelity and Responsibility**. Professionals have a responsibility to establish and deserve trust, which is incompatible with spreading inaccurate and damaging information, however widespread and popular it might be. As professionals who make decisions and often influence the decisions that others make, we need to be clear about our roles, obligations, and the consequences of our behavior. Ethical obligations include basing decisions and recommendations on sound rather than flawed reasoning and on sufficient evidence and accurate information.

Then there is **Principle C: Integrity**. Professionals need to promote accuracy, honesty, and truthfulness, which means making use of the best science and knowledge available. Selectively interpreting findings that support a preferred view lacks integrity. The principle of **justice** also focuses on fairness and the need to be aware of our personal biases and to ensure that these do not lead to unjust practices.

All in all, ethical practice involves making sure decisions and information are backed by knowledge rather than personal preferences, media hype, and popular prejudices, however appealing some of them may be.

The costs of promulgating inaccurate information within organizations can be severe. Where generational stereotypes lead to perceptions of unethical behavior and loss of perceived integrity for those in positions of organizational authority, interpersonal trust will be a casualty. Trust is both an input to and an outcome of relationships between people at work. Performance is to some extent dependent on each employee's willingness to follow directives, comply with regulations, defer to authority, engage in extra-role behavior, and accept outcomes that may be unfavorable to themselves. This willingness, in turn, is dependent on the employee trusting the motives, intentions, and actions of organizational authority figures (Kramer, 1999). Research has demonstrated a consistent positive correlation between trust in management and organizational commitment (Gopinath & Becker, 2000), as well as job satisfaction (Cunningham & MacGregor, 2000). Trust between peers and with managers, is also an important dimension to the quality of working life. Reduced trust "entails a state of perceived vulnerability or risk that is derived from individuals' uncertainty regarding the motives, intentions, and prospective actions of others on whom they depend" (Kramer, p. 571). To the extent that managerial stereotyping of those who work for them generates employee perceptions of vulnerability or threat, then it seems reasonable to suggest that lower trust in management may develop as a result. Conversely, trust develops when others are seen to be competent and that their actions will ultimately prove beneficial or at least not harmful to one's own interests (Whitener, 2001). It seems reasonable to suggest that management's use of stereotypes either for or against any particular generational group will act to undermine trust.

Implications

The expectation that there are salient and real differences between generations in itself represents a belief which can be based on stereotypes about the attributes of members of generational groups. While there may be some kernel of truth behind them, stereotypes have the potential to become self-fulfilling. Repeated often in the media, they may become a “received truth” held by those inside and outside the stereotyped groups. Stereotypes are extremely resistant to change once formed, as we unconsciously look for or attend to evidence that supports our stereotypes and ignore that which does not (Tesser & Shaffer, 1990). Decisions and behavior based upon incorrect and stereotyped ideas can create self-fulfilling prophecies. Expectations, for instance, of high turnover among young workers may result in less information sharing and less training and development which in turn can lead to dissatisfaction and turnover – strengthening the stereotype.

Generational groupings provide a dimension for the social categorization of people into “us and them,” “like me or not-like-me” groups. Stereotypes then become one of the prime mechanisms by which characteristics and motives are attributed to in-group (like me) and out-group (not like me) members, a fertile ground for intergenerational as well as other forms of intergroup conflict. The failure to manage or prevent the development of such conflict at work is in itself a major ethical dilemma for managers and indeed for group members who may resent being generationally stereotyped while engaging in such activities themselves.

That said, negative portrayals of younger workers are currently prevalent in the media, leading to some skepticism and doubt in some managers at least as to the wisdom of employing young people. Stereotypical beliefs about groups also provide a source of justification for prejudice and discrimination toward stereotyped out-groups. However, such discriminatory behavior will not necessarily generate ethical dilemmas for the stereotype holder as the belief and its associated actions are self-justifying; “my beliefs are right, theirs are wrong, and they get what they deserve.” However, for those on the receiving end of what they perceive to be unfair discriminatory behavior then, yes, such behavior may be seen as unethical and conflicts may emerge.

In addition to this, a key concern is whether it is worth the effort for organizations to develop different employee value propositions targeting different generational members. The answer is: probably not. Overall, the quality assured generational research finds few work-specific differences, and those that are found are small and may have little practical significance. As mentioned, any observed differences are more likely to be due to age effects (differences in maturity, life stage, life experiences, and physical and cognitive development) and to effects of the work environment related to status, tenure, and position (often themselves related to age). These are known to have important impacts on beliefs, attitudes, and expectations at work but are not related to generations per se.

In age terms, yes, there is a need to manage the above potential ethical issues and their impact of the quality of working life. For young people, particularly those entering the workforce for the first time, there is a clear need to cater for their desires for clarity, structure and guidance, and feedback. This is not unique to Millennials – young workers have probably always needed such structures and guidance as they transition from school or higher education to work. It also represents a need to manage role overload and role ambiguity, both potent sources of stress among those without the life experiences and skills to have developed resilience (Twenge & Campbell, 2008). Open communication is especially valued by younger workers who expect supervisors to

share information including bad news, provide regular job performance and feedback, provide support, and seek input, ideas, and suggestions (Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010). Younger workers may also be more comfortable about approaching people in more senior positions than older workers were at the same age.

While expectations for more frequent and direct communication may not fit with others' expectations, these processes affect organizational communication flows, not just with younger employees but in general. Similarly, increasing use of online communication affects information for all employees. Engaging employees (and consumers) in ways they are familiar and comfortable with, and providing relevant content in a timely way, is important to all communication (Hershatter & Epstein, 2010). Young employees may be valuable in terms of ready understanding of the potential of new and emerging technologies, but again, stereotyping is unhelpful: not all young employees are willing or able to become involved in website design, for instance, or wish to be seen as having primarily online expertise.

Work-life balance initiatives are important to employees of all generations and career stages. While Baby Boomers have been characterized as valuing traditional work ethics including dedication, long hours, and hard work, this group is often caught between the responsibilities of caring for children and for aging parents. Work-life balance initiatives need to be appropriate for those for whom they are intended: study leave, parental leave, telecommuting, etc., need to be tailored for the workforce and for the nature of the work being undertaken (Smith & Gardner, 2007). One of the recognized obstacles to the use of work-life balance initiatives is peer and supervisory pressure, so supportive organizational environments are also essential. There are other paradoxes to be resolved such as reconciling the demand for leisure with the reality of employees' constant availability via phone, email, and Internet. Telecommuting has advantages but needs to be managed carefully in terms of accountability, employees' need for social contact, and integration with organizational networks.

Mentoring programs are widely used and valuable for helping integrate employees with the organization, enhancing career paths, and building networks. "Reverse mentoring" can also be beneficial, in which younger employees serve as "mentors" to older ones and help build familiarity with technological and social changes. The result is mutual learning: older employees share their knowledge of workplace culture, systems, and processes while younger employees bring innovation, technology, and customer-focused ideas.

Younger workers value salary and pay just as much as older ones, but temper their expectations when faced with recession. Other motivating factors include career progression (Wong et al., 2008) and the ability to balance work and personal goals (De Hauw & De Vos, 2010). Like other generations, young employees value recognition and meaningful work on tasks and projects related to organizational priorities (Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010).

Young workers want job security as much or more than older workers did at the same age. Offering either short-term or longer-term security may reduce job-seeking behaviors. The evidence shows few or no generational differences in job hopping but does show that organizations that are not committed to retaining their staff in difficult times are likely to lose them when conditions improve (Macky & Boxall, 2007).

Teamwork is valued by younger workers for its learning and mentoring opportunities and for the social networks and support it can provide. However, teamwork can limit individual discretion, remove individual accountability and responsibility, take time, and exert coercive control if teams develop their own internal roles, norms, and social processes (Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010). While early-career employees can find teamwork reassuring, they need to develop skills in making rapid independent decisions as these are required in most organizational roles.

Ethical Dilemma 3: Responsibility

Helen Thompson Woolley wrote over a hundred years ago:

There is perhaps no field aspiring to be scientific where flagrant personal bias, logic martyred in the cause of supporting a prejudice, unfounded assertions, and even sentimental rot and drivel, have run riot to such an extent as here (Woolley, 1910, p. 340).

She was referring to the state of research into sex differences in 1910. Is it true of the state of our knowledge of generational differences today? We will leave that to you to decide.

But is there an ethical obligation to do anything? Professionals have an obligation to make sure generational stereotypes do not affect their practice. They should also work toward correcting existing inequities and inaccuracies. Professionals (not just psychologists) should not engage in unfair discrimination or harassment based on “age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, socioeconomic status, or any basis proscribed by law” (American Psychological Association, 2010).

Quality of working life is about more than avoiding harm. It is about building healthy workplaces (Kirby & Harter, 2001), psychosocial safety climate (Dollard & Karasek, 2010), and cultures of respect (Eisenberger, Fasolo, & Davis-LaMastro, 1990). Organizational cultures are slow to change, but given the amount of time people spend at work, and the centrality of work to many lives, ethical and healthy work can make an important contribution to individual well-being.

Conclusion

While some generational differences may exist, they do not warrant special programs to manage quality of working life issues. Organizations should focus on treating people as individuals rather than as members of an abstract social group whose primary categorizing feature is apparent age. This may involve role analysis, tailored training, team building, career/life coaching, and mentoring. HR professionals, leaders, and managers need, as always, to identify the individual and the organizational factors, such as culture and structure, work practices, supervision, and management, which are related to employee satisfaction, performance, and other outcomes.

Although not necessarily real, it is, however, clear that widely held generational stereotypes do exist. Many of the characteristics of such stereotypes are negative, depending on who holds them, and may serve as a basis for unfair and indeed illegal treatment, either favorable or discriminatory. The potential for ethical and unethical organizational behavior arising from such stereotypes is real and must be managed. This begins with recognizing that while there may be some kernel of truth in some generational stereotypes, most have little actual evidence to support their existence.

References

- Academy of Management. (2005). *Code of ethics*. Retrieved February 9, 2011, from http://www.aomonline.org/aom.asp?ID=268&page_ID=240
- American Psychological Association. (2010). *Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct*. Retrieved February 9, 2011, from <http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx>

- Boxall, P., Macky, K., & Rasmussen, E. (2003). Labour turnover and retention in New Zealand: The causes and consequences of leaving and staying with employers. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources, 41*(2), 195–214. doi:10.38411(200308)41:2;195-214;034915.
- Cennamo, L., & Gardner, D. (2008). Generational differences in work values, outcomes and person-organisation values fit. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 23*(8), 891–906. doi:10.1108/02683940810904385.
- Cunningham, J. B., & MacGregor, J. (2000). Trust and the design of work: Complementary constructs in satisfaction and performance. *Human Relations, 53*(12), 1575–1591. doi:10.1177/00187267005312003.
- D'Amato, A., & Herzfeldt, R. (2008). Learning orientation, organizational commitment and talent retention across generations: A study of European managers. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 23*(8), 929–953. doi:10.1108/02683940810904402.
- De Hauw, S., & De Vos, A. (2010). Millennials' career perspective and psychological contract expectations: Does the recession lead to lowered expectations? *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 293–302. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9162-9.
- de los Reyes, P. (2000). Diversity at work: Paradoxes, possibilities and problems in the Swedish discourse on diversity. *Economic and Industrial Democracy, 21*(6), 253–266. doi:10.1177/0143831X00212007.
- Deal, J. (2007). The myth of generational differences in the workplace. In: J. Deal (Ed.), *Review of the book Retiring the generation gap. How employees young and old can find common ground*. San Francisco: Wiley. Retrieved February 9, 2011, from www.amanet.org/training/articles
- Deal, J., Altman, D., & Rogelberg, S. (2010). Millennials at work: What we know and what we need to do (if anything). *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 191–199. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9177-2.
- Dollard, M., & Karasek, R. (2010). Building psychosocial safety climate: Evaluation of a socially coordinated PAR risk management stress prevention study. In J. Houdmont & S. Leka (Eds.), *Contemporary occupational health psychology: Global perspectives on research and practice* (pp. 208–233). Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Dries, N., Pepermans, R., & De Kerpel, E. (2008). Exploring four generations' beliefs about career: Is "satisfied" the new "successful"? *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 23*(8), 907–928. doi:10.1108/02683940810904394.
- Einarsen, S., Hoel, H., Zapf, D., & Cooper, C. L. (Eds.). (2011). *Bullying and harassment in the workplace: Developments in theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed.). Boca Raton, FL: Taylor & Francis.
- Eisenberger, R., Fasolo, P., & Davis-LaMastro, V. (1990). Perceived organisational support and employee diligence, commitment and innovation. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 75*, 51–59.
- Glass, A. (2007). Understanding generational differences for competitive success. *Industrial and Commercial Training, 39*(2), 98–103. doi:10.1108/00197850710732424.
- Gopinath, C., & Becker, T. E. (2000). Communication, procedural justice, and employee attitudes: Relationships under conditions of divestiture. *Journal of Management, 26*(1), 63–83. doi:10.1177/014920630002600107.
- Hershatler, A., & Epstein, M. (2010). Millennials and the world of work: An organization and management perspective. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 211–223. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9160-y.
- Howe, N., & Strauss, W. (2000). *Millennials rising: The next great generation*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Jurkiewicz, C. E. (2000). Generation X and the public employee. *Public Personnel Management, 29*(1), 55–74.
- Kirby, E. L., & Harter, L. M. (2001). Discourses of diversity and the quality of work life: The character and costs of the managerial metaphor. *Management Communication Quarterly, 15*(1), 121–127. doi:10.1177/0893318901151008.
- Kowske, B., Rasch, R., & Wiley, J. (2010). Millennials' (lack of) attitude problem: An empirical examination of generational effects on work attitudes. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 265–279. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9171-8.
- Kramer, R. M. (1999). Trust and distrust in organizations: Emerging perspectives, enduring questions. *Annual Review of Psychology, 50*, 569–598. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.50.1.569.
- Kupperschmidt, B. R. (2000). Multi-generation employees: Strategies for effective management. *The Health Care Manager, 19*(1), 65–76.
- Lane, N., & Piercy, N. F. (2003). The ethics of discrimination: Organizational mindsets and female employment disadvantage. *Journal of Business Ethics, 22*(6), 313–325. doi:10.1023/A:1023644602447.
- Levenson, A. (2010). Millennials and the world of work: An economist's perspective. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 257–264. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9170-9.
- Macky, K., & Boxall, P. (2007). The relationship between 'high-performance work practices' and employee attitudes: An investigation of additive and interaction effects. *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 18*(4), 537–567. doi:10.1080/09585190601178745.
- Macky, K., & Boxall, P. (2008). Employee experiences of high-performance work systems: An analysis of sectoral, occupational, organisational and employee variables. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations, 33*(1), 1–18.
- Myers, K., & Sadaghiani, K. (2010). Millennials in the workplace: A communication perspective on millennials' organizational relationships and performance. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 225–238. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9172-7.
- Ng, E., Schweitzer, L., & Lyons, S. (2010). New generation, great expectations: A field study of the millennial generation. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 281–292. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9159-4.

- Noble, S. M., & Schewe, C. D. (2003). Cohort segmentation: An exploration of its validity. *Journal of Business Research*, 56(12), 979–987. doi:10.1016/S0148-2963(02)00268-0.
- O'Guinn, T., & Shrum, L. (1997). The role of television in the construction of social reality. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 23(4), 278–294.
- Real, K., Mitnick, A., & Maloney, W. (2010). More similar than different: Millennials in the U.S. building trades. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), 303–313. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9163-8.
- Shapiro, G. (2000). Employee involvement: Opening the diversity Pandora's Box? *Personnel Review*, 29(3), 304–323. doi:10.1108/00483480010324661.
- Smith, J., & Gardner, D. H. (2007). Factors affecting employee use of work-life balance initiatives. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 36(1), 3–12.
- Smola, K. W., & Sutton, C. D. (2002). Generational differences: Revisiting generational work values for the new millennium. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23, 363–382. doi:10.1002/job.147.
- Staff, J., & Schulenberg, J. (2010). Millennials and the world of work: Experiences in paid work during adolescence. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), 247–255. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9167-4.
- Strauss, W., & Howe, N. (1991). *Generations: The history of America's future, 1584 to 2069*. New York: William Morrow & Company.
- Tesser, A., & Shaffer, D. R. (1990). Attitudes and attitude change. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 41, 479–523. doi:10.1146/annurev.ps.41.020190.002403.
- Trzesniewski, K. H., & Donnellan, M. B. (2009). Reevaluating the evidence for increasingly positive self-views among high school students: More evidence for consistency across generations (1976–2006). *Psychological Science*, 20(7), 920–922. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02361.x.
- Trzesniewski, K. H., & Donnellan, M. B. (2010). Rethinking “Generation Me”: A study of cohort effects from 1976–2006. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(1), 58–75. doi:10.1177/1745691609356789.
- Trzesniewski, K. H., Donnellan, M. B., & Robins, R. W. (2008). Is “Generation Me” really more narcissistic than previous generations? *Journal of Personality*, 76(4), 903–918. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2008.00508.x.
- Twenge, J. W. (2000). The age of anxiety? Birth cohort change in anxiety and neuroticism, 1952–1993. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(6), 1007–1021. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.79.6.1007.
- Twenge, J. W. (2010). A review of the empirical evidence on generational differences in work attitudes. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), 201–210. doi:10.1007/s10869-010-9165-6.
- Twenge, J. W., & Campbell, S. M. (2008). Generational differences in psychological traits and their impact on the workplace. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(8), 862–877. doi:10.1108/02683940810904367.
- Twenge, J. W., & Campbell, W. K. (2010). Birth cohort differences in the monitoring the future dataset and elsewhere: Further evidence for Generation Me – Commentary on Trzesniewski and Donnellan (2010). *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(1), 81–88. doi:10.1177/1745691609357015.
- Weekend Herald. (2007). Don't hire Gen Y says researcher, *Weekend Herald*, pp C8.
- Whitener, E. M. (2001). Do “high commitment” human resources practices affect employee commitment? A cross-level analysis using hierarchical linear modeling. *Journal of Management*, 27(5), 515–535. doi:10.1177/014920630102700502.
- Wong, M., Gardiner, E., Lang, W., & Coulon, L. (2008). Generational differences in personality and motivation: Do they exist and what are the implications for the workplace? *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(8), 878–890. doi:10.1108/02683940810904376.
- Woolley, H. T. (1910). A review of the recent literature on the psychology of sex. *Psychological Bulletin*, 7(10), 335–342. doi:10.1037/h0066338.

Chapter 23

Religious Diversity in the Workplace

Carolyn Ball

The State of Religious Diversity

Religious Diversity in the United States

When we discuss religion and the workforce, we now begin to think beyond Christians and Jews. Still, according to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life (*US Religious Landscape Survey*) (2008, February), a majority of Americans identify as a member of one of the various Protestant denominations (51.3%) or as Catholic (24%). About 2% (1.7%) identify as Jews, 0.6% Muslims, 0.7% Buddhists, and 0.4% Hindus, and the remainder is spread among a large number of religions, beliefs, and those who profess no faith (Table 23.1). Within each of these groups are wide varieties of individual beliefs.

Anyone who has watched *Little Mosque on the Prairie*, a Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) program, can see the day-to-day interactions of Muslims and the Christians who predominate in Canada at work. Muslims range from the economics professor from Pakistan to the restaurant owner from Africa, to the family with a white Canadian convert working in the mayor's office, her Lebanese husband who is a contractor, and their adult daughter, a doctor, who tries to follow all religious practices. The Toronto lawyer turned imam leads his flock sharing the Anglican Church with its Anglican congregation. Of course, television programs love stereotypes, and we see them at work, but what the show tells is how easily and sometimes awkwardly the customs of two different religions come together in work and daily life. (You can see excerpts on YouTube.) In the USA (as in Canada), Muslims are one of the fastest growing populations. They mirror the population in terms of education and income and so are disbursed throughout the workforce (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2007, May 22).

Healthcare institutions are on the forefront of accommodating religious practices to meet special needs of their clients, customers, and patients. What drives them, of course, are laws that require providing patient information in different languages and a need to understand the population they serve. Methodist Hospital in Houston, a Protestant hospital, has a chapel and a mosque.

C. Ball, Ph.D. (✉)
University of Southern Maine, Portland, ME 04104, USA
e-mail: Ball@maine.edu

Table 23.1 Religious affiliations and spiritual beliefs

Among all adults	%
Protestant	51.3
Catholic	23.9
Other Christian	2.3
Orthodox	0.6
Total Christian	(78.4)
Jewish	1.7
Buddhist	0.7
Muslim	0.6
Hindu	0.4
Other world religions	<0.3
Unitarians, New Age, Native American, etc.	1.2
Religious unaffiliated	5.8
Secular unaffiliated	6.3
Atheist	1.6
Agnostic	2.4
Do not know/refused	0.8
Total	100%

Note: Adapted from Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life (2008).
Due to rounding, figures may not add to 100%

Merced Hospital, a Catholic Hospital West affiliate, gives badges to Hmong shamans who practice an animistic faith just as it does other religious personnel. It also has an extensive 7-week training program to help Hmong shamans understand Western medicine and help Hmong patients better understand treatment (Brown, 2009).

A considerable amount of research in healthcare has examined cultural disparities in the provision of healthcare (Brach & Fraser, 2000; Drevdahl, Canales, & Dorcy, 2008; Elisha et al., 2008). Healthcare organizations are addressing this problem, the need to be sensitive to cultural differences, by adopting cultural competency assessments particularly to help nursing staff work with patients from a variety of cultures (Calvillo et al., 2009). This includes addressing Muslim patient concerns (Halligan, 2006; Hammoud, White, & Fetters, 2005; Hodge, 2005; Hodge & Nadir, 2008). The Institute for Social Policy and Understanding's own-funded work on Muslim healthcare centers and a study underway on Muslim health professions give an appreciation of Muslim clinics in healthcare (Laird & Cadge, 2008).

Religious and Spiritual Expression

But all this says little about the religious or spiritual needs of employees or how religion or spirituality affects employee quality of work life, and only that client or customer religious needs are being considered by employers. American workers are not nominally professing a faith. According to a 2008 national Gallup Poll (2009, see also 2007), over 90% of Americans say they believe in God (78%) or a universal spirit (14%) and about six in ten pray at least once a day. This same poll reports that only 24% would like to see organized religion have more influence, and 67% thought organized religion was losing its influence on American life (Gallup Poll). The percentage who say religion is losing its influence dramatically changes from year to year with up to 50% saying religion is losing its clout as recently as 2005 (Gallup Poll, 2008).

President Clinton issued Whitehouse Guidelines affirming the religious rights of public employees, President George W. Bush expressed similar theocentric values expanding the saliency of faith-based organizations as providers of services, and President Obama has continued to have a religious advisory council put into place under President Bush (Exec. Order No., 13199, 2001; Exec. Order, 2009; Slack, 2002; Smith & Sosin, 2001; Whitehouse Guidelines, 1997).

This religiosity of America is an important phenomenon (Hicks, 2003; Society for Human Resource Management, 2008). Very little evidence exists to suggest that the present corporate and government environment or even the nonprofit environment of high technology, fierce global competition, and corporate strategies to rightsize, downsize, realign, and reengineer will change, particularly in light of economic downturn in the early 2000s. Even though 24 hours a day/7 days a week factory work is less common, it has been replaced by service provision “24/7” that takes us away from religious services and families. In a society where job security is not guaranteed, even in government agencies, where more employees are at a supervisor’s mercy, it is not uncommon for employees to feel vulnerable, alienated, or neglected (Ali & Falcone, 1995). Along with this job uncertainty, health concerns, and now fear of being victims of violence from terrorist attacks, people are hungry for a deeper meaning to life through spirituality or religion (Miller, 2007, p. 72; Thompson, 2000). This search for a more meaningful life may indicate people’s desire for stronger integration of private and work identities. Thus, religious persons often ask for accommodation for their religious or spiritual needs with the most common request being time off for religious observance (Society for Human Resource Management, 2008).

Since Islamic religious practices are less well known, the following section provides a discussion of the needs of religious Islamic employees (Ball, 2005; Ball & Haque, 2003a, 2003b). From there I go on to define the various meanings of spirituality, religiosity in the workplace, and its effects on improving workforce quality of life in conjunction with four approaches to religion in the workplace: a legal approach, a religious-friendly approach, a spirituality approach, and a religious competency approach.

Muslims in the Workforce

The word Islam comes from the root word *salama*, which means both to surrender to God and peace. The word Muslim comes from the same Arabic root and means one who surrenders or submits to what God has ordained. The proper response of Muslims is not so much believing in the faith but responding to the faith. Islam, in this sense, is not so much a noun but a verb, an action. Therefore, a Muslim’s life is supposed to be a reflection of the five pillars of Islam: confession of faith, prayer, fasting, charity, and pilgrimage. Muslims believe that in order to be considered within the folds of Islam, one must consistently struggle to purify one’s soul through remembrance of one God, hence submit to God in action by abiding by the five principles.

The *Qur’an* guides all aspects of a Muslim’s spiritual, social, political, personal, and family life. The *Qur’an* is meaningful and practical to Muslims because its injunctions were carried out by the example set by the Prophet Muhammad, which were recorded in detail by his companions in *The Teaching and Sayings of the Prophet Mohammad*.

Among the five pillars, the daily five times prayer is the most active part of the religion. The prayer duration is 7–10 min and must be performed after cleaning oneself (ablution). Muslims attend *Jamu’ah*, services, and prayers every Friday in the afternoon. The average time for such services is about an hour depending on the length of the sermon. Islam makes fasting compulsory during the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic lunar calendar (the dates of this fast change in the common year calendar). Observing the Ramadan fast means refraining from eating and drinking from the break of dawn to sunset. Ramadan is a period of self-restraint and a time to focus on moral conduct. It is also a time to empathize with those who

are less fortunate and appreciate what one has. Islam makes exceptions from fasting for those with health problems.

Apart from fasting 30 days in a year, Muslims are prohibited from the consumption of alcohol, pork and pork byproducts, and anything that could be harmful or addictive in nature. Halal food is food that is certified: it includes food that has been slaughtered properly; does not contain pork, pork byproducts, or alcohol; and is not a bird of prey or carnivorous animal.

Perhaps the most discussed aspect of the Muslim religion in the workplace is appearance and clothing. Islam prescribes that both men and women behave and dress modestly. Followers believe that an emphasis on modesty encourages society to value individuals for their wisdom, skills, and contribution to the community, rather than for physical attractiveness. Modesty might mean Muslim women wear loose-fitting, non-revealing clothing known as *hijab* or *khimar*. This religiously mandatory attire, which may vary in style (mostly influenced by culture), usually includes covering the hair, neck, and body, except for the face and hands. However, most Muslims agree that the choice to wear *hijab* cannot be enforced by a woman's father, husband, or other male relative and must strictly be a choice of the women who carry out "God's orders in order to reach a higher level of piety." Similar to Jews, some Muslim males wear a small head covering, called a *kufi*. It is quite common for Muslim men to wear beards. There are no Qur'anic injunctions regarding beards; however, since the Prophet Mohammad wore a beard and encouraged others to do so, the beard has become a symbol of devotion to the teachings of the Prophet and Muslim brotherhood and unity.

This discussion of Islam serves as a stepping-off point for considering how those who are religious or have spiritual needs affect the quality of work life. The next section begins with a discussion of why it is important to consider the whole employee including his or her beliefs and how employers have coped.

Approaches to Religion in the Workplace and Quality of Work Life

One of the reasons to consider recognizing employee spiritual or religious needs as a component of the quality of work life (QWL) is the idea of whole person who comes to work. Employees do not come to work and leave their family, problems, goals, religion, spirituality, or personal expression behind. Their religious or spiritual beliefs do, in fact, affect work just as family needs do. The idea of person-centered management or the new public management, of valuing people not just productivity, recognizes that employees are not compartmentalized (Denhardt, 2004, p. 97; Hicks, 2003, p. 52 citing Hickman).

Perspectives and actions of employers on religion and spirituality in the workplace vary and affect the quality of work life and job satisfaction. The legal approach tries to keep religion and spirituality out of the workplace except as required by civil rights law. It is the antithesis of person-centered management. Religion as opposed to spirituality is the main focus and is a source of conflict both real and imagined (Lips-Wiersma, Dean, & Fornaciari, 2009; Strauss & Sawyerr, 2009). For example, religious beliefs can conflict with beliefs about homosexuality in the workplace. Certainly a supervisor who expresses religion to the point by proselytizing, to subordinates can easily overstep his or her bounds. From this perspective, separation of church and state as it applies to government agencies and as used in the vernacular could just as easily be separation of church and company.

The approach presented in professional human resource magazines is softer, pointing out the creation of specific religion-friendly policies and activities to support the religious and spiritual beliefs of employees (Grossman, 2008; Hastings, 2006; Mitchell, 2006). These include setting aside rooms that are available for prayer, providing alternative foods in cafeterias, and allowing religious study groups on the premises.

A third approach is one that identifies spirituality as component to the creation of the quality of work life. Sirgy, one of the coeditors of this book, and his colleagues have conceived of quality of work life as influencing spirituality and job satisfaction as influencing and being influenced by spirituality (Lee, Sirgy, Efraty, & Siegel, 2003). An employee's spiritual life spills over into his or her work life and vice versa. Spirituality often is conceived as a search for meaning or a personal expression that may or may not include affiliation with a particular structured religion (for other definitions, see Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2003b, pp. 6–8). Miller (2007) coins the greater accommodation of faith and religion in the workplace as the “faith at work” movement. This includes chief executive officers bringing their religion to work to help make corporate decisions. Articles both in professional and scholarly journals discuss leaders who believe that their faith should guide the conduct and business practices of their companies. These are mostly Christian-oriented businesses.

Finally, I conceive of the quality of work life being increased by religious competency similar to cultural competency. Religion is a component of diversity policies and practices in this approach (see examples of policies at the [International Public Management Association for Human Resources](#), n.d.). When we understand others' religion, though not necessarily accepting those beliefs, we can better work together. The following sections delve into these approaches.

The Legal Approach

The legal approach relies upon the human resource professional and the employer's attorney to determine what employees can do and what is required of the organization to do (Ball & Haque, 2003b; Malone, Hartman, & Payne, 1998a, 1998b). When in doubt, adhere to the law even if you do not agree with the law. Organizations that are strictly “following the book” are advised by the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to reduce the possibility of religious employment discrimination through traditional means they might follow to prevent any type of discrimination: hiring based upon objective criteria, consistent interviews for all applicants, recording of business reasons for any disciplinary or promotion action, training of inexperienced supervisors, and educating customers about religious garb (2008). The latter, relating to religious garb, is the only guidance for employers different from practices for preventing any other type of discrimination. Simply follow good human resource practices. These employers are likely to have nondiscrimination and harassment policies but are unlikely to have diversity policies. If the employer is an affirmative action employer, the approach is more active, one of developing a plan to recruit and retain minorities and women. (Affirmative action employers, however, do not have to seek out religious minorities.)

The legal approach is complicated and not necessarily satisfying for the quality of work life for religious or nonreligious employees. Tension can occur in the workplace even when no discrimination has occurred. Table 23.2 shows that the number of complaints based upon religion have increased in the 10-year period between 1999 and 2009 by 47%. (Applicants or employees may also file claims with state, county, or local human rights agencies). Over that same period of time, about the same percentage of cases, anywhere from a high of 64% to a low of 58%, were dismissed based upon a determination that there was no reasonable cause to believe that discrimination had occurred. Thus, employers may have more employees who perceive discrimination when, in fact, none has occurred.

To prevent charges of religious discrimination, managers have an affirmative duty to prevent or stop discrimination; so too do they have an affirmative duty to accommodate an employee's religious practices and prevent religious harassment (Wolf, Friedman, & Sutherland, 1998, pp. 83–86, 62–65). Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (Pub. L. , No. 88–352) (state laws are similar),

Table 23.2 EEOC charges for fiscal years 1999–2009

Type of resolution	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	1999–2009 % change
Complaints ^a	1,811	1,939	2,127	2,572	2,532	2,466	2,340	2,541	2,880	3,273	3,386	47
Resolutions	2,187	2,230	2,217	2,729	2,690	2,676	2,352	2,387	2,525	2,727	2,958	26
No reasonable cause	1,269	1,343	1,349	1,729	1,744	1,672	1,442	1,524	1,498	1,705	1,805	30
% no reasonable cause	58.0	60.2	60.8	63.4	64.8	62.5	61.3	63.8	59.3	62.5	61.0	5
Monetary benefits ^b	3.1	5.5	14.1	4.3	6.6	6.0	6.1	5.7	6.4	7.5	7.6	– ^c

Note: Adapted from US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Religion-based charges FY 1997–FY 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/religion.cfm>

^aEEOC uses the term “receipts” for complaints filed. Complaints include all current complaints and those carried over from the previous fiscal year. Resolutions are complaints concluded for the current year and include those closed for administrative reasons, moved to the courts, settled through negotiations, etc. No reasonable cause means that the Commission did not find a reasonable cause to believe that discrimination occurred. The grieving party may still bring a case to court. As part of the conciliation of a complaint, a party may receive monetary benefits. These figures do not include monetary benefits that occur for those cases carried to the courts

^bMonetary benefits in millions

^cThe percent change is not calculated due to the wide variation in monetary benefits from year to year

religion is broadly defined, making it difficult for employers to interpret. An employee is covered by the Act in all aspects of religious observance or practices provided they are sincerely held. This applies to moral and ethical beliefs of what is right or wrong that are held similar to religious views (Wolf, 1998, pp. 28–32; U.S. EEOC Compliance Manual, n.d.; *Welsh v. United States*, 1970; *U.S. v. Seeger*, 1965). The law protects nonbelievers from religious harassment just as much as it does for believers (e.g., protection from religious conformity and proselytizing). Ensuring a quality of life in the workplace and spiritual or religious beliefs becomes difficult, because the court does not require an employee to explain his or her religion or interpret religious beliefs. Thus, it does not matter whether an individual is a Sunni, a Catholic, a Hindu, or a Wiccan as long as the belief is sincerely held.

In general, to prove that an employer failed to accommodate one's religious beliefs, the employee has to show three things: (1) she or he has a religious observance or practice that conflicts with a job requirement, (2) she or he communicates the need to the employer, and (3) the employer takes an adverse action. The court has ruled that any restriction on religious practices of employees must be for a "compelling interest" to justify burdens imposed upon the free exercise of religion and the imposition must be the least restrictive means (*Sherbert v. Verner*, 1963; *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 1972).

The exercise of religion, however, cannot hinder the performance of the organization (Ball, 2005, see Ball & Haque, 2003b; *Kalsi v. N.Y. Transit Authority*, 1998). Safety and critical duties that cannot be transferred trump religious accommodation. For example, the courts have been reluctant to impose scheduling changes on public safety organizations, such as police and fire, particularly when the schedules are based on bona fide seniority systems (Wolf et al., 1998, p. 106). Proselytizing employees to the point of disruption of work do not have to be accommodated; in the modern version, this includes emails (*Edna Ng v. Jacobs Engineering Group*, 2006; *Powell v. Yellow Book*, 2006).

Employers need not hire temporary workers to accommodate an on-going Sabbath observance that conflicts with regular scheduling. Managers must make a reasonable accommodation unless it imposes an undue hardship on the employer which the court translates as "more than de minimis cost" (*TWA v. Hardison*, 1977). When there are many means of accommodation, the employer is required to offer the alternative which least disadvantages the individual's employment opportunities. Thus, the larger the employer or the larger the number of employees in a particular position, the more likely the employer can accommodate. Just as in other types of discrimination issues, an employer does not have to violate a seniority system, but a union and employer might choose to make arrangements to accommodate religious practices. Further, the court does not require that an employer accept an accommodation suggested by the (future) employee, only provide a reasonable accommodation. This has led to conflicting rulings on the accommodation of religious garb. For example, the courts ruled in favor of the Philadelphia police's argument that it would be an undue hardship to accommodate a Muslim female officer's request to wear a head scarf beneath the official cap. This accommodation would affect the perception of the neutrality of police (*Webb v. City of Philadelphia*, 2008). On the other hand, some Sikhs have been allowed to wear their turbans working for the (NYPD) police office and the Metropolitan Transit Authority, while others have not (*Sidhu & Gohil*, 2008).

This right of accommodation has come under question, in particular, for government employees. Covering only Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that state employees cannot file a suit against the state on the basis of failure to accommodate a religious practice (*Holmes v. Marion County Office of Family and Children*, 2003). The court ruled that accommodation was not a constitutional issue, states had no history of religious discrimination of state employees, and states have sovereign immunity from cases brought in federal court. Of course, these states may have their own civil or human rights act that covers public employees or may waive sovereign immunity and allow for suits in state court.

Adding to the difficulty of the legal approach is that 13 states have Religious Freedom Restoration Acts (Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas) that forbid their respective state governments from creating a burden on the exercise of religion without a compelling justification (e.g., 775 Ill. Comp. Stat. 35). These laws primarily apply to regulation by the state but do give special protections to state and local employees not applicable to federal, private, or nonprofit sector employees. Additionally, those working in the health sector have special protections, through state healthcare right of conscience acts and federal Department of Health and Human Services rules, known as conscience clauses. The conscience clauses go beyond the Civil Rights Act and similar state acts and provide that workers in healthcare settings can refuse to provide services, information, or advice on subjects such as contraception, family planning, Plan B contraception, blood transfusions, and even vaccine counseling if they are morally against it.

Using the legal approach, employers may be confused how to balance religious rights and the quality of work life for all employees because of ever-changing definitions of religion. In an extreme case, the EEOC agreed that the firing of a federal patent examiner for his sincere belief in cold fusion, extraterrestrials, and other scientific beliefs was religious discrimination (*LaViolette v. Daly*, 2000). Although legal analysts question whether these beliefs are a religion, they also question how such beliefs related to his job performance (Swank, 2002). An alternative resolution might be to create a more faith-friendly workplace.

Faith-Friendly Workplaces and the Faith at Work Movement

Nondiscrimination and harassment policies are usually very standardized. The typical message begins, “we prohibit any form of discrimination or harassment based upon sex, national origin, race, religion or color.” This contributes to what Beatty and Kirby (2006) characterize as the secular nature of the American workplace, forcing people to keep their religious beliefs in the closet. Many workers do not discuss faith or participate in religious practices for fear of being ostracized. A stigma is attached to any who professes to having a faith. Amric Rathour, a Sikh who works for the NYPD and wears his turban with his uniform, explains, “[w]hen you’re ridiculed and discriminated against, you feel inhuman, you feel different, and you want to feel the same. Even though I was born and raised here, I felt that this wasn’t my country” (Sidhu & Gohil, 2008, p. 2 citing Lee, 2006). Thus, many religious persons prefer to not disclose their religion. When invisible, religious employees lack legal protections. However, the very nature of disclosing can lead to hostility. Religion follows socioeconomic, racial, and geographic lines and is usually handed down in families so attitudes towards religious persons are also attached to these other group identities creating a double whammy of discrimination (Beatty & Kirby).

At the same time, some employers downplay religion in the workplace, other employers associate employees who are religious with a strong work ethic, ethical decision-making, and a moral grounding. Max Weber, noted sociologist and public administration theorist, speculated in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* that the economic growth of many Western European countries was tied to Protestant faiths, particularly the Calvinist tradition (for Islam, see Huff & Schluchter, 1999; Weber, 1920/1958). Management consultants such as Jerry Harvey (1988), author of the *Abilene Paradox* and a minister, uses Bible stories to teach ethical decision-making. Bible stories provide a cultural narrative, known to Christians and sometimes Jews. In Harvey’s case, such teachings do not rise to the point of bringing religion into the workplace; they provide a guide.

While consultants such as Harvey do not advocate for a religious point of view in the workplace, religious or faith-friendly workplaces do adopt programs and policies that make individuals

Table 23.3 Faith and religious-friendly actions of employers

Type of action	% of employers
Take into account the different religious beliefs of employees when planning holiday-related events	55
Allow religious decoration of individual workspace (within one's office/cubicle)	44
Allow flexible scheduling to accommodate employees' religious practices at work (e.g., meditating, praying, worshiping, etc.)	43
Take into account employees' various religious holidays when planning work-related events (e.g., conferences, meetings, trainings, trips, workshops, etc.)	40
Offer variety of food in organization's cafeteria/eatery, meetings, etc. (e.g., halal, kosher, vegetarian, etc.)	27
Make dress code and/or personal appearance code exemptions/modifications	17
Create designated area(s) for employees to use for religious practices (e.g., meditation room, prayer room, etc.)	15
Allow religious decoration of individual workspace (within one's office/cubicle) during religious holidays only	12
Allow on-site religion-based affinity groups	9
Other	5

Note: From Society for Human Resource Management (2008)

comfortable professing their faith (e.g., see, Brinton, 2007; Fiore, 2005). Table 23.3 shows the most common ways; according to Society for Human Resource Management members, employers take into account religious beliefs of employees. Religious-friendly places allow or encourage employees to express views as long as they do not harass others (as discussed earlier), provide locations for prayer, and take into account varying religious holidays when planning events. Admittedly, those responding are not necessarily typical of employers. These employers go beyond a legal requirement of nondiscrimination and to one of diversity. A diversity policy puts into writing management's belief in the value of a diverse workforce as necessary for fairness, inclusiveness, or accountability to create a successful business or as an expansion of affirmative action (Dreachslin, 2007a; U.S. Government Accounting Office, 2005). Such policies often mention the creation of a climate or culture of respect for differences (Mayo Clinic, 2001) and have diversity training programs.

The government agency has a different reason for creating a religious-friendly workplace, constitutional protections of free speech, even to proselytize (Whitehouse Guidelines, 1997). Federal employees are also covered by a specific law that makes the workplace more accommodating to various beliefs by allowing employees to obtain flexible work schedules and to make up for lost time lost to observe their religious obligations (Federal Employees Flexible and Compressed Work Schedules Act, 1982).

Religious Leadership

Another version of the religious or spiritually friendly workplace is the product of its leaders. Leaders with strong spiritual and religious views create a religious or spiritually friendly workplace possible. They may adopt a "new age" philosophy and training programs or an explicitly Christian perspective.¹ Sometimes, this idea is identified as innocuously as servant leadership or stewardship. Understanding religion, acceptance of religion, and accepting

¹ EEOC gives guidance to employers who adopt "new age" training on how to accommodate those employees who feel such training violates their own religious beliefs (EEOC Notice N-915.022, n.d.).

spirituality in the workplace is part of leadership's responsibilities (Hicks, 2003, p. 40) just as is true of diversity leadership in general (Dreachslin, 1999). Tom Chappell, owner and CEO of Tom's of Maine, a company that makes organic products, uses his faith developed at seminary school to guide his company (Marques, 2005). Both faith-friendly employers and religious executives are part of what Miller describes as the "faith at work" movement. Miller dates the faith at work movement as beginning in the 1980s (2007, p. 64) with the decline of communism, the appearance of Christian evangelicals on the political scene, greater awareness of religious rights in the workplace in the United States, and many other historical changes. Miller characterizes the faith at work movement as a quest for integration of work and faith. With long historical ties, broken by recent secularization, it now includes leaders who explicitly tie their businesses and business ethics to Christianity. In fact, the Christian Association of Business Executives (<http://www.cabe-online.org/>) and the Christian Leadership Alliance (<http://www.christianleadershipalliance.org/>) promote Christian companies and Christian management (for Judaism, see Nash, 2001).

As Hicks (2003) points out, any company – whether avowedly Christian, nonprofit, or governmental – is likely to give some advantage to Christians. The work week is set up to accommodate most Christian denominations' Sunday religious services, and the one federally recognized religious holiday is Christmas. Only a few companies provide specific paid time off for religious holidays other than Christmas, and those of other faiths or beliefs must take personal days, earned time off, or vacation days.

Spirituality

Many definitions of spirituality exist. Thompson (2000, p. 63) espouses the idea that spirituality is something we all possess and it guides us to do the right thing. "Spirituality concerns the relationship between the human spirit and the divine spirit, between the human being and God." For Muslims and Christians of Calvinist faiths, the distinction between work and spirituality is blurred; work is service to God (Ball & Haque, 2003a; Thompson, 2000, p. 38). For many Native Americans, spirituality, life, work, and family run together; Native Americans see themselves as part of nature and the environment around them.

Quality of work life or quality of life research in general is more closely associated with the many ideas of spirituality rather than with religion. For 5.8% of Americans, spirituality is not connected to a formal religion (Table 23.1). Both the conception of spirituality at work and faith at work recognize that something is lacking by excluding beliefs, religion, or spirituality. Separating work and religion or spirituality is not normal. Both approaches believe that the quality of work life will be improved if we use our spirituality or religion to develop a workplace ethics, creating a greater likelihood of organizational success. Employees seek to meet spiritual needs at work and not simply outside the workplace. Allowing an employee's spirituality to exhibit itself creates an environment where individuals can be interconnected with a common purpose. Where spirituality scholars differ, though not necessarily those who are in the workforce trenches, is in the degree to which they accept formal religion in the workplace (Table 23.4). Spirituality can be virtually synonymous with religion to a precursor or an outcome of religious faith. Spirituality provides meaning to people's lives and has a basic belief that there is some force, power, or God. Spiritual organizations can range from workplaces that are religiously based such as the Christian organizations discussed in the previous section to values-based workplaces. Wherever a workplace is on the spectrum, spiritual organizations are generally those that care about future generations, are governed by explicit values, are mission-based, and are optimistic about the future. According to Mitroff and Denton (1999, pp. 167–185), those organizations are less hierarchical; they grow but stay at a size where employees can know and communicate with each other and where

Table 23.4 Orientations towards religion and spirituality

Orientation
Religion and spirituality are synonymous and the source of basic beliefs and universal values
Religion dominates spirituality. Religion is the source of basic beliefs and values
Spirituality dominates religion, and spirituality is the source of basic beliefs and universal values
Neither religion nor spirituality is primary as universal values can be defined and attained independently of religion and spirituality

Note: Adapted from Mitroff and Denton (1999), p. 40

employees are interconnected and emotionally supportive of each other. Such organizations value the whole person and have high standards for employees.

Accordingly, spiritual employees are attempting to find meaningful work to complement their home life. Spirituality is an emotional dimension of employees that can include respect, love, humility, courage, and other human attitudes. Spirituality can manifest itself as a sense of responsibility, a desire for meaning and purpose, and a desire for inner peace or truth (Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2003b, p. 14). “Spiritual well-being contributes to overall QOL by providing goals in life” and may lead to a strong commitment to the employer and satisfaction with the job (Lee et al., 2003, p. 216). Leadership of executives, HR, and managers helps create the possibility that employees will meet their needs to rise to their potential, learn new skills, and be creative. In other words, the ability to have a spiritual life is a “satisfier” using Herzberg’s term and managers can try to lessen “dissatisfiers” to improve the quality of work life (Herzberg, Mausner, & Snyderman, 1959/2008).

This spiritual approach, with its difficulty coming to terms with both religion and spirituality, favors “function of belief rather than the substance” (Lynn, Naughton, & VanderVeen, 2009). Mitroff and Denton (1999, pp. xvi, 90–98) describe the views of executives as often distinguishing between religion and spirituality; religion is formally organized, dogmatic, and intolerant, while spirituality is informal and personal. For Mitroff and Denton, it is the values-based, personal, and non-dogmatic spirituality (Mitroff & Denton, 1999, pp. 22–24) that has the positive effect on the quality of work life. Mitroff and Denton’s distinction, by its avoidance of the degree of an employee’s religiosity, creates an artificial construct that may not really exist in the whole person.

Respectful Pluralism with Religiously Competent Employees

Only 16% of managers reported their companies provided any training on religious accommodation (Society for Human Resource Management, 2008). Given the relative newness of the topic of spirituality and religion in the workplace, perhaps this is not surprising. Nevertheless, the task for managers is to understand “the basic tendencies of individuals towards growth and development” and “fuse these tendencies with the demands” of the organization (Denhardt, 2004, p. 94). Now, faced with many formal religions (Table 23.1) and the many definitions of spirituality (Table 23.4), it is difficult to know what employers should do to maximize the quality of work life. Marques (2005) quotes a variety of professionals who suggest creating equitable rewards, setting achievable goals, or rewarding performance, all very generic suggestions from the motivational literature unrelated to employee spiritual needs or wants. Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2003a) point out that workplace spirituality is promoted the greater the extent that the organization’s culture and values reflect such values as respect and benevolence and promotes individual connectedness. Pawar (2009) attempts to build a model of how workplace spirituality occurs and its effect on positive outcomes on the organization from ethical behavior to retention to motivation.

His model recognizes the role of leadership, individual spiritual development, and group-focused spiritual facilitation by the organization. While important explanatory research, I suggest that a more normative model or framework is necessary, one that recognizes religious and spiritual differences and creates respect among workers in the workplace, what Hicks calls respectful pluralism (2003, pp. 159–181) that is created through the religious competency of employees in the workplace. Religious competency borrows from the idea of cultural competency developed in the healthcare environment.

Cultural Competency

Cultural competency is a set of learned skills which help healthcare employees understand *cultural* differences and ease communication between healthcare staff and patients who have different ways of understanding (Chun, 2009; see also the [National Center for Cultural Competence, n.d.](#)). Healthcare institutions and professional associations of social workers, nurses, counselors, and other allied health workers have embraced the need for cultural competency skills to better deal with patients and clients. Many hospitals include cultural competency training as part of diversity training to meet particular ethnic and cultural needs of their patient population (American Academy of Healthcare Executives (ACHE), 2009; [American Hospital Association & Commission on Workforce for Hospitals and Health Systems, n.d.](#); LaVeist, Richardson, Richardson, Relosa, & Sawaya, 2008). This training emphasizes creating a culture of mutual respect among and between staff and patients. It might include team activities on differences and commonalities, discussions about the founders and current administration's philosophy on diversity, or specifics such as inclusive language guides (Dreachslin, 2007a; Peters, 2009).

Religious competency is slowly beginning to be embraced as well (Berkel, Constantine, & Olson, 2007). This is, in part, due to the increasing number of Muslims and other religious groups in the workforce, ethnic concentrations with non-Christian beliefs such as the Hmong referred to earlier, and recognition of scholars and health professional associations of the need to understand varying belief systems to ensure service (Hodge, 2007; Hodge & Bushfield, 2006). Chun's (2009) definition of cultural competency can easily be extended to include *religious competency* in any work place. Religious competencies are learned skills and attitudes which help us understand religious values, both similarities and differences, and ease communication between and among customers, volunteers, and employees. Associated human resource policies make the development of religious competency possible. Such a definition recognizes that the contemporary workplace includes those who seek spiritual fulfillment in the workplace, wish to express or at least not suppress their religious beliefs, and those who have no particular religious or spiritual value system.

Table 23.5 identifies the necessary ingredients to create respectful religious pluralism in the workplace from the policies that support employees' faiths to the knowledge that needs to be acquired to develop religious competencies and to the ensuing culture created by the inculcated values of respect for different religions. This overview suggests that a strategy of integrating persons of diverse religious backgrounds and spiritual beliefs starts at the top. It includes five steps. Step one is support by board members and executives for a policy that expands cultural diversity to include religious diversity. Such a policy requires a person to be designated responsible for diversity, someone who will be the bully pulpit, who sincerely supports all types of diversity, and can walk the talk (Berry & Selman, 2008; Kalev, Kelly, & Dobbin, 2006; Richard, Kochan, & McMillan-Capehart, 2002). Step two includes recognition of the integration of religious groups as part of workforce planning, retention strategies side by side with affirmative action policies if applicable. In many urban areas, ethnic and religious groups periodically change and need to be taken into consideration in HR planning. (Even in the author's own rural

Table 23.5 Creating respectful pluralism

Aspects of the employer culture	Area
Work atmosphere fosters and respects religious and spiritual perspectives	Policy
Employees free to express religious or spiritual values ^a	Policy
Openness to learning and knowledge about religious and spiritual worldviews of other employees	Knowledge
Understanding the needs of various faith groups in order to provide excellent service	Knowledge
Religious and spiritual employees free to be themselves	Belief/value
Religious and spiritual perspectives of employees valued	Belief/value

Note: Adapted from Hodge (2007)

^aAntidiscrimination legislation places practical and legal limits on the practice of faith in the workplace

state, Maine, new ethnic and religious groups may appear. Somalis, who are Muslims, have chosen to make Maine home.) Step three directs organizations to work with partners in the community. Reading about a religion or spirituality may not be enough. Organizations need to develop partners who can orient and train employees, and the organization can, in turn, help the community. Step four calls for the creation of a culture of respect through the development of religious competencies. The level of religious competency depends upon the nature of the organization and its community. Not all employees need to know about various religions and beliefs. Step five will sound familiar to organizational trainers, measure and evaluate. Measurement can be simple such as keeping track of or recognizing those who develop knowledge of religions, help train other employees, or mentor employees of different races, religions, and ethnic groups. Measurement can also include inclusion of items on performance evaluations that measure respect for customers, volunteers, and fellow employees.

To carry out, this strategy requires varying degrees of religious competency among employees.² The level of religious competency depends upon the position in the organization and the desires of employees to become religiously competent. Some employees may work with only a small number of employees, volunteers, or customers or have no interest. A religiously competent workforce, however, includes three levels of understanding (Hodge, Baughman, & Cummings, 2006). Level one includes all employees and volunteers. If volunteers are part of meeting the mission of the organization, they too participate in training and help create respectful pluralism. Level two includes managers, supervisors, and team leaders, and level three includes executives and board members.

Level One: All Employees and Volunteers

Level one begins with orientation training to understand the basics of antidiscrimination law – local, state, and federal – covering sex (sexual orientation in some states), national origin, race, religion, and color. This level goes slightly beyond the traditional orientation by seeking to ensure employees and volunteers know that the organization believes in *respect* and *understanding* of spiritual, religious, and the overlapping ethnic or cultural groups in the community and workforce as well as respects nonbelievers. It seeks to encourage basic skills of awareness, relationships, and

²Hicks (2003, pp. 173–174) expresses this with three awkwardly worded principles: the presumption of inclusion, non-degradation, and non-promotion. That is, religious expression is permitted notwithstanding any legal limitations; employees do not degrade other's religious or spiritual beliefs, and employers do not promote a particular spiritual or religious view.

communication. Since the purpose of such orientations is to develop awareness of a culture of respect for fellow workers, customers, and volunteers in general, and not specifically of those who have specific spiritual or religious beliefs, it can be measured in evaluations by respect for others.

Level Two: Employee and Volunteer/Managers/Supervisors/Team Leaders

Anyone who is interested in further training can participate, but level two is targeted for those who have some supervisory responsibility. This level seeks to raise awareness and knowledge of religious and spiritual needs into competencies through increased understanding and knowledge of particular ethnic and religious groups. It piggybacks on traditional supervisor training in the prevention of discrimination, harassment, and violence in the workplace. Training also might be included in training on conflict negotiation, handling confidential issues, and the practical issues of preventing discrimination. Important topics are understanding how to identify, respond, and refer persons with spiritual needs to employee assistance programs, resources in the community, and associated chaplains.³ Persons from the community might be invited to hold a workshop about a topic related to religion or spirituality open to anyone interested. Such training seeks to have supervisors learn but also take action when needed.

Level Three: Administrative and Board Members

A religiously pluralistic organization will have religiously competent employees only with the support of the board and higher level executives. This level is targeted to some specific persons such as the CEO and the person in charge of diversity, but again, any employee who is interested may continue to develop competencies. Level three employees are expected to be sounding boards when deciding how to include those who wish to profess their faith or spiritual beliefs (and protect those who feel their rights are being infringed upon by spiritual or religious employees). A religiously pluralistic organization will be able to manage and facilitate complex spiritual and religious needs of employees and volunteers, in particular the existential and practical needs arising from the impact of work on employees and their friends and families. In addition, level three employees will develop a clear understanding of their own personal beliefs and be able to journey with others focused on those persons' needs. They should liaise with external resources as required to accommodate the religious and spiritual beliefs of applicants, employees, or volunteers. They act as a resource for support, training, and education of employees and volunteers. This understanding might come from professional association training such as those conducted by healthcare professional associations and more general professional associations such as the Academy of Management, the Association of Nonprofits, or the American Society for Public Administration. The ability to support religious pluralism can be measured by involvement in mentoring someone different from themselves, in supporting community (including religious) groups, providing special training for employees, or liaising with community groups to provide special training (Dreachslin, 2007b).

³Hospitals have religious personnel associated with them. Many government agencies have chaplains that, at first glance, one would not expect. For example, the Maine Warden's Service, a law enforcement agency, and a division of Department of Wildlife and Fisheries, has a chaplain. Miller (2007, pp. 127–132) discusses the role of corporate chaplains in a rather negative light.

Balancing Quality of Work Life and Religious or Spiritual Life

Is it possible to have a Wiccan as a security guard or a Native American who believes in oneness with the environment as an administrator at a software firm? Is it possible for a firefighter to wear religious garb and the necessary safety equipment? And is it possible for a frontline customer service Rastafarian employee to have dreadlocks (Espinoza, 2008)? These are questions that the religiously competent employee who believes in respectful religious pluralism might have to answer. An AT&T office faced such a concern when a Sikh contract worker, hired as an IT consultant, revealed that he wore his kirpan to work (Bhachu, 1996; Sikh Coalition, 2010). The kirpan is a ceremonial sword Sikhs wear to show that they will defend their faith and others' faith and fight for good over evil. This is clearly a controversial example, but one that illustrates several points. The legal approach might look at the contract worker as carrying a dangerous weapon, and safety generally supersedes religious accommodation. Our Sikh friend definitely would have a hard time working as a corrections officer or an airline attendant. AT&T may have a written or an unwritten prohibition against carrying weapons as a safety policy. It also might have a professional code of conduct or dress code. The legal approach might also look at whether this consultant is actually an employee. How much discretion does AT&T have over the Sikh consultant? Is AT&T the employer, a joint employer with the contracting firm or not? Whether AT&T's decision is covered under the Civil Rights Act (or a similar state law) depends upon how much control the contractor has over the contracted employee. In other words, using the legal approach can lead an employer into finding reasons *not to accommodate* or reasons it *has to accommodate*. Many religious discrimination cases that land in court do not resolve such issues, because the employer does not go through a process of attempting to accommodate the person or has not been informed about beliefs by the potential employee. In this case, an added complication is the status of the contract employee.

The faith-friendly approach is to simply acknowledge that the contract employee does wear the kirpan because of his faith. The Sikh with his kirpan should be allowed to express his faith through the physical symbol of the kirpan if the wearing of the kirpan does not interfere with productivity. Still even in a faith-friendly place, such a symbol of faith might seem scary for those unfamiliar with the religion. It is harder to determine what the spiritually minded company might do in this case. The spiritual organization might want to know about what the similarities are between this faith and other beliefs that might guide the employee to behave morally and ethically. What are the underlying values that might make the individual an effective worker? Do they match the values of the company? Leadership may make it possible for this Sikh to feel comfortable as a contract worker.

Finally, a company with the values of respectful pluralism will seek out religiously competent employees to help present employees understand this faith, or it might consult with someone outside the company who is knowledgeable about Sikh customs. This approach is more inclusive; the company reaches out to understand. Those employees in senior positions or supervisors will learn more about Sikhs to become religiously competent. This more inclusive strategy ensures that employees of diverse backgrounds will be productive, but only if there is a strategy of diversity that is supported (Tudor, n.d.; Wharton@Work, 2007).

Conclusion

A good deal of research has shown that diversity does negatively affect productivity and increase conflict, particularly in terms of teamwork (Dreachsln, 2007b, citing Dansky, Weech-Maldonado, DeSouza, & Dreachsln, 2003; Dreachsln & Hunt, 2000; Richard et al., 2002; Williams &

O'Reilly, 1998) unless managed by the creation of a strategy. Religious or spiritual diversity is unlikely to be substantially different though its oft times invisibility may reduce notice of its place in the workforce. A strategy that Richard and his colleagues call a "reinforcing circle of positive effects" can mitigate the negatives although there is no direct relationship between diversity and performance (Hopkins, Hopkins, & Mallette, 2001; Richard, Ford, & Ismail, 2006). Without a strategy, HR professionals may prefer to suppress or ignore differences rather than confront the issues of diversity whether gender, race, cultural, or religious. Without developing some awareness, nonreligious or spiritual employees may talk negatively without knowing much about religion or spirituality. Or religious or spiritual employees may deride those who are not religious. A workplace must educate to create an atmosphere of respectful religious pluralism to ensure the functioning of the workplace.

An organization that believes in respectful religious pluralism first recognizes that employees come to work with different levels of spirituality and religious beliefs, that some wish to express those beliefs at work, and that there is a value in those beliefs that must be respected. Second, it realizes that without support, that such beliefs may affect performance unless managed. That takes leadership to create a culture of respect and religiously competent employees.

References

- Ali, A. J., & Falcone, T. (1995). Work ethic in the USA and Canada. *The Journal of Management Development*, 14, 26–33.
- American Academy of Healthcare Executives (ACHE). (2009). *Competencies assessment tool 2009*. Retrieved September 21, 2009, from <http://www.ache.org>
- American Hospital Association, & Commission on Workforce for Hospitals and Health Systems. (n.d.). *Diversity and cultural assessment tool for leaders*. Retrieved September 21, 2009, from http://www.aha.org/aha/key_issues/disparity/content/DiversityTool.pdf
- Ball, C. (2005). Accommodating Islam in law enforcement. *Law Enforcement Executive Forum* May, 29–33.
- Ball, C., & Haque, A. (2003a). Accommodating Islamic religious practices in the workplace. *PA Times*, 26(11), 5.
- Ball, C., & Haque, A. (2003b). Diversity in religious practice: Implications of Islamic values in the public workplace. *Public Personnel Management*, 32(3), 315–330.
- Beatty, J., & Kirby, S. (2006). Beyond the legal environment: How stigma influences invisible identity groups in the workplace. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 18(1), 29–44.
- Berkel, L. A., Constantine, M. G., & Olson, E. A. (2007). Supervisor multicultural competence: Addressing religious and spiritual issues with counseling students in supervision. *The Clinical Supervisor*, 26(1–2), 3–15.
- Berry, L., & Selman, K. (2008). *Management lessons from Mayo Clinic*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Bhachu, A. (1996). A shield for swords. *American Criminal Law Review*, 34, 197–224.
- Brach, C., & Fraser, I. (2000). Can cultural competency reduce racial and ethnic health disparities? A review and conceptual model. *Medical Care Research & Review*, 57(3), 181–417.
- Brinton, H. (2007, July 30). Faith at the office. Why not? *USA Today*, p. A.1. Retrieved from <http://www.USAToday.com>
- Brown, P. L. (2009, August 19). A doctor for disease, a shaman for the soul. *New York Times*. Retrieved August 19, 2009, from <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Calvillo, E., Clark, L., Ballantyne, J. E., Pacquiao, D., Purnell, L. D., & Villarruel, A. M. (2009). Cultural competency in baccalaureate nursing education. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 20(2), 137–145.
- Chun, M. B. J. (2009). Cultural competency compliance issues in health care. *Journal of Health Care Compliance*, 11(5), 27–71.
- Civil Rights Act of 1964. Pub. L. No. 88-352, 42 USC § 2000e.
- Dansky, K. H., Weech-Maldonado, R., DeSouza, G., & Dreachslin, J. L. (2003). Organizational strategy and diversity management: Diversity-sensitive orientation as a moderating influence. *Health Care Management Review*, 28(3), 243–253.
- Denhardt, R. (2004). *Theories of public organizations* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson.
- Dreachslin, J. L. (1999). Diversity leadership and organizational transformation: Performance indicators for health. *Journal of Healthcare Management*, 44(6), 427–439.

- Dreachslin, J. L. (2007a). Diversity management and cultural competence: Research, practice, and the business case. *Journal of Healthcare Management*, 52(2), 79–86.
- Dreachslin, J. L. (2007b). The role of leadership in creating a diversity-sensitive organization. *Journal of Healthcare Management*, 52(3), 151–155.
- Dreachslin, J. L., & Hunt, P. L. (2000). Workforce diversity: Implications for the effectiveness of health care delivery teams. *Social Science & Medicine*, 50(10), 1403–1414.
- Drevdahl, D. J., Canales, M. K., & Dorcy, K. S. (2008). Of goldfish tanks and moonlight tricks: Can cultural competency ameliorate health disparities? *Advances in Nursing Science*, 31(1), 13–27.
- Edna Ng v. Jacobs Engineering Group, No. B185838 (Cal. Ct. App. October 16, 2006).
- Elisha, S., Nagelhout, J., Gupte, S., Koh, K., Maglalang, M., & Chong, N. (2008). A successful partnership to help reduce health disparities: The Institute for Culturally Competent Care and the Kaiser Permanente School of Anesthesia/California State University, Fullerton. *American Association of Nurse Anesthetists Journal*, 76, 437–442.
- Espinoza, M. (2008, September 8). Order to tuck in dreadlocks leads to civil rights lawsuit. *New York Times*, p. B7.
- Exec. Order No. 13199, Establishment of the president's advisory council for faith-based and neighborhood partnerships. 37 *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* 1246 (2001, February 5).
- Exec. Order No. 13498, The President Amendments to Executive Order 13199 and Establishment of the President's Advisory Council for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships 74 FR 6533 (2009, February 5).
- Federal Employees Flexible and Compressed Work Schedules Act of 1982, 5U.S.C. § 6120 *et seq.*
- Fiore, F. (2005, May 12). Faithful are carving niche in the workplace. *Los Angeles Times*, p. A.1.
- Gallup Poll. (2007, June 13). *Americans more likely to believe in god than the devil, heaven more than hell*, 10–13 May 2007. Poll questions retrieved March 8, 2010, from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/27877/americans-more-likely-believe-god-than-devil-heaven-more-than-hell.aspx>
- Gallup Poll. (2008, December 23). *Americans believe religion is losing clout*. Poll questions retrieved March 8, 2010, from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/113533/americans-believe-religion-losing-clout.aspx>
- Gallup Poll. (2009). *Religion*. Poll questions retrieved March 8, 2010, from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1690/religion.aspx>
- Giacalone, R., & Jurkiewicz, C. L. (2003a). The experience of work: Spirituality and the new workplace. In R. Giacalone & C. L. Jurkiewicz (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace spirituality* (pp. 108–122). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Giacalone, R., & Jurkiewicz, C. L. (2003b). Towards a science of workplace spirituality. In R. Giacalone & C. L. Jurkiewicz (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace spirituality* (pp. 3–28). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Grossman, R. (2008). Religion at work. *HR Magazine*, 53(12), 27–33.
- Halligan, P. (2006). Caring for patients of Islamic denomination: Critical care nurses experiences in Saudi Arabia. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 15(12), 1565–1573.
- Hammoud, M. M., White, C. B., & Fetters, M. D. (2005). Opening cultural doors: Providing culturally sensitive healthcare to Arab American and American Muslim patients. *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 193(4), 1307–1311.
- Harvey, J. (1988). *The Abilene paradox and other meditations on management*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hastings, R. R. (2006, December 1). Report: Faith-friendly can be a competitive advantage. Society for Human Resource Management. *SHRM Online*. Retrieved February 1, 2010, from http://www.shrm.org/hrdisciplines/Diversity/Articles/Pages/CMS_019510.aspx
- Herzberg, F., Mausner, B., & Snyderman, B. (1959/2008). *The motivation to work*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Hicks, D. A. (2003). *Religion and the workplace: Pluralism, spirituality, leadership*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodge, D. R. (2005). Social work and the house of Islam: Orienting practitioners to the beliefs and values of Muslims in the United States. *Social Work*, 50(2), 162–173.
- Hodge, D. R. (2007). The spiritual competence scale: A new instrument for assessing spiritual competence at the programmatic level. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 17(2), 287–295.
- Hodge, D. R., Baughman, L. M., & Cummings, J. A. (2006). Moving toward spiritual competency: Deconstructing religious stereotypes and spiritual prejudices in social work literature. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 32(4), 211–231.
- Hodge, D. R., & Bushfield, S. (2006). Developing spiritual competence in practice. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 15(3–4), 101–127.
- Hodge, D. R., & Nadir, A. (2008). Moving toward culturally competent practice with Muslims: Modifying cognitive therapy with Islamic tenets. *Social Work*, 53(1), 31–41.
- Holmes v. Marion County Office of Family and Children, 349 F.3d 914 (7th Cir. 2003).
- Hopkins, W. E., Hopkins, S. A., & Mallette, P. (2001). Diversity and managerial value commitment: A test of some proposed relationships. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, 13(3), 288–296.

- Huff, T. E., & Schluchter, W. (Eds.). (1999). *Max Weber and Islam*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Ill. Religious Freedom Restoration Act. 775 Ill. Comp. Stat. 35.
- International Public Management Association for Human Resources [IPMA]. (n.d.). *Diversity policies*. Retrieved June 24, 2010, from <http://www.ipma-hr.org/hr-resources/hr-solutions/hr-solution-topics/diversity-workplace>
- Kalev, A., Kelly, E., & Dobbin, F. (2006). Best practices or best guesses? Assessing the efficacy of corporate affirmative action and diversity policies. *American Sociological Review*, 71(4), 589–617.
- Kalsi v. N.Y. Transit Authority, 62F. Supp. 2d 745. (E.D.N.Y. 1998).
- Knowledge@Wharton. (2007, January 10). *Is there a business case for diversity? Yes – But it's not in the numbers*. Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. Retrieved June 24, 2010, from <http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article.cfm?articleid=1635>
- Laird, L., & Cadge, W. (2008). *Caring for our neighbors*. Clinton Twp, MI: Institute for Social Policy and Understanding. Retrieved from <http://ispu.org/reports/articledetailpb-67.html>
- LaVeist, T. A., Richardson, W. C., Richardson, N. F., Relosa, R., & Sawaya, N. (2008). The COA360: A tool for assessing the cultural competency of healthcare organizations. *Journal of Healthcare Management*, 53(4), 257–267.
- LaViolette v. Daly, 4858 EEOPUB LEXIS 4. (2000).
- Lee, D.-J., Sirgy, M. J., Efraty, D., & Siegel, P. (2003). A study of quality of work life, spiritual well-being, and life satisfaction. In R. A. Giacalone & C. L. Jurkiewicz (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace spirituality and organizational performance* (pp. 209–230). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Lee, K. (Director). (2006). *Dastaar: Defending Sikh identity* [Video]. Retrieved June 23, 2010, from <http://www.mrsikhnet.com/index.php/2006/08/23/dastaar-defending-sikh-identity/>
- Lips-Wiersma, M., Dean, K. L., & Fornaciari, C. J. (2009). Theorizing the dark side of the workplace spirituality movement. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 18(4), 288–300.
- Lynn, M., Naughton, M., & VanderVeen, S. (2009). Faith at work scale (FWS): Justification, development, and validation of a measure of Judaeo-Christian religion in the workplace. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 85(2), 227–243.
- Malone, M., Hartman, S., & Payne, D. (1998a). Religion in the workplace: Disparate treatment. *Labor Law Journal*, 49, 1099–1105.
- Malone, M., Hartman, S., & Payne, D. (1998b). Religion in the workplace: How much is too much? *Labor Law Journal*, 49, 1074–1081.
- Marques, J. (2005). HR's crucial role in the establishment of spirituality in the workplace. *Journal of the American Academy of Business*, 7(2), 27–31.
- Mayo Clinic. (2001). *Diversity policy*. Rochester, MN
- Miller, D. (2007). *God at work: The history and promise of the faith at work movement*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mitchell, C. (2006, November). *Faith at work: What does it mean to be a "faith-friendly" company?* New York: Conference Board. Retrieved from <http://www.yale.edu/faith/downloads/Faith%20at%20Work%20-%20Conference%20Board.pdf>
- Mitroff, I. A., & Denton, E. A. (1999). *A spiritual audit of corporate America: A hard look at spirituality, religion, and values in the workplace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Nash, L. L. (2001). In the synagogue, in the marketplace. *Across the Board*, 38(4), 28.
- National Center for Cultural Competence. (n.d.). *Cultural competence: Definition and conceptual framework*. Retrieved July 7, 2010, from <http://www11.georgetown.edu/research/gucchd/nccc/foundations/frameworks.html#ccdefinition>
- Pawar, B. (2009). Workplace spirituality facilitation: A comprehensive model. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 90(3), 375–386.
- Peters, M. (2009, October 18). *Diversity portion of Mayo Clinic new employee orientation*. Rochester, MN.
- Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. (2007, May 22). *Muslim Americans: Middle class and mostly mainstream*. Retrieved September 19, 2009, from <http://pewresearch.org/assets/pdf/muslim-americans.pdf>
- Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. (2008, February). *US religious landscape survey*. Retrieved September 19, 2009, from <http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/report-religious-landscape-study-full.pdf>
- Powell v. Yellow Book USA, Inc., 445 F.3d 1074. (8th Cir. 2006).
- Richard, O. C., Ford, D., & Ismail, K. (2006). Exploring the performance effects of visible attribute diversity: The moderating role of span of control and organizational life cycle. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 17(12), 2091–2109.
- Richard, O. C., Kochan, T. A., & McMillan-Capehart, A. (2002). The impact of visible diversity on organizational effectiveness: Disclosing the contents in Pandora's black box. *Journal of Business and Management*, 8(3), 265–283.
- Sherbert v. Verner, 374 US 398. (1963).
- Sidhu, D. S., & Gohil, N. S. (2008). The Sikh turban: Post-9/11 challenges to this article of faith. *Rutgers Journal of Law and Religion*, 9, 10–60. Retrieved from <http://ssrn.com/paper=962779>

- Sikh Coalition. (2010). *Kirpan. The Sikh sword*. Retrieved February 25, 2010, from <http://www.sikhcoalition.org/InfoKirpan.asp>
- Slack, J. (2002). God, presidents, and public administration. *Public Integrity*, 4(2), 133–146.
- Smith, S. R., & Sosin, M. R. (2001). The varieties of faith-related agencies. *Public Administration Review*, 61(6), 651–670.
- Society for Human Resource Management. (2008). *Religion and corporate culture: Accommodating religious diversity in the workplace*. Retrieved February 1, 2010, from http://www.shrm.org/Research/SurveyFindings/Documents/08-0625ReligionSR_Final_LowRez.pdf
- Strauss, J. P., & Sawyerr, O. O. (2009). Religiosity and attitudes toward diversity: A potential workplace conflict? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 39(11), 2626–2650.
- Swank, D. (2002, March). Note from the field: Cold fusion confusion the equal employment opportunity commission's incredible interpretation of religion in *Lavolette v. Daley*, *Army Lawyer*, 74–78. Retrieved March 28, 2011 from http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/03-2002.pdf
- Thompson, C. M. (2000). *The congruent life: Following the inward path to fulfilling work and inspired leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Tudor, P. (n.d.). *Adding value with diversity: What business leaders need to know*. American Institute for Managing Diversity, Inc. Retrieved June 24, 2010, from <http://www.aimd.org/files/PamelaTudor.pdf>
- TWA v Hardison, 42 US 63. (1977).
- United States. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC]. (2008, July 23). *Best practices for eradicating religious discrimination in the workplace*. Retrieved February 18, 2010, from http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/best_practices_religion.html
- United States. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. *EEOC compliance manual. Section 12. Religious Discrimination*. Retrieved July 22, 2008, from <http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/religion.html>
- United States. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (n.d.). *EEOC Notice N-915.022 Policy guidance on "new age" training programs which conflict with employees' religious beliefs*. Retrieved July 7, 2010, from <http://www.opm.gov/hrd/lead/policy/eeoc915.asp>
- United States. Government Accounting Office. (2005). *Diversity management* (GAO-05-90).
- U.S. v. Seeger, 380 US 163. (1965).
- Webb v. City of Philadelphia, No. 07-3081, 562F.3d 256. (3rd Cir. 2008).
- Weber, M. (1920/1958). *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* (T. Parsons, Trans.). New York: Scribner and Sons.
- Welsh v. United States, 398 US 333. (1970).
- Whitehouse Guidelines on Religious Exercise and Expression in the Federal Workplace. 33 *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* 1246. (1997, August 18).
- Wisconsin v. Yoder, 406 US 205. (1972).
- Williams, K. Y., & O'Reilly, C. A. (1998). Demography and diversity in organizations: A review of 40 years of research. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 20, 77–140.
- Wolf, M., Friedman, B., & Sutherland, D. (1998). *Religion in the workplace: A comprehensive guide to legal rights and responsibilities*. Chicago, IL: Tort and Insurance Practice, American Bar Association.

Chapter 24

An Overview of Workplace Spirituality and Its Likely Relationship with Employee Well-Being

Badrinarayan Shankar Pawar

Workplace Spirituality: A Brief Introduction

The term workplace spirituality seems to be used in two ways in the existing research. First, it refers to employee experiences at an individual level. Second, it refers to a workplace's adoption of certain mechanisms to facilitate certain kinds of employee experiences.

The first form of usage of the term workplace spirituality refers to certain individual-level experiences of an employee that is reflected in the definition of "spirit at work" (Kinjerski & Skrypnek, 2004, p. 37). These authors noted the interchangeable use of the terms "spirit at work" and "workplace spirituality" in the literature. They defined "spirit at work" as consisting of multiple forms of individual-level experiences such as energy, joy, authenticity, sense of purpose, linkage to others and to a common purpose, a sense being linked to something larger than oneself such as mankind, and mystical feelings. The second form of usage of the term "workplace spirituality" refers to a workplace's adoption of certain mechanisms to facilitate employee experiences of certain kinds and is consistent with Giacalone and Jurkiewicz's (2003, p. 13) definition of workplace spirituality. The latter authors define it as the presence of certain values in an organization's culture that help employees experience transcendence in the process of doing work so that employees may feel connected to others in such a form that yields feelings of completeness and joy. This definition focuses on one specific mechanism in organizations: organizational values or culture that can facilitate employee experiences of spirituality at work.

Another example of this second usage of the term can be seen in the description of workplace spirituality by Ashmos and Duchon (2000, p. 137) and Duchon and Plowman (2005, p. 809) who suggest that workplace spirituality is an organization's recognition of employees' possession of a spiritual or inner life that is enhanced by, as well as enhances, meaningful work that takes place conjoined with a sense of community.

Based on the two common usages of the terms spirit and spirituality at work, it can be suggested that workplace spirituality can be viewed either as employee experiences such as meaning and community in workplace or as features of an organization that lead to employee experiences such as meaning and community in workplace. If one were to view workplace spirituality as

B.S. Pawar, Ph.D. (✉)
Indian Institute of Management (Kozhikode),
Kunnamangalam, Kozhikode, Kerala 673570, India
e-mail: pawar@iimk.ac.in

employees' experiences such as meaning and community in the workplace, then one can focus on employee experiences as an outcome and treat certain organizational conditions as facilitators of these experiences. Based on this view, organizational conditions (e.g., organizational values and leadership) can reflect the organization's facilitation of workplace spirituality to the extent that these conditions facilitate employee experiences of spirituality. As the topic of this handbook focuses on ethics, the possible relationship between ethical dilemmas and workplace spirituality is highlighted below before discussing workplace spirituality in some depth.

Ethical Dilemmas in an Employee-Organization Relationship

Several ethical dilemmas are likely to be present in an employee-organization relationship. For instance, Selznick (1948) suggested that organizations seek to provide only partial inclusion to employees; however, employees seek to express themselves more completely in organizations. This dilemma may reflect the ethical principle of individual liberty or freedom in that while employees' work behavior is required and taken by the organization, the employees' freedom to adequately express themselves at work is constrained by the organization.

Another dilemma involves the extended-work-hours culture (e.g., Fry & Cohen, 2009), which encourages employees to spend more hours at work and thus adversely affecting the employees' health, work-life balance, and sense of well-being at large. The ethical principle that addresses this dilemma is to provide employees with organizational conditions and resources that can enhance both employee productivity and sense of overall well-being.

Yet another dilemma may be reflected in organizational practices that promote specialization and downsizing, which in turn undermine the fulfillment of employee needs of interesting and meaningful work, job security, and the sense of community. For instance, Gavin and Mason (2004) noted considerable incidence of the problem of work stress and job dissatisfaction among employees. They suggested that "in recent years economic productivity has been wrung out of the average worker, in large measure, at the cost of his health and happiness" (p. 390).

Workplace Spirituality as a Means of Addressing These Ethical Dilemmas

Based on the extant literature, one can suggest that workplace spirituality, as an organizational intervention, can effectively alleviate certain ethical dilemmas such as those described above. Workplace spirituality seeks to provide employees with experiences of transcendence, meaning in work, and a sense of community in organizations (Fry, 2005; Pawar, 2009a). Workplace spirituality encourages employees to express themselves more adequately (e.g., Milliman, Ferguson, Trickett, & Condemi, 1999) and authentically (e.g., Kinjerski & Skrypnek, 2004); thus, workplace spirituality can alleviate the adverse effects stemming from the inherent and structural tendency for the organization to allow only partial inclusion to employees.

Further, workplace spirituality has been suggested as a possible intervention to address the adverse effects of the extended-work-hours culture (Fry & Cohen, 2009). Fry and Slocum (2008) suggested that workplace spirituality can produce positive outcomes for employees (e.g., better health and psychological well-being) and the organization (e.g., employee commitment and greater productivity).

The preceding discussion suggests that workplace spirituality can help balance the concerns of both employees and the organization. Doing so enhances employee and organizational

well-being, thus addressing the inherent conflicts between organizational demands and employee needs. In light of this positive outlook of workplace spirituality, a more detailed description of this concept is provided below.

Employee Experiences in Workplace Spirituality

The presence of workplace spirituality seeks to provide employees fulfillment of certain needs. Fry (2003) refers to the “spiritual survival need” or “spiritual need of calling and membership.” The experiences of transcendence (Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2003), meaning, and community (e.g., Milliman, Czaplewski, & Ferguson, 2003; Pawar, 2009b) are viewed as components or conceptual dimensions of workplace spirituality. Pawar (2009a) indicates that different views of workplace spirituality include the experiences of meaning, purpose, community, and transcendence. A brief discussion of each of these experiences is described below, and possible interrelationships among these constructs are highlighted.

The term *transcendence* implies “to climb over” or “to find one’s ‘higher self’” (Mirvis, 1997, p. 197). The term also implies “stepping back from” or “moving beyond what is” (Ellison, 1983, p. 331). Transcendence in workplace spirituality thus can be regarded as employee experiences of moving beyond their self or moving beyond their self-centered concerns. Transcendence in workplace spirituality is transcendence of or moving beyond the employee’s self-interests (Pawar, 2009a).

Meaning, at times referred to as calling, implies making a difference to others through one’s service (Fry, 2003) or having a higher purpose (Kinjerski & Skrypnek, 2004, p. 39). Having a higher purpose can be a source of meaning (e.g., Kinjerski & Skrypnek, p. 39). Thus, meaning and purpose can be viewed as synonymous (de Klerk, 2005). Based on this view, Pawar (2009a) suggests that purpose can be subsumed under meaning. The discussion in Fry (2003, p. 703) uses the term transcendence to refer to calling and indicates the similarity between the terms calling and meaning or purpose. Based on the notion that serving others and having higher purpose that are associated with the sense of meaning, it could be suggested that developing a sense of meaning reflects transcendence of self-interests. Sense of meaning as a result of self-interest transcendence is consistent with the views expressed by Kinjerski and Skrypnek (p. 39).

Community, at times referred to as membership (e.g., Fry, 2003), implies the presence of relationships with others characterized by aspects such as sharing and commitment (e.g., Duchon & Plowman, 2005). An employee who develops community-related relationships may experience transcendence of self-interest (Pawar, 2009a).

The preceding discussion suggests that one could view workplace spirituality as employee experiences of transcendence of self-interests, which may take two specific forms. First, workplace spirituality involves experiences of doing work that contributes to the larger good, thus providing the employee with a sense of meaning. Second, workplace spirituality involves experiences of having relationships at work with others such as sharing resources and expressing concern for others. Having briefly discussed workplace spirituality as reflected through employee’s experiences, we will now turn our attention to the determinants of workplace spirituality.

Factors Contributing to the Managerial and Scholarly Attention Received by Workplace Spirituality

Workplace spirituality’s emergence in the literature dates back to the late 1990s (Biberman, 2003; Pawar, 2009a; Sheep, 2004). Ashmos and Duchon (2000, pp. 134–135) suggest several reasons for this increased interest in workplace spirituality. The first is the weakening of

traditional arrangements such as family and neighborhood community that earlier provided individuals an avenue for experiencing a sense of connectedness or community. Another reason is the increase in age demographics in the USA that have resulted in a larger proportion of older individuals in society who have concerns about transcendental issues such as the meaning of life. Another factor may have to do with the increasing influence of eastern cultures and philosophies. A final reason is organizations' acknowledgement that workplace spirituality may induce more creative contributions from employees. Fry (2003) suggests that new organizational forms mandated by the modern economy can be facilitated by paying attention to employees' spiritual needs. Further, de Klerk (2005) suggests that the impersonal culture in organizations that mushroomed in the age of technology and global competition with organizational restructuring and downsizing may have contributed to employees' tendency to seek meaning in the workplace.

The attention received by workplace spirituality from organizations as discussed above may also have contributed to the scholarly research on the subject (Pawar, 2009a). In addition, the importance placed on the organizationally relevant outcomes of workplace spirituality may have contributed to this increased attention. Some of such outcomes are discussed next.

Organizational Outcomes of Workplace Spirituality

Workplace spirituality has been found to be positively associated, in a rudimentary way, with work unit productivity (Duchon & Plowman, 2005) and with employee attitude toward work studies. Milliman et al., (2003) found empirical support for the relationship between three workplace spirituality dimensions (meaningful work, sense of community, and alignment of values) and five dimensions of work attitude (intrinsic job satisfaction, job involvement, organizational commitment, intention to quit, and organization-based self-esteem).

Kolodinsky, Giacalone, and Jurkiewicz (2008) found considerable support for the relationship between work spirituality and work attitudes of satisfaction, employee feelings of frustration, job involvement, and organizational identification. Pawar (2009b) found support for some of the relationships between workplace spirituality (meaning, community, and positive organizational purpose) and employee work attitudes of job satisfaction, job involvement, and organizational commitment. Fry, Vitucci, and Cedillo (2005) found support for the relationship between the employees' sense of calling or meaning and productivity, and between employees' sense of membership (and productivity) and organizational commitment.

The aforementioned findings on the organizationally relevant outcomes of workplace spirituality indicate that the emerging evidence suggests that workplace spirituality does indeed have a significant effect on important organizational outcomes. Now let us turn to the relationship between workplace spirituality and employee well-being.

Workplace Spirituality and Employee Well-Being

We will first describe the concept of employee well-being, after which we will flesh out some thoughts regarding its possible relationships with workplace spirituality.

Employee Well-Being

Employee well-being is the overall quality of experiences and functioning of an employee (Grant, Christianson, & Price, 2007, p. 52). Overall well-being includes multiple forms of

well-being such as physical well-being, psychological well-being, and social well-being (Grant et al., 2007).

Warr (2005, p. 566) points out the similarity between the lay term “happiness” and the academic term “well-being.” He notes that in the dictionary definition, the main features of happiness are either pleasure or contentment. Warr uses two dimensions to shed more light on the concept of subjective well-being: (1) one dimension varying in valence (positive/negative) and (2) the other dimension varying in activity (high arousal/low arousal). This view suggests subjective well-being is a two-dimensional concept in which employees have high well-being when they are both happy and enthused.

However, subjective well-being is only one of the two categories within the broader view of mental well-being. Eudaimonic well-being is the second category in this broader view focusing on psychological functioning. The “daimon” part of “eudaimonia” suggests one’s “true nature” (Ryan & Deci, 2001, p. 143). Thus, eudaimonic well-being can be viewed as expression of one’s true self. Eudaimonic well-being is the realization of one’s true potential (as in authenticity, self-expressiveness, etc.) (Grant et al., 2007, p. 53). The term “psychological well-being” has similar connotations (Keyes, Shmotkin, & Ryff, 2002).

In contrast, subjective well-being seems to be based on a hedonic perspective. The hedonic component refers to “the subjective experience of pleasure” or the net of positive thoughts and feelings over negative thoughts and feelings of an individual (e.g., Grant et al., 2007, p. 53). The usage of terms subjective well-being (Keyes et al., 2002; Ryan & Deci, 2001) or affective well-being (Daniels, 2000) seems to reflect what Keyes et al. (p. 1007) refer to as hedonic well-being or what Ryan and Deci (p. 143) refer to as the hedonic view of well-being. It may help to suggest here that there seems to be distinction between “affective well-being” and “subjective well-being.” Keyes et al. (p. 1007) suggest that affective well-being seems to focus on positive and negative affects, whereas subjective well-being seems to reflect not only affective well-being aspects but also a cognitive component—an evaluation of one’s life or life satisfaction. Consistent with this line of thinking, Daniels included only various forms of affect in measuring affective well-being. The view that affective well-being reflects only affect, not a cognitive assessment, is echoed by Hosie, Sevastos, and Cooper (2006, pp. 27–28, 50).

Ryan and Deci (2001, pp. 142–143) have noted that hedonism and eudaimonism are two distinct but overlapping perspectives of well-being. Keyes et al. (2002, p. 1007) already used the labels of “subjective well-being” and “psychological well-being” to characterize the well-being conceptualizations from two distinct perspectives, namely, hedonistic and eudaimonic, respectively.

The above discussion underscores psychological well-being and subjective well-being as two complementary concepts of well-being. Ryan and Deci (2001, p. 142) assert that these two concepts of well-being conjoin to reflect an optimal form of psychological functioning and experience. Hence, these two forms can be regarded as two aspects of overall psychological well-being. This is consistent with the view of Warr (2005, p. 548) who used the term mental health and identified six dimensions: subjective well-being, positive self-regard, competence, aspiration, autonomy, and integrated functioning. These dimensions considerably reflect the division of mental health/well-being (or overall psychological well-being) into two categories of subjective well-being and psychological well-being because the concept includes subjective well-being and the remaining five dimensions representing various aspects of psychological well-being.

The above discussion indicates that there are differences in subjective well-being and psychological well-being. The specific indicators used in the above two forms of well-being also differ. Ryan and Deci (2001, p. 144) use three dimensions to capture subjective well-being: life satisfaction, positive mood, and absence of negative mood. An example of indicators of subjective well-being is reflected in Daniels (2000, p. 277) who, in assessing affective well-being at work, used five factors, namely, “anxiety-comfort,” “depression-pleasure,” “bored-enthusiastic,” “tiredness-ignorance,” and “angry-placid.” The indicators used to assess psychological well-being usually vary

depending on the model of psychological well-being that the researcher adopts. Ryan and Deci identified three models or theories that reflect the eudaimonic view of well-being. Thus, the specific indicators associated with these three perspectives do differ. The indicators of psychological well-being in one of the three theories highlighted by Ryan and Deci (2001, p. 146) focus on the aspects of autonomy, personal growth, self-acceptance, life purpose, mastery, and positive relatedness.

At a broader level, however, mental well-being includes the two concepts of psychological well-being and subjective well-being. The concept of mental well-being, in turn, is one of the components of overall well-being. The other forms of well-being are physical well-being and social well-being (e.g., Grant et al., 2007; Warr, 2005). Physical well-being refers to the availability of “nourishment, shelter, health care, clothing, and mobility” (Grant et al., p. 52). Social well-being focuses on making contribution to others, being accepted by others, being a part of society, etc. (Grant et al., 2007, p. 52; Warr, 2005, p. 547).

In light of the above discussion, overall well-being can be viewed as having three components, namely, physical well-being, social well-being, and mental well-being; the latter contains two subcomponents: psychological well-being and emotional/affective/subjective well-being. While these are considered components of well-being, other scholars contend that spiritual well-being is a distinct component of well-being (e.g., Ellison, 1983). In describing spiritual well-being, Ellison notes that human beings have need for transcendence. Spiritual well-being comes from an individual’s committing him or herself to purposes that have ultimate meaning for life. Ellison (pp. 330–331) also notes that the nonphysical nature of experiences in relation to this dimension of well-being is reflected in the term “spiritual.” In a more specific form, Ellison (p. 331) notes that spiritual well-being involves satisfactory relationship with oneself, community, environment, and God. That is, spiritual well-being contains a vertical dimension reflecting one’s relationship with God, which can be referred to as “religious well-being,” and a horizontal dimension, referred to as “existential well-being” of having life purpose and life satisfaction (Ellison, 1983).

Another related view of spiritual well-being is reflected in Fry (2005, p. 65) who suggests that spiritual well-being results from and contributes to fulfillment of spiritual values and “functioning in society as a whole.” Fry relates spiritual well-being to spiritual values such as integrity, honesty, courage, and compassion. The author suggests that spiritual well-being comes from fulfilling the needs for transcendence that reflects an urge or need for attaining goals that express what is ultimately meaningful to a person and need for membership reflecting an urge to be understood and appreciated. Spiritual well-being is related to another form of well-being: ethical well-being. Fry discusses ethical well-being as being associated with aligning one’s personal values, attitudes, and behaviors with universal values on which there is consensus in several areas such as workplace spirituality and character ethics and education. In expounding the relationship between ethical well-being and spiritual well-being, Fry notes that spiritual well-being requires behaving ethically while fulfilling one’s calling or purpose. Thus, ethical well-being is necessary for spiritual well-being, but spiritual well-being, in addition to ethical behavior leading to ethical well-being, requires the pursuit of one’s calling or purpose.

To summarize, employee well-being can be viewed as overall goodness or quality of employees’ living, functioning, or experiences. In the specific context of work, employees’ work well-being can be viewed as the goodness or quality of employees’ experiences at work. Within the broader concept of well-being, multiple categories can be included such as physical well-being, social well-being, affective/subjective well-being, psychological well-being, ethical well-being, and spiritual well-being (along with its dimensions such as religious well-being and existential well-being). The next section discusses possible links between workplace spirituality and employee well-being.

Possible Relationships Between Workplace Spirituality and Employee Well-Being

The task of outlining the empirically observed or theoretically plausible relationships between workplace spirituality and employee well-being is likely to be difficult for at least two reasons. First, workplace spirituality research itself is in its early stages (e.g., Kolodinsky et al., 2008). Second, empirical research in workplace spirituality has not been extensive, and more empirical research is needed (e.g., de Klerk, 2005). In light of these constraints, an attempt is made in this section to suggest some tentative relationships between workplace spirituality and employee well-being. In the relationships between workplace spirituality and well-being discussed below, the term well-being refers to employee well-being.

Workplace spirituality focuses on fulfilling employees' spiritual needs of meaning/calling, community/membership, and transcendence (e.g., Fry, 2005; Pawar, 2009a). Workplace spirituality has been suggested to be associated with employees' spiritual well-being (Fry, 2005). The relationships between workplace spirituality and other forms of well-being can also be suggested.

For example, let us consider the possible relationship between workplace spirituality and physical well-being. In highlighting the experiences of "spirit at work," Kinjerski and Skrypnek (2004) include a component of physical experience characterized by high levels of energy. In another reference to physical health, Ellison (1983, p. 338) cites earlier research indicating an association between loneliness and "heart attack and other causes of premature death." In light of this, it is possible to suggest that the community/membership aspect of workplace spirituality is likely to be negatively associated with loneliness and thus could be positively associated with physical well-being. Further, Ellison and Smith (1991) provide evidence indicating that spiritual well-being is positively correlated with indicators of self-rated health and with adjustment to certain forms of physical illness. Spiritual well-being, according to Ellison and Smith, includes the aspect of religious well-being and existential well-being. As existential well-being reflects the notion of having a sense of life purpose, the presence of purpose part in workplace spirituality suggests a positive relationship between workplace spirituality and existential well-being. The above discussion suggests the likely plausibility of a positive relationship between workplace spirituality and physical well-being—more specifically between components of workplace spirituality such as purpose/meaning and community and physical well-being.

A relationship between workplace spirituality and social well-being also seems plausible because the community/membership aspect of workplace spirituality reflects having relationships with others based on aspects such as sharing and commitment (e.g., Duchon & Plowman, 2005). This suggests that the sense of community aspect of workplace spirituality is likely to be positively associated with social well-being. Furthermore, organizational values associated with workplace spirituality include justice, respect, trust, receptivity, mutuality, benevolence, and humanism (Jurkiewicz & Giacalone, 2004). Expression of these values of workplace spirituality in organizational functioning can provide employees a sense of social well-being. Hence, a positive relationship between workplace spirituality (in particular, the community/membership aspect of workplace spirituality) and social well-being seems plausible.

The relationship between workplace spirituality and subjective/affective well-being (and psychological well-being) also seems plausible. It is plausible to suggest a positive relationship between workplace spirituality and positive affect or affective well-being. Kinjerski and Skrypnek (2004) noted the presence of positive affect characterized as well-being and joy in their study participants' expressions of spirit/spirituality at work. The literature also suggests the plausibility of a negative relationship between workplace spirituality and negative affective outcomes. Kolodinsky et al. (2008) posited a negative relationship between organizational spirituality and

employee experiences of organizational frustration. They examined this relationship in two studies, and in both studies, their results provided support for the hypothesized negative relationship between organizational spirituality and employees' organizational frustration. Furthermore, it is plausible to suggest a negative relationship between workplace spirituality—specifically meaning—and negative affective outcomes. de Klerk (2005) discusses the finding that lack of meaning in life is associated with negative affective outcomes such as depression and anxiety. Extending this finding to the specific context of meaning in work suggests that the sense of meaning in the workplace is likely to be negatively associated with various negative affective outcomes such as depression and anxiety. The above discussion leads us to conclude that there may be a positive relationship between workplace spirituality and affective well-being (or the affect part of subjective well-being).

Research on workplace spirituality also suggests a positive relationship between workplace spirituality and life satisfaction (the cognitive component of subjective well-being). For instance, there is empirical evidence for the relationship between workplace spirituality and intrinsic job satisfaction (Milliman et al., 2003). Further, Pawar (2009b) reports empirical evidence supporting the relationship between workplace spirituality and overall job satisfaction. Kolodinsky et al. (2008) noted that employee perceptions of spiritual work climate are likely to spill over to other areas such as satisfaction with work rewards. The authors conducted two studies and provided support for the positive relationship between organizational spirituality and intrinsic rewards satisfaction and total rewards satisfaction in both studies (but provided support for the positive relationship between organizational spirituality and extrinsic rewards satisfaction in only one of the two studies). The above discussion of the relationship between workplace spirituality and positive/negative affect (and between workplace spirituality and employee satisfaction) suggests a relationship between workplace spirituality and employees' subjective well-being.

Various relationships can also be suggested between workplace spirituality and employees' psychological well-being. For instance, de Klerk (2005) has suggested that spirituality can be conceptualized in terms of the meaning in life aspect. Based on this conceptualization, relationships between meaning in life with various work-related outcomes (e.g., work-related higher-order goals and intrinsic motivation) are articulated by de Klerk (2005). These work-related outcomes of having work-related higher-order goals and intrinsic motivation may reflect aspects of life purpose and autonomy, respectively. Ryan and Deci's (2001, p. 146) discussion suggests that life purpose and autonomy are aspects directly related to psychological well-being. Based on this discussion, a positive relationship between meaning and psychological well-being seems plausible.

However, the focus of the work of de Klerk (2005) is on meaning-in-life aspect of individual spirituality rather than on workplace spirituality (i.e., the meaning-in-work aspect of workplace spirituality). Further, as the meaning/calling aspect of workplace spirituality involves making a difference to others through one's work or contributing to others (e.g., Fry, 2003), it is likely to have a positive relationship with life purpose, which, according to Ryan and Deci (2001), is one of the aspects of psychological well-being. This relationship also seems plausible in light of the findings of Kinjerski and Skrypnek (2004) that experiences of spirit at work include contributing to others, possessing a higher purpose, and doing meaningful work. This may suggest that employee experiences of spirituality at work are likely to have a positive relationship with psychological well-being.

Such a relationship can also be inferred from another observation that Kinjerski and Skrypnek (2004) made by noting that authenticity and alignment between an individual's values and beliefs and his/her work as aspects included in the individual experience of spirit at work. In discussing the eudaimonic view of well-being, which reflects psychological well-being, Ryan and Deci (2001) alluded to several perspectives, one involving being authentic. Authenticity in experiences of spirituality at work is likely to be associated with employees' psychological well-being at work.

The above discussion suggests the plausibility of positive relationships between workplace spirituality and various forms of employee well-being. Complementary to this discussion, we will discuss examples to illustrate how workplace spirituality may be positively associated with employee well-being and how workplace spirituality can address some of the ethical dilemmas associated with an employee-organization relationship.

Examples Illustrating the Likely Contribution of Workplace Spirituality to Employee Well-Being

The spiritual values-based management model (Milliman et al., 1999) describes aspects of workplace spirituality at Southwest Airlines (SWA). At SWA, organizational spiritual values are reflected in business and employee plans that are supported by HRM practices resulting in high levels of organizational performance and positive employee attitude. The spiritual values at SWA include promotion of community, having a sense of cause of providing good service at affordable rates to customers, a positive work ethic, and employee empowerment. Individual employee plans and business plans reflect these values. HRM practices such as selecting employees with the right values, facilitating socialization, providing security, etc., reinforce both employee and business plans. Milliman et al. associate these aspects to various positive performance indicators of SWA and employee well-being-related outcomes. Employee well-being at SWA can be inferred from indicators such as SWA's consistent listing in "100 best companies to work for in the USA (Milliman et al., 1999, p. 229)." In addition to these employee well-being-related outcomes, SWA has several positive indicators of organizational performance such as its highly positive profitability record.

The above brief description of SWA case provides suggestive evidence on the likely contribution of workplace spirituality to the promotion of employee well-being. The case also indicates how workplace spirituality can address the ethical dilemma associated with the ethical principle of responsibility—SWA seems to be fulfilling its responsibility for its employees by promoting their well-being, and similarly, the employees seem to be fulfilling their responsibility for SWA by working harder and better.

Gavin and Mason (2004) discuss two additional cases where one can infer associations between elements of workplace spirituality (e.g., meaning) and employee well-being. Gavin and Mason (p. 390) note:

Our society should set as its primary goal securing good life as Aristotle envisioned it, and we should re-energize ourselves around Jefferson's inalienable human rights of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' ... The Container Stores and TDIndustries may serve as role models in this pursuit. These companies are among the few that have developed philosophies and methods that instill the kind of 'daily meaning' in people's work that Stud Terkel's workers found so essential in the quest for a good life.

This view also reflects the likely contribution of workplace spirituality, or in particular, the meaning element of it, to support the ethical principles of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness and as such address the ethical dilemmas of the employee-organization relationship.

Workplace Spirituality Implementation

The preceding sections outlined what is workplace spirituality, the possible contribution of workplace spirituality in addressing some of the ethical dilemmas of an employee-organization relationship, the reasons for the attention received by workplace spirituality in organizations

and in research, various organizational outcomes associated with workplace spirituality, and how workplace spirituality is likely to be positively related to various forms of employee well-being. Against this backdrop, this section addresses a few aspects associated with workplace spirituality implementation. The implementation of workplace spirituality program involves the creation of organizational conditions that facilitate employee experiences of spirituality in the workplace—experiences such as meaning/calling and community/membership (e.g., Duchon & Plowman, 2005; Fry, 2005).

The literature provides various views on how workplace spirituality programs can be designed and implemented in organizations. Some of the views are briefly discussed below. Pfeffer (2003) focuses on organizational practices that could enhance employee experiences of spirit at work. These practices seek to provide employees collective forms of rewards, autonomy, and avenues of development. Jurkiewicz and Giacalone (2004) provide a list of organizational values such as justice, respect, trust, generativity, and responsibility that can serve to promote employee experiences of spirituality at work. Marques, Dhiman, and King (2005) indicate that an individual's awareness of spirituality could manifest in the individual's relationships with others, which, in turn, could create an environment that facilitates workplace spirituality experiences. Fry (2003) discusses the practice of spiritual leadership as a way of fulfilling the leader's and employees' spiritual needs of calling and membership. Spiritual leadership involves the elements of vision that can provide a sense of calling, a culture of altruistic love, and creation of hope/faith among employees. Chakraborty (1993) describes an organizational intervention whose objectives include spiritual refinement of organizational members toward the improvement of organizational culture and functioning. Milliman et al. (1999) describe how workplace spirituality aspects are reflected at Southwest Airlines (SWA) through SWA's adoption of spiritual values and supporting business and individual plans and HRM practices.

Pawar (2008) highlights a comparison of two approaches to workplace spirituality program implementation: which differ on aspects such as top-down versus bottom-up and outside-in versus inside-out direction of workplace spirituality transmission process. An integrated model incorporating individual, group, and organizational level aspects of workplace spirituality facilitation is described fully in Pawar (2009c).

The preceding discussion underscores the fact that various views are reflected in literature on how to design and implement workplace spirituality programs. While the preceding discussion briefly hinted at various approaches and methods (because of length limitations of this chapter), interested readers should consult the sources cited for details. An organization's receptivity to workplace spirituality is briefly discussed next.

Organizational Receptivity to Workplace Spirituality

As mentioned earlier, there are multiple reasons for the increasing popularity of workplace spirituality in organizations. Also, there are multiple views on how to implement workplace spirituality programs. However, the question that we need to raise at this point is: Are organizations receptive to the notion of designing and implementing workplace spirituality programs?

The answer may be that the majority of organizations are likely to resist. Why? For several reasons: First, emergence of workplace spirituality in research and literature is of recent origin (Pawar, 2009a). Second, Pawar (2009a), in referencing the various views in literature (e.g., Mirvis, 1997), indicates that many organizations are likely to resist adopting workplace spirituality programs. Third, Pawar (2009b) also asserts that there has been inadequate empirical research on the effects of workplace spirituality on organizational outcomes. This suggests that limited systematic empirical evidence is likely to be available to justify implementation of workplace spirituality programs.

Limitations and Summary

A major limitation in writing this chapter is the dearth empirical of studies in this area. No pretenses are made about the fact that this chapter provides a comprehensive review of the literature. In particular, the description of well-being and of likely relationships between workplace spirituality and employee well-being are based on a very limited review of literature. As a result, the likely relationships proposed in this chapter should be regarded as tentative at best.

In summary, I made an attempt in this chapter to impress the reader that workplace spirituality implies a distinct set of employee experiences, it can address some of the ethical dilemmas of an employee-organization relationship, it is associated with organizationally relevant outcomes, and it has been receiving greater attention by management in organizations and scholars doing research on the subject. I also indicated that employee well-being can take multiple forms (e.g., spiritual well-being) and there are likely to be relationships between workplace spirituality and various forms of employee well-being. The reader should note that there are different views on workplace spirituality implementation and the likely limited organizational receptivity to this much deserving concept.

References

- Ashmos, D. P., & Duchon, D. (2000). Spirituality at work: A conceptualization and measure. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 9(2), 134–145.
- Biberman, J. (2003). How workplace spirituality becomes mainstreamed in a scholarly organization. In R. A. Giacalone & C. L. Jurkiewicz (Eds.), *The handbook of workplace spirituality and organizational performance* (pp. 421–428). Armonk, NY: ME, Sharpe.
- Chakraborty, S. K. (1993). *Managerial transformation by values*. New Delhi, India: Sage.
- Daniels, K. (2000). Measures of five aspects of affective well-being at work. *Human Relations*, 53(2), 275–294.
- de Klerk, J. J. (2005). Spirituality, meaning in life, and work wellness: A research agenda. *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 13(1), 64–88.
- Duchon, D., & Plowman, D. A. (2005). Nurturing spirit at work: Impact on work unit performance. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 807–833.
- Ellison, C. W. (1983). Spiritual well-being: Conceptualization and measurement. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 11(4), 330–340.
- Ellison, C. W., & Smith, J. (1991). Toward an integrative measure of health and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Theology*, 19(1), 35–48.
- Fry, L. W. (2003). Toward a theory of spiritual leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 24, 693–727.
- Fry, L. W. (2005). Toward a theory of ethical and spiritual well-being, and corporate social responsibility through spiritual leadership. In R. Giacalone, C. Jurkiewicz, & C. Dunn (Eds.), *Positive psychology in business ethics and corporate responsibility* (pp. 47–83). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.
- Fry, L. W., & Cohen, M. P. (2009). Spiritual leadership as a paradigm for organizational transformation and recovery from extended work hours culture. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 84, 265–278.
- Fry, L. W., & Slocum Jr., J. W. (2008). Maximizing the triple bottom line through spiritual leadership. *Organizational Dynamics*, 37(1), 86–96.
- Fry, L. W., Vitucci, S., & Cedillo, M. (2005). Spiritual leadership and army transformation: Theory, measurement, and establishing a baseline. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 835–862.
- Gavin, H. G., & Mason, R. O. (2004). The virtuous organization: The value of happiness in the workplace. *Organizational Dynamics*, 33(4), 379–392.
- Giacalone, R. A., & Jurkiewicz, C. L. (2003). Toward a science of workplace spirituality. In R. A. Giacalone & C. L. Jurkiewicz (Eds.), *The handbook of workplace spirituality and organizational performance* (pp. 3–28). Armonk, NY: ME, Sharpe.
- Grant, A. M., Christianson, M. K., & Price, R. H. (2007). Happiness, health, or relationships? Managerial practices and employee well-being tradeoffs. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 21(3), 51–63.
- Hosie, P. J., Sevastos, P. P., & Cooper, C. L. (2006). *Happy-performing managers*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Jurkiewicz, C. L., & Giacalone, R. A. (2004). A values framework for measuring the impact of workplace spirituality and organizational performance. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 49, 129–142.

- Keyes, C. L. M., Shmotkin, D., & Ryff, C. D. (2002). Optimizing well-being: The empirical encounter of two traditions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 1007–1022.
- Kinjerski, V. M., & Skrypnek, B. J. (2004). Defining spirit at work: Finding common ground. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *17*(1), 26–42.
- Kolodinsky, R. W., Giacalone, R. A., & Jurkiewicz, C. L. (2008). Workplace values and outcomes: Exploring personal, organizational, and interactive workplace spirituality. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *81*, 465–480.
- Marques, J., Dhiman, C. L., & King, R. (2005). Spirituality in the workplace: Developing an integral model and a comprehensive definition. *The Journal of American Academy of Business*, *7*(1), 81–91.
- Milliman, J., Czaplewski, A. J., & Ferguson, J. (2003). Workplace spirituality and employee work attitudes: An exploratory empirical assessment. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *16*, 426–447.
- Milliman, J., Ferguson, J., Trickett, D., & Condemni, B. (1999). Spirit and community at Southwest Airlines. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *12*, 221–233.
- Mirvis, P. H. (1997). 'Soul work' in organizations. *Organization Science*, *8*(2), 190–206.
- Pawar, B. S. (2008). Two approaches to workplace spirituality facilitation: A comparison and implications. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, *29*(6), 544–567.
- Pawar, B. S. (2009a). Some of the recent organizational behavior concepts as precursors to workplace spirituality. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *88*, 245–261.
- Pawar, B. S. (2009b). Individual spirituality, workplace spirituality and work attitudes: An empirical test of direct and interaction effects. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, *30*(8), 759–777.
- Pawar, B. S. (2009c). Workplace spirituality facilitation: A comprehensive model. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *90*(3), 375–386.
- Pfeffer, J. (2003). Business and the spirit: Management practices that sustain values. In R. A. Giacalone & C. L. Jurkiewicz (Eds.), *The handbook of workplace spirituality and organizational performance* (pp. 29–45). Armonk, NY: ME, Sharpe.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2001). On happiness and human potentials: A review of research on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *52*, 141–166.
- Selznick, P. (1948). Foundations of a theory of organizations. *American Sociological Review*, *13*, 25–35.
- Sheep, M. L. (2004). Nailing down gossamer: A valid measure of the person-organization fit of workplace spirituality. In *Academy of Management Proceedings*, MSR (pp. B1–B6).
- Warr, P. (2005). Work, well-being, and mental health. In J. Barling, E. K. Kelloway, & M. R. Frone (Eds.), *Handbook of work stress* (pp. 547–573). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Part VI
Integration: The Road Ahead

Chapter 25

From Nonmalfeasance to Beneficence: Key Criteria, Approaches, and Ethical Issues Relating to Positive Employee Health and Well-Being

Kathryn M. Page and Dianne A. Vella-Brodrick

Employee health and well-being are now high on the agenda for many organizations. While this is likely due, in part, to a greater awareness of the cost of mental and physical illness for organizations, there are also important ethical reasons why organizations should take a proactive approach to facilitating employee health and well-being. Quality of work life affects the overall quality of a person's life. On a practical level, the provision of income through work provides access to goods and services that promote survival (e.g., access to food, health services, education). Income also provides access to enjoyable leisure and vacation activities, which, in turn, can enhance happiness, health, and quality of life (e.g., Pressman et al., 2009). Importantly, work can also provide employees with a sense of competence and purpose, providing daily structure and ongoing goals to achieve. Also, it is often a point of contact with others, thus fostering a sense of connection and belongingness. Perhaps not surprisingly then, unemployment has been found to be a strong negative predictor of life satisfaction (Lucas, Clark, Georgellis, & Diener, 2004).

However, for a number of people, work is something to be endured rather than enjoyed. Poor quality of life at work can have negative physical, social, and emotional consequences for an individual. The recognition that the workplace can detrimentally affect health is the cornerstone of occupational health and safety laws in many countries including the USA and Australia (OSHA and OHS, respectively). Such laws exist to ensure that employees are protected from physical or psychosocial hazards at work such as noxious gases and chemicals, workplace accidents, ergonomic hazards, violence, bullying, and harmful managerial practices. Given such legislative requirements, it is generally accepted that employers have a responsibility to “do no harm” to their workers – thus satisfying the ethical principle of nonmalfeasance. It is less clear, however, whether organizations also have a responsibility to promote employee well-being and resilience, that is, to benefit or “do good” to their workers (beneficence). An affirmative case may be argued on the grounds that employees invest considerably more of their time and energy into work than in previous years (Dewe & Kompier, 2008; Gavin & Mason, 2004). In many countries, the age of retirement has increased, meaning that people now spend a greater proportion of their lives at work. Research also shows that people are working longer and more demanding hours

K.M. Page, Psy.D. (✉)

School of Population Health, The University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: kpage@unimelb.edu.au

D.A. Vella-Brodrick, Ph.D.

School of Psychology and Psychiatry, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

than before (Dewe & Kompier, 2008; Gavin & Mason, 2004). Many more workers also have emotionally demanding jobs due to the growth of service professions (Dewe & Kompier). In addition, perceived job insecurity is an increasingly prevalent employee stressor due to the frequency of organizational restructuring and downsizing (Quinlan, 2007; Sparks, Faragher, & Cooper, 2001). There is also a weakening demarcation between work and home due to globalization, advancing technology (such as the rise of the smartphone and the ability to check work email from anywhere), and a trend toward more flexible and/or virtual organizations (Sparks et al., 2001). Such changes necessitate a broader view of an employer's duty of care regarding employee health and well-being. While legislation addresses physical and psychosocial factors that can be regulated and enforced, ethical standards provide an aspirational view of what is the employer's responsibility.

In this chapter, we explore the topic of employee well-being from an applied ethics perspective. In any logical ethical decision-making process, all plausible actions need to be evaluated against important predetermined criteria. This will help to ascertain the course of action that will most likely result in the best (and most ethical) outcomes. In other words, we will include evidence for why meeting a comprehensive range of employee health and well-being needs makes good business sense in addition to it being the right thing to do. We will then present a number of issues relating to best practice approaches to meeting employee health and well-being needs, with specific emphasis on who the recipients should be, who should run the programs, whether the programs should be optional for employees, and the content and frequency that is required to achieve positive outcomes. We conclude with an agenda for future research.

Well-Being and Health: More Than the Absence of Disease

...to understand the essential features of health – not illness, that is, but health – requires moving beyond the bounds of medicine, built, as it is and should be, around human maladies (Ryff & Singer, 1998, p. 77).

Despite their wide use in the public arena (or perhaps because of), the terms “health” and “well-being” are not well understood or defined, leading to confusion and disparity in both research and practice (Danna & Griffin, 1999). Traditionally, such terms have been used to refer to matters of illness rather than to health and happiness in a positive sense. As an example, Schaufeli (2004), in his review of occupational health psychology research, pointed out that over 90% of articles published in the *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* focused on physical and psychological health *problems* (e.g., burnout, work to home interference, and cardiovascular disease) with little focus on the positive end of the health continuum. Similar observations have been made regarding general psychology (Linley, Joseph, Harrington, & Wood, 2006; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000) and physical health research (Seligman, 2008). This reflects the prevailing dominance of the traditional disease model over a genuine health model. The *disease model* defines health and well-being as the absence of illness (Macik-Frey, Quick, & Nelson, 2007; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000) and is thus concerned with “fixing what is wrong rather than developing what is right” (Schaufeli, p. 514). In contrast, the *health model* defines health as the presence of wellness. This approach is the cornerstone of the positive health movement, which, while spanning back several decades (e.g., Jahoda, 1958; Maslow, 1968), has been reinvigorated and advanced by scholars advocating positive research approaches including positive psychology, positive health, positive organizational behavior, and positive organizational scholarship (Cameron, 2008; Cameron & Caza, 2004; Huppert, 2005; Luthans & Youssef, 2007; Ryff & Keyes, 1995; Ryff & Singer, 1998; Seligman, 2008; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Such authors have called for positive definitions of and approaches to

health to complement existing disease-based definitions and approaches. Research demonstrates that wellness and ill-being are separate yet moderately correlated constructs (e.g., $r = -.53$; Keyes, 2005). Thus, positive well-being cannot be directly inferred from the absence of negative well-being, and the two should be considered as separate constructs (Ryff & Singer). Keyes and Grzywacz (2005) demonstrated the utility of viewing health as the presence of the positive in addition to the absence of the negative. Using the *complete health model*, Keyes and Grzywacz categorically assessed the health of individuals in a large US sample ($n = 3,032$). *Completely healthy* individuals possessed high levels of physical and psychological well-being in addition to low or no levels of physical and psychological morbidity. *Completely unhealthy* individuals possessed high levels of physical and psychological morbidity coupled with low levels of physical and psychological well-being. *Incompletely healthy* individuals fell in between the two former categories, showing high/low combinations of, or only partial, physical and/or psychological health. It is notable that while the term “complete” may imply unrealistic or unobtainable standards of health “perfection,” Keyes and Grzywacz defined complete health as satisfying a base level of criteria as opposed to all criteria. For example, to be categorized as mentally flourishing, a subdimension of complete health, an individual must score in the upper tertile for one of the two emotional well-being scales and for 6 of the 11 psychological and social well-being scales. This approach is similar to the approach used to classify mental disorders (Keyes, 2002). Results suggested that 19% of adults were completely healthy, 19% were completely unhealthy, and 62% were incompletely healthy (10% physically healthy but mentally unhealthy, 52% mentally healthy but physically unhealthy). Huppert and Whittington (2003) also showed support for the independence of positive and negative well-being using a UK sample. Over one third of individuals in their sample reported either low scores on both positive and negative well-being measures or high scores on both measures, indicating that a person can simultaneously experience health and ill health.

Such studies present compelling evidence that health needs to be defined (and subsequently assessed and addressed) as both the absence of the negative and the presence of the positive. However, such knowledge has not transferred into organizational practice (Keyes & Grzywacz, 2005; Nelson & Simmons, 2003). In order to reach aspirational standards of health and well-being within an organization, employers need to monitor and address employee health and well-being as a complete rather than incomplete state, taking into account physical and psychological ill-being and physical and psychological well-being (as well as associated risk and promotion factors). Because of the extensive volume of research focusing on health risks and adverse health outcomes, our aim, in the following section, is to supplement existing research by looking at definitions and characteristics of positive physical and psychological health and well-being. However, in doing so, we do not discount from the importance of addressing ill health.

Key Criteria Relating to Positive Employee Health and Well-Being

Typically positive health and well-being are harder to define and to categorize than ill-being. However, providing a common language and framework around positive health is important to facilitate the promotion and improvement of health (Keyes, 2005). To provide clarity in this regard, we present a summary of common criteria relating to subjective quality of life and the quality of work life (refer to Table 25.1). Taken together, this summary suggests a number of core characteristics relating to employee health and well-being.

Firstly, *positive health and well-being are resources to be built and developed rather than risks to be managed or mitigated*. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines mental health as a state “in which the individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal

Table 25.1 Key positive health and well-being criterions relating to quality of life/quality of work life of employees

Construct	Definition and/or subscales	Example measures/suggested reading
Positive health	“A combination of excellent status on <i>biological, subjective, and functional</i> measures” (Seligman, 2008, p. 3). Note: Positive health indicated by high ends of spectrum. Ill-health indicated by low ends of spectrum	See Danna and Griffin (1999) and Seligman (2008) for suggested measures
Subjective well-being (also called emotional well-being or positive feelings)	“People’s multidimensional evaluations of their lives, including cognitive judgments of life satisfaction as well as affective evaluations of moods and emotions” (Eid & Diener, 2004, p. 245)	Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) The Personal Wellbeing Index (International Wellbeing Group, 2005) The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988)
Work-related affective well-being (Daniels, 2000) (also called morale and distress; Cotton & Hart, 2003)	General experience of positive and negative affect at work (anxiety-comfort, depression-pleasure, bored-enthusiastic, tiredness-vigor, and angry-placid; Daniels, 2000)	Affective Well-Being Scale (Daniels, 2000) Also see Warr (1987, 1990)
Job satisfaction	An affective state arising from the cognitive evaluation of one’s job as a whole or facets of one’s job (Locke, 1976)	See Spector (1997) for a comprehensive review of concept and measures
Psychological well-being	A person’s ability to function fully and fruitfully in life, including self-acceptance, personal growth, positive interpersonal relationships, purpose in life, environmental mastery, and autonomy (Ryff & Singer, 1998)	Scales of Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1989)
Social well-being	“The appraisal of one’s circumstances and functioning in society” including social integration, social acceptance, social contribution, social actualization, and social coherence (Keyes, 1998, p. 122)	Social Well-Being Scale (Keyes, 1998)
Flourishing	The presence of emotional, social, and psychological well-being	The Mental Health Continuum-Short Form (MHC-SF; Keyes, 2002)
Positive mental health	Defines well-being in terms of both hedonic and eudaimonic components, including cognitive-evaluative and affective-emotional aspects as well as positive psychological functioning	The Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-Being Scale (WEMWBS)
Work-related mental health	Work-related affective well-being including pleasure and arousal dimensions (akin to “positive feelings”) as well as competence, autonomy, aspiration, and integrated functioning (akin to “positive functioning”) (Warr, 1987, 1990)	See Warr (1987, 1990)
Quality of work life (QWL)	Includes 33 dimensions including elements of the job itself, the physical work environment, psychosocial context, and the organizational context (Martel & Dupuis, 2006)	Quality of Work Life Systemic Inventory (QWLSI; Martel & Dupuis, 2006)

(continued)

Table 25.1 (continued)

Construct	Definition and/or subscales	Example measures/suggested reading
Occupational health	Broader term that can be used to reflect team or organizational-level metrics (including contextual factors)	Examples include health-care utilization, number and cost of work compensation claims, turnover (actual and intended), performance, self-reported sickness absenteeism and sickness presenteeism (e.g., work “cut back days”; Grzywacz & Keyes, 2004), a “healthy” organizational climate (e.g., Griffin et al., 2000), culture of health (e.g., Crimmins & Halberg, 2009)

stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community” (WHO, 2005, p. xix). That is, well-being is adaptive, allowing a person to function effectively in his or her environment, to cope with setbacks and adversity, and to contribute meaningfully to others and the world around them. Similarly, Seligman’s (2008) view of positive physical health illustrates the importance of identifying the areas in which an individual is functioning physically and psychologically well, as well as the areas in which they are suffering.

Secondly, this classification indicates that *both general (i.e., context-free) and work-specific variables are important when assessing employee health and well-being* (e.g., Danna & Griffin, 1999; Warr, 1987, 1990, 1999). Key general health criteria include Seligman’s (2008) positive physical health and well-being dimensions as well as various dimensions of subjective and psychological well-being (e.g., Cummins, 2000; Diener, 1984; Ryff, 1989). Key work-related psychological outcomes include both work-related affective well-being (e.g., Daniels, 2000; Warr, 1987) and job satisfaction (see Spector, 1997 for a review). Our provision of both general and work-related outcomes follows from the recognition that health and well-being cannot be neatly divided or compartmentalized into work and nonwork domains. Instead, an employee’s overall health and well-being are determined by both work and nonwork factors. For example, a stressor, injury, or health problem incurred within the workplace can significantly impair one’s happiness and functioning in other areas of their life. Similarly, activities that a person engages in outside of work such as sporting, creative, or social pursuits can facilitate their well-being and performance at work (Allis & O’Driscoll, 2008; Sonnentag, Binnewies, & Mojza, 2008). Given this connection, it is necessary to consider both work and nonwork factors and their interface.

Thirdly, when referring to *psychological aspects of health, well-being can be defined as positive feelings (hedonia), positive functioning (eudaimonia), or as a combination of the two (flourishing)*. This approach stems from hedonic and eudaimonic perspectives of well-being, respectively. Until recently, these two perspectives have guided somewhat disparate bodies of research investigating what it means to be well, happy, or to live the good life. The *hedonic perspective* views well-being in terms of relative pleasure over pain and refers to emotional well-being, happiness, and life satisfaction (i.e., positive feelings and thoughts). The counter perspective – referred to as the *eudaimonic approach* – refers to the process of a life lived well or virtuously and in line with one’s true self or “daimon” (Ryff & Singer, 2008). Key foci within this approach

include self-realization, personal expressiveness, and optimal psychological functioning (Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff & Singer, 1998, 2008; Waterman, 1993). As shown in Table 25.1, positive functioning includes both interpersonal and intrapersonal elements (Keyes, 1998; Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Combined approaches to mental health, such as Keyes' (2002) Mental Health Continuum, unite these two streams of research, recognizing that both are important for positive mental health. Definitions of well-being as both the presence of positive feelings and positive functioning exist at the population level (e.g., Tennant et al., 2007) and at the work level (e.g., Warr, 1990). For example, Warr's (1987, 1990) model measures both work-related feelings (affective well-being, which includes job satisfaction) as well as elements of functioning (competence, autonomy, aspiration, and integrated functioning).

A fourth characteristic of our classification is that *health and well-being can be measured by both subjective and objective means*. For example, physical health can be indicated through biological data (e.g., blood pressure, cortisol, adrenaline, and noradrenaline/epinephrine or norepinephrine) or functional data (e.g., laboratory tests for speed of gate, strength, or reaction time) (e.g., Danna & Griffin, 1999; Seligman, 2008). Health and well-being can also be assessed subjectively, for example, through self-reported health status (e.g., worst possible health [0] to best possible health [10]); self-reported energy, vigor, and vitality (positive physical well-being); or a sense of control over and optimism toward one's current and future health (Grzywacz & Keyes, 2004; Seligman, 2008). Similarly, psychological health can be assessed by asking about emotional experiences such as joy, contentment, anger, or anxiety one feels (at work or in general); their satisfaction with their life or job overall; and/or intra-/interpersonal functioning.

Finally, *broader team and organizational level metrics serve as important indicators of employee and organizational health* in addition to specific definitions and measures. These include multidimensional approaches, such as quality of work life inventories (e.g., Martel & Dupuis, 2006), and singular metrics such as health-care utilization (objective or self-reported); number and costs of work compensation claims; employee turnover (both actual and intentions to); employee performance (both self- and manager-reported); and team or organizational climate. Self-reported sickness absenteeism and sickness presenteeism (e.g., work "cut back days"; Grzywacz & Keyes, 2004) are also key indicators of individual and organizational health. Interestingly, research suggests that sickness presenteeism may provide a better indication of employee sickness than absenteeism, particularly during times of high work demand, staff shortages, and job insecurity (e.g., following a restructure) when more employees tend to come to work sick (Caverley, Cunningham, & MacGregor, 2007). Measures of a healthy climate and culture are also useful indicators of organizational health (Cotton & Hart, 2003; Crimmins & Halberg, 2009; Griffin, Hart, & Wilson-Evered, 2000).

In summary, the terms health and well-being can refer to the absence of the negative (the disease model) or the presence of the positive (the health model). These approaches are complementary, as reinforced by the complete health approach, and warrant a dual approach to employee health (Wright & Quick, 2009). A comprehensive approach to health and well-being recognizes that employees' health is multidimensional and expands beyond the absence of the negative. Organizations that meet such aspirational standards of employee health and well-being promotion, and illness and injury prevention, are likely to be those that meet legislative standards while also providing opportunities for employees to fulfill positive physical and psychological health needs. Such an approach should include: (1) regular monitoring of a diverse range of employee health and well-being criteria, including positive health and well-being, and (2) taking steps to improve employee health and well-being (Diener & Seligman, 2004). We explore these points in the next section, looking at both general and specific approaches to employee well-being intervention, focusing, in particular, on positive psychological health promotion.

Meeting Employee Health and Well-Being Needs: Some Best Practice Approaches and New Opportunities

Organizations can take various approaches to meeting employee health and well-being needs. We briefly identify three best practice approaches, identifying strengths and focus areas. We then complement these approaches by reviewing research in the area of positive psychological health promotion.

Health and Safety Initiatives and Corporate Wellness Programs

In organizations, employee health is typically addressed through adherence to OHS/OSHA standards (or equivalent). Many organizations also provide secondary or tertiary well-being management approaches such as skill building workshops (e.g., stress or conflict management training) or employee counseling services through Employee Assistance Programs (EAPs), all of which play an important role in managing stress and other psychological injuries (Cooper & Cartright, 1994; Pandey, Quick, Rossi, Nelson, & Martin, 2009). Many organizations now also boast corporate wellness or workplace well-being programs or initiatives, although there is diversity in what this term can encompass. For example, for some organizations, corporate wellness may refer to just one or two benefits (e.g., discounted gym memberships or flu vaccinations), while others may provide a greater number of health initiatives. Although organizations do not always evaluate the effectiveness of corporate wellness programs (Crowther, Thwaites, & Zhou, 2004; Noblet & LaMontagne, 2009), they illustrate a positive move by employers toward greater responsibility for, and interest in, employee health and well-being. They also have the potential to engage a high percentage of employees, which is not always achievable in academic initiatives. *WorkSafe Victoria (WSV) provides a positive example of a diverse and well-utilized corporate wellness program. WorkSafe Victoria is the government body responsible for enforcing both the OHS and Accident Compensation Acts as well as providing other health and safety initiatives in Victoria, Australia. It also invests considerable time and resources into the health and well-being of its own employees. The 3-year-old “Feelinggood@work” program at WSV is supported by strong management commitment, stakeholder consultation, and employee engagement, the latter of which is enabled by employee “champions” and a multifaceted marketing strategy. Program components are well-utilized by employees, with employee engagement figures ranging between 16% and 62%. As an example, WSV recorded the (discretionary) employee health and programs taken up by their own employees in the 2008–2009 financial year in their Annual Report. Example activities (and engagement levels) included Fitness2Live, an online wellness site (62%); Fitness squads, a 10-week fitness program (35% over a year); Global Corporate Challenge, a global program to walk 10,000 steps per day (38%); Gym subsidy, \$250 gym reimbursement (16%); Flu vaccinations (46% participants); Healthy heart checks, an on-site health assessment (45% participants); Executive health checks (28 participants); Kickstart, a targeted program to improve the health and well-being of “at risk” employees (47 participants); School holiday program, on-site school holiday care (511 childcare places); and Social well-being, social club membership (53%). The organization has set itself a continual improvement target of 10% increased utilization rates per year. While a definitive assessment of employee health and well-being changes (attributable to each activity) is an ongoing challenge, an initial health audit revealed health risk reductions of 0.45 from an initial level of 1.85 (“change” group, $n = 345$, vs. “no change” group, $n = 324$). The change roughly equated to productivity improvements of AUD\$250,751 p.a.*

In addition to organizational approaches to employee well-being, a growing body of research is devoted to developing and evaluating evidence-based employee well-being and occupational health interventions. Worksite health promotion programs and the systems approach to job stress are two such approaches. Both value prevention over treatment, with prevention being a more effective and cost-efficient means of addressing the significant burden associated with chronic disease (Cox, 1997; Huppert, 2009; Quick & Quick, 2004).

Worksite Health Promotion (WHP)

It is widely recognized that the workplace represents a useful vehicle for educating and influencing citizens regarding their health (Bennett, Cook, & Pelletier, 2003; Heaney, 2003; O'Donnell, 2001). Worksite health promotion (WHP) initiatives can take various forms including targeting specific problems or diseases such as diabetes and obesity (e.g., Wolf, Siadaty, Crowther, & Nadler, 2009), specific health behaviors such as worksite physical activity (Pedersen et al., 2009), or overall risk reduction and health improvement (see Goetzel & Ozminkowski, 2008 for a comprehensive review). Such programs aim to prevent disease, improve health, and reduce organizational health costs through behavior change and the reduction of health risk factors such as obesity, tobacco smoking, high cholesterol, and lack of physical activity (Goetzel & Ozminkowski).

A new trend in this area is to provide *comprehensive health promotion and disease management programs*. Such programs integrate various aspects of health promotion and disease management into an ongoing workplace program. Importantly, such programs are linked with corporate objectives and evaluated in terms of financial and/or clinical criteria (Pelletier, 2001, 2009). An innovative application is to partner organizations with public health agencies, with the recognition that improving employee health can benefit multiple stakeholders including the employees themselves, their organization, and the wider community (Goetzel et al., 2009). *Goetzel et al. reported the results of collaboration between the New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene's Wellness at Work program on health risks of employees from 26 worksites across 10 New York City organizations. The 3-year program involved pre- and postemployee health risk assessments (HRA) and the implementation of both moderate and high-intensity interventions. Aims were to increase the adoption of health behavior such as regular exercise and a healthy diet and the reduction of health risks such as high blood pressure, high total cholesterol, and tobacco smoking. Health risks were dichotomized (high vs. low) and tracked over time for each participant. Both moderate and high-intensity interventions were tested. Moderate intensity involved a combination of health risk awareness and behavior change initiatives as well as changes to the environment to support a healthy lifestyle. High-intensity interventions also included interventions tailored to high risk employees (e.g., personalized health coaching). Results were positive, revealing significant risk reductions for both moderate and high-intensity approach, with no difference found between the approaches. While the program did include an emotional component, emotional aspects of health are more typically addressed through stress prevention programs.*

A System Approach to Job Stress

Job stress is a psychosocial work hazard associated with significant health problems such as cardiovascular disease (CVD) and depression as well as organizational health and productivity problems (Belkic, Landsbergis, Schnall, & Baker, 2004; Kawakami, Araki, Kawashima, Masumoto,

& Hayashi, 1997; LaMontagne, Keegel, Vallance, Ostry, & Wolfe, 2008). Potential psychosocial stressors can relate to work hours, job insecurity, managerial style, violence, bullying and aggression at work, emotional labor/emotion work, perceived injustice, and organizational politics (Pandey et al., 2009; Sparks et al., 2001). As indicated in stress models such as the Demands-Control Model (Karasek & Theorell, 1990) and the Job Demands-Resources Model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007), the degree to which an individual experiences adverse outcomes is also dependent on how he or she perceives such stressors or job demands relative to resources (e.g., control, support). The *system approach to job stress* brings together and extends traditional approaches to stress (LaMontagne, Keegel, & Vallance, 2007). Often, stress interventions target the individual, focusing on how to change the situation itself (e.g., developing time management skills) and how employees respond to it or on managing stressors/hazards that cannot be avoided (e.g., relaxation techniques, physical exercise, yoga, diet; Pandey et al., 2009). The provision of EAPs is a common tertiary approach to stress management (Cooper & Cartright, 1994). In contrast, the systems approach to job stress – considered to be the most effective approach to managing stress – recommends a multifaceted intervention approach (Caulfield, Chang, Dollard, & Elshaug, 2004; Israel, Baker, Goldenhar, & Heaney, 1996; LaMontagne, Shaw, Ostry, Louie, & Keegel, 2006). It focuses on primary prevention (while also integrating secondary and tertiary approaches), identifying and minimizing potential stressors at their source (both individual and organizational factors). It also takes a highly participative approach, involving multiple stakeholders and levels within an organization. Thus, this approach to stress targets the system as a whole rather than its symptomology. *Recently, a primary stress prevention program implemented at Lodden-Mallee Linen Service (a division of Bendigo Health in Victoria, Australia) resulted in a significant reduction in claims and self-reported stress. Key actions were for managers and employees to work collaboratively and in partnership with external stakeholders to identify and manage key psychosocial risk factors. For example, one of the identified risk factors was what employees called “Chinese whispers,” which referred to conversations happening behind closed doors or in corridors resulting in miscommunication and stress. This specific issue was combated through the use of open and safe communication forums where employees and managers freely shared issues and worked together to solve them. The Lodden-Mallee Linen Stress Prevention Program was awarded the “Best OHS Solution in Public Sector and Community Services” at the 2010 Victorian WorkSafe Awards.*

Additional Opportunities

Both comprehensive worksite health promotion and disease management programs and the systems approach to job stress represent an increasing level of sophistication in terms of employee well-being interventions. Such approaches complement and extend other important employee health provisions, such as OHS/OSHA and EAPs, and cover a diverse range of health and employee needs. However, while their combined reach includes the management of psychological and physical health risks, and the promotion of positive physical health, such programs do not necessarily focus on positive psychological health. Table 25.2 is a diagrammatic representation of each of the discussed approaches. Rather than being a conclusive judgment on the influence of various approaches on employee health and well-being, the table is intended as a guide to indicate relative intervention coverage. Consistent with the Complete Health Model, presented earlier in this chapter, this figure considers illness and wellness as separate (but related) constructs and includes both physical and psychological health dimensions. Each approach, and their relative coverage of health and well-being dimensions, is presented according to the primary focus. However, categorizing these approaches does not preclude their influence on

Table 25.2 Representation of organizational and/or evidence-based approaches to employee well-being, utilizing the Complete Health Model

	Physical health and well-being		Psychological health and well-being	
	Illness/injury (risk mgt) approach	Wellness (resource) approach	Illness/injury (risk mgt) approach	Wellness (resource) approach
OHS/OSHA	✓✓	–	✓✓	–
WHP&DM	✓✓	✓✓	✓	–
Stress prev.	✓	–	✓✓	–
EAP	✓	✓	✓✓	–

Note: This table provides estimation only and should not be considered a definitive assessment. Actual coverage/benefits are likely to vary. OHS and OSHA refer to occupational health and safety legislation in Australia and the USA, respectively

WHP&DM Worksite Health Promotion and Disease Management, *Stress prev.* systems approach to job stress, *EAP* Employee Assistance Program, ✓✓ primary focus, ✓ possible flow on effects, – limited/absent coverage

other areas of health. For example, the main focus of the systems approach to job stress is to reduce job strain which in turn may reduce risks for both physical and psychological illnesses such as CVD and depression (LaMontagne et al., 2007). Thus, this approach is emphasized in the psychological and physical risk columns of Table 25.2; however, it also likely contributes to positive physical and psychological well-being to some degree. We also acknowledge the possible potential flow over between cells.

As shown in Table 25.2, the evidence-based approaches to employee health discussed in this chapter focus largely on prevention and management of psychological and physical ill health and the improvement of positive physical health. This highlights an important new opportunity in the area of *positive psychological health promotion*.

Mental health promotion has been identified as an overlooked area, in comparison to physical health promotion, and thus an important avenue for future development (Sturgeon, 2007; WHO, 2005). Positively focused research in this area, that is, promoting positive well-being as well as minimizing distress, is justified by research finding that low levels of psychological well-being can be as debilitating as the presence of ill-being. To illustrate this, Keyes (2005) found that individuals suffering from low levels of well-being whom did not meet the criteria for mental illness (i.e., *languishing*) had similarly poor outcomes as those whom were suffering from mental illness and dysfunction. Further, individuals that were classified as moderately mentally healthy – which represents most of the general population – had significantly poorer health, performance, and psychosocial outcomes (e.g., work “cut back days”) than flourishing individuals (individuals with both high levels of well-being and low ill-being). Low levels of well-being (in addition to high levels of well-being and ill-being, respectively) are also accounted for in Cotton and Hart’s (2003) model of occupational health as important predictors of individual and organizational health and performance outcomes.

In light of such findings, Huppert (2005, 2009) has called for an expansion of the target population for mental health interventions. The inclusion of those who are languishing and/or only moderately well significantly expands the target population that stands to benefit from mental health promotion. Further, promoting employee flourishing among all employees (as opposed to subgroups of employees) substantially increases the potential for positive employee and organizational outcomes, including physical health and longevity, performance, creative problem solving, interpersonal and leadership effectiveness, and reduced turnover (Huppert, 2009; Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001; Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005; Seligman, 2008; Wright & Bonett, 2007; Wright & Cropanzano, 2004; Wright, Cropanzano, & Bonett, 2007; Wright, Cropanzano, Bonett, & Diamond, 2009). Given this, we now provide a more detailed discussion of individual and organizational strategies for promoting positive psychological health, drawing

on positive psychology (e.g., Seligman, Steen, Park, & Peterson, 2005), positive organizational behavior (e.g., Luthans, Avey, Avolio, Norman, & Combs, 2006), and positive organizational scholarship (e.g., Cameron, 2008) intervention approaches.

Positive Psychological Health Promotion

Individual Approaches: Enhancing Well-Being by Cultivating Employee Strengths and Resources

The “positive” approach represents a shift in how we might go about promoting positive employee well-being. This perspective looks at what states, qualities, and outcomes may be approached (i.e., how to “encourage,” “develop,” and “build” strengths, capacities, and resilience) rather than what should be avoided (e.g., how to “manage,” “mitigate,” “control,” or “reduce” ill health and their negative effects; Oades, Crowe, & Nguyen, 2009). Positive psychology (PP) is “the study of the conditions and processes that contribute to the flourishing or optimal functioning of people, groups and institutions” (Gable & Haidt, 2005, p. 104). Research in this area has empirically validated several simple but effective strategies that can be applied to contribute to positive development, optimal functioning, and well-being. A key finding is that positive psychology interventions (PPI) defined as “treatment methods or intentional activities aimed at cultivating positive feelings, positive behaviors, or positive cognitions” (Sin & Lyubomirsky, 2009, p. 467) can reliably increase well-being and decrease depression. In their review of 51 PPIs, spanning over 49 independent studies with a total of 4,235 participants, Sin and Lyubomirsky found an adjusted effect size of .29 for well-being. Examining 25 independent studies with a total of 1,812 participants, they found an adjusted effect size of .31 for depression. This meta-analysis found that 96% of the effect sizes on well-being and 80% of the effect sizes on depression were in a positive direction and the range of r effect sizes was from $-.31$ to $.84$ (well-being) and $-.28$ to $.81$ (depression). Examples of PPIs included in the analysis were mindfulness, goal striving, forgiveness, positive psychotherapy, and optimism. Similarly, research in positive organizational behavior (POB), defined as the study and application of positive and developable strengths and capacities in the workplace (Luthans, 2002), has found that interventions that promote employee psychological capital (PsyCap) – namely hope, optimism, resilience, and self-efficacy – are effective, in terms of promoting proximal (i.e., psychological resources) and distal (i.e., financial) outcomes (Luthans et al., 2006).

Key Ingredients in Positive Employee Well-Being Programs

Focusing on Strengths (Positives) and Peak Experiences

At their core, PPIs work to promote effective outcomes (including psychological health and performance) by allowing individuals to focus on, and thereby enhance, their existing strengths and resources. Linley and colleagues define strengths as “a natural capacity for behaving, thinking or feeling in a way that allows optimal functioning and performance in the pursuit of valued outcomes” (Linley & Harrington, 2006, p. 88). As such, the term “strengths” is necessarily broad and can include a range of factors including, for example, gratitude (Emmons & McCullough, 2003), hope (Snyder, Rand, & Sigmon, 2002), resilience, optimism, and other positive explanatory mechanisms (Carver, 1998; Reivich & Gillham, 2003; Seligman, 1991) as well as positive and authentic leadership styles (Ilies, Morgeson, & Nahrgang, 2005; Macik-Frey, Quick, & Cooper, 2008)

and positive work relationships (Dutton & Ragins, 2007) to name just a few. Focusing on strengths and positive experiences is associated with increases in positive emotion and well-being (Bryant, 1989; Gable, Reis, Impett, & Asher, 2004; Langston, 1994). In turn, positive emotions broaden thought-action repertoires and build psychological and social resources (Fredrickson, 2001; Gable et al., 2004). They can also facilitate cardiovascular recovery following acute stress (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2004) and other dimensions of physical health (Richman et al., 2005). The effects of interventions that focus on the positive are not just transitory but can be sustained over the longer term (Seligman et al., 2005). They can also reduce depressive symptoms, as shown in Sin and Lyubomirsky's (2009) meta-analysis. Research has also found that positive, strength-based approaches can be superior to traditional approaches. For example, Mitchell, Stanimirovic, Klein, and Vella-Brodrick (2009) found that focusing on strengths improved personal well-being in comparison to problem solving and a placebo control. Emmons and McCullough (2003) found that focusing on blessings was more favorable to well-being and health than focusing on hassles and complaints.

Similarly, learning from peak or optimal experiences – known as the positive core in Appreciative Inquiry – facilitates positive development by creating sustainable energy for change (Cooperrider, 1986; Cooperrider, Whitney, & Stavros, 2008). Peak experiences were earlier described by Maslow (1968) as “the most wonderful experiences of your life; happiest moment, ecstatic moments, moments of rapture” (p. 67). However, they can also refer to moments when one is simply “at their best” or performing optimally (Orem, Binkert, & Clancy, 2007). In addition, peak experiences are thought to guide the formation of strategies that have already been shown to work and thus will be likely to work again in the future (Cooperrider et al., 2008; Orem et al., 2007). This approach is conceptually similar to solution-focused therapy and involves participants devising strategies for the future that are based on past successes. It is also often used as part of evidence-based coaching. For example, research by Grant and colleagues (Grant, Curtaayne, & Burton, 2009; Green, Oades, & Grant, 2006) has shown the utility of taking a solution-focused approach to life and executive coaching for well-being, goal attainment, and hope. Reflecting on the positive aspects of one's job during leisure time has also been shown to aid recovery from work, while negative work reflection can hinder recovery (Binnewies, Sonnentag, & Mojza, 2009; Fritz & Sonnentag, 2005).

Intentional Activities: Fulfillment of Basic Psychological Needs

Intentional activities and the fulfillment of core needs are also key features of positive well-being programs. Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, and Schkade's (2005) Sustainable Happiness Model identifies intentional activities as the key ingredient in overcoming the subjective well-being (SWB) set point, thus thwarting adaptation and allowing sustainable improvements in well-being. Within this empirically supported model (e.g., Sheldon & Lyubomirsky, 2006a, 2006b), activities are likely to boost well-being to the extent that they (1) align with an individual's enduring interests and values (i.e., are self-concordant), (2) are engaged infrequently, and (3) include a sense of variety, newness, and/or continuous growth and learning. The key message here is that individuals need to take a proactive and intentional approach to improving and maintaining their well-being. Effort is also important in the notion of intention. For example, Waterman (2005) demonstrated that participants experienced greater eudaimonic well-being (personal expressiveness and self-realization) when they engaged in enjoyable activities that required a higher degree of effort as opposed to liked but low-effort activities (e.g., cooking a gourmet meal vs. watching TV). Such findings are also supported in other studies. For example, activities that provide a sense of mastery or community connectedness, such as volunteer work, have been found to facilitate the replenishment and growth of resources, which can then benefit employee well-being (Mojza, Lorenz, Sonnentag, & Binnewies, 2010; Mojza & Sonnentag, 2010).

Self-determination theory (SDT; Ryan & Deci, 2000) further explicates this idea. It posits that engaging in personally interesting, meaningful (i.e., self-concordant), and challenging activities leads to personal growth, development, and well-being through the fulfillment of inherent psychological needs. These needs include the need to feel masterful and effective in one's environment (*competence*); to be connected and close to others (*relatedness*); and to be "at cause" in one's environment, that is, to act with personal volition and intention (*autonomy*). SDT has a number of important assumptions which can be usefully applied to employee well-being programs. First, human beings can act as proactive and masterful agents with the capacity to act on their inner and outer worlds rather than be controlled by them (Deci & Vansteenkiste, 2004). This idea aligns with the importance of intentional activities in the Sustainable Happiness Model. Second, humans are inherently oriented toward growth and flourishing. This suggests employees can be empowered and intrinsically motivated to pursue greater well-being. However, although people are both active and development-oriented, their well-being also relies on successfully obtaining psychological nutrients from their social environment (e.g., the workplace). Individuals that operate in an environment that supports choice and self-determination (e.g., having an encouraging and supportive manager) have more opportunities for optimal development than those in overly controlling, chaotic, or rejecting environments (e.g., having a highly controlling manager) (Baard, Deci, & Ryan, 2004). Those who do not have autonomy support experience poor well-being and development outcomes (Baard et al., 2004; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Crossing the Work-Home Divide: Activities and Recovery

Interestingly, research has shown that the types of activities we engage in during nonwork time can also benefit well-being at work (Allis & O'Driscoll, 2008). For example, Sonnentag and colleagues (2008) examined the relationship between recovery experiences, defined as the amount of psychological detachment, mastery experience, and relaxation experienced during evening leisure time, sleep, and affect at work on the following day using a sample of public administration employees ($n = 166$). Results suggested that those employees who did not detach from work during the evening experienced greater negative activation and fatigue the following day. In contrast, those who engaged in activities that allowed for mastery experience or relaxation experienced more positive activation and serenity during the following work day, respectively. Studies have also shown that recovery activities can positively impact next day proactive behavior (personal initiative and pursuit of learning) though increases in work engagement (Sonnentag, 2003), and the negative effect of nonrecovery during the weekend on well-being (burnout) and job performance (Fritz & Sonnentag, 2005). An important implication of Sonnentag and colleagues' work is that employee well-being programs need not be limited to work activities alone, but may also focus on improving leisure activities, pursued outside of work, in order to facilitate well-being and performance at work. This is also supported by research on home to work facilitation (e.g., Allis & O'Driscoll, 2008) and spillover between work and family domains (Crouter, 1984; Demerouti, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2005; Demerouti, Bakker, & Voydanoff, 2010).

A Positive Employee Well-Being Program in Practice

The Working for Wellness Program is a culmination of each of the positive ingredients just discussed (Page & Vella-Brodrick, 2010). The program brings together four areas of PP research into an applied individual level employee well-being intervention. The intervention adopts a multifaceted approach to employee well-being and has a strong theoretical foundation; each of the intentional activities used within the program has been shown to be associated with positive emotional and psychological well-being. For example, using strengths, as discussed previously,

Table 25.3 An example of an individual-level approach to positive psychological well-being promotion – The Working for Wellness Program: Session by session overview and example tasks/activities

Week	Topic	Session objective	Example task/activity from session
1	What is workplace well-being?	Introduce the program and key well-being theories to participants	Using the pictures and colored pencils provided, create a personal representation of what it means to be well at work
2	Knowing and using strengths	Identify character strengths; explore job crafting as a method for using strengths at work	Craft three of your work tasks/activities so that they are more in line with your signature strengths
3	Goal striving	Explore relevance of goal striving for well-being and how to set/pursue authentic and enjoyable (i.e., strength-based) goals	Set three meaningful and enjoyable short- to medium-term goals that you could pursue to help you to achieve your best possible self
4	Flow	Discuss how to cultivate flow at and outside of work and the relationship between strengths and flow	Drawing on your past experiences of flow, what three things can you do more of to increase the amount of time you spend in flow by 5% each week (a) at home and (b) at work?
5	Relationships	Devise strategies for optimizing relationships at and outside of work, including the use of strengths	What are three specific things you can do more of to strengthen your relationships at work (e.g., relationships with colleagues, customers, subordinates, manager, etc.)?
6	Consolidation of learning	Review and reflect on program content and set action plans to continue progress after program	What are one or two new rituals – informed by your learning in the program – that you can build into your everyday life? What will you implement moving forward? Create a personal action plan

Note: This evidence-based program was developed, implemented, and tested by Page and Vella-Brodrick (2010). Each session was delivered in an hour long, group-based, interactive workshop over six consecutive weeks

has been associated with gains in well-being (Linley, Nielsen, Wood, Gillett, & Biswas-Diener, 2010; Mitchell et al., 2009; Seligman et al., 2005). Job crafting is another useful method and can be used by employees to find more meaning and fulfillment in their work – an important facet of well-being (Ryff, 1989; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Striving for self-concordant goals is also important, facilitating increases in hope, self-concordant motivation, goal attainment, and well-being, which can lead to an upward spiral (Cheavens, Feldman, Gum, Michael, & Snyder, 2006; Sheldon & Houser-Marko, 2001). Experiencing a state of flow, characterized by intense feelings of absorption and intrinsic motivation, is also useful for well-being – associated with feelings of pleasure, enjoyment, and self-fulfillment (Csikszentmihalyi & LeFevre, 1989; Walker, 2010; Waterman, 2005). Lastly, cultivating high-quality relationships has been reliably associated with well-being and need fulfillment (Deci, Guardia, Moller, Scheiner, & Ryan, 2006; Demir & O'zdemir, 2009). Refer to Table 25.3 for an example of activities relating to each of these components. *The program was implemented and tested at a large government health organization in Melbourne, Australia, in late 2008 with a diverse sample of frontline employees and middle managers (n = 50). The program was rolled out over 6 weeks, 1 hour per week, in small groups and evaluated longitudinally using sound psychometric measures. Employees learnt strategies and intentional activities that could be applied both at and outside of work to enhance well-being. They reported very high levels of engagement in and enjoyment of the program and significant increases in subjective and psychological well-being and work-related affect over a period of 6 months, in comparison to controls (Page & Vella-Brodrick, 2010).*

Such individual level interventions represent a useful way of promoting employee mental health. However, organizations can also utilize organization wide approaches.

Organizational Approaches to Enhancing Employee Well-Being

Organizational-level health and well-being interventions are a primary lever in improving employee health (Cox, 1997; Griffin et al., 2000; Heaney, 2003). Recently, the UK Foresight project on “Mental Capital and Well-being” project put forth five general organizational-level interventions that, if applied, would help organizations to meet the future challenges of obtaining and maintaining a healthy and well workforce (Dewe & Kompier, 2008). These included (1) monitoring the impact of the work environment on mental capital and well-being through *annual well-being audits* with reference to specific well-being and stress-related key performance indicators; (KPIs); (2) optimizing *diagnosis and modification* of factors that create work-related stress (including better partnerships between primary care and occupational health services); (3) improving *workplace flexibility* for all employees (but particularly for those employees with children); (4) *equipping managers* with the skills needed to provide healthy work environments for employees; and (5) *promoting the importance of health and well-being* in the workplace. While this project focused on mental health and well-being, such interventions could also be expanded to include physical health (e.g., monitor both physical health and psychological well-being).

A number of broader, organizational-level employee well-being interventions have also been recommended in the applied research field of positive organizational scholarship (Cameron, Dutton, & Quinn, 2003). Positive organizational scholarship (POS) is concerned with the interpersonal and structural processes that elevate and give life to an organization (Cameron & Caza, 2004). Positive leadership is an important application of POS due to its influence on how employees experience the workplace day-to-day. POS has identified at least four ways in which leaders can positively impact employees and, in turn, drive organizational success, that is, performance that dramatically exceeds expectation (Cameron, 2008). These include: (1) enabling a *positive climate*, defined as the predominance of positive emotion over negative emotion in the workplace by, for example, fostering compassionate, forgiving, and grateful employee attitudes (see Cameron, Bright, & Caza, 2004); (2) fostering *positive and productive employee and organizational relationships*; (3) encouraging and engaging in *positive communication* with employees; and (4) helping employees to find *fulfillment, meaning, and purpose* in their work (see also Wrzesniewski, 2003). Positive, authentic, emotionally competent (i.e., healthy) leadership has also been identified as a key employee support (or protective) factor by other authors (Ilies et al., 2005; Quick, Macik-Frey, & Cooper, 2007; Vella-Brodrick & Page, 2009).

In summary, there are several approaches to managing employee health and well-being matters. We have briefly reviewed four such approaches, with a specific focus on positive psychological health promotion. A comprehensive approach to health and well-being would be to continue to research and apply strategies and interventions that adhere to the do no harm principle (OHS/OSHA, job stress interventions, etc.). To be ethically responsible, it is also important that organizations engage in strategies that “do good” to employees, that is, invest in interventions that address both sides of the illness to wellness continuum.

Ethical Considerations Relating to Employee Well-Being

In this section, we explore the utility of taking a comprehensive or complete approach to employee health and well-being, which includes positive psychological health, through an applied ethics lens. Although both individual and organizational factors can contribute to the positive psychological well-being of employees, in this section, we will focus predominantly on how employers can contribute to fostering employee well-being. Specifically, we utilize both deontological and consequentialist perspectives and a range of well-established ethical principles to examine

whether or not employers are responsible for addressing employee well-being. We will also discuss a number of factors that could influence the effectiveness of well-being programs. We conclude with some ethical strategies for progressing and optimizing the benefits of employee well-being initiatives.

Should Organizations Incorporate Psychological Well-Being Interventions into Workplace Well-Being Programs? A Discussion of Deontological and Consequentialist Perspectives

The *deontological approach* espouses that the moral rightness or wrongness of behavior depends on its intrinsic qualities and not on the outcomes to be derived from the behavior. Rather, behavior should conform to a set of rules, standards, or principles such as nonmaleficence, beneficence, justice, autonomy, competence, caring and compassion, and dignity (Koocher & Keith-Spiegel, 2008) which reflect the “right” way to behave. While the deontological approach provides a useful framework, it is equally important to integrate the *consequentialist approach* to sound ethical decision making. Such an approach emphasizes the importance of attaining desirable outcomes when determining a course of action. In the work context, desirable outcomes include individual health and well-being, vitality, work engagement, flow, creativity, work/family/life balance, positive relationships, autonomy, competency, increased productivity, customer satisfaction, decreased sick days and workplace injury, and higher employee retention rates. Subsequently in the sections to follow, we will use a deontological framework to examine the question about whether employers should provide employee well-being programs while also considering the plausible consequences associated with both the affirmative and negative approaches to this question.

Nonmaleficence (To “Do No Harm”)

First, we start by examining whether or not workplace well-being programs conform to the do no harm principle. Employers are required to take all the necessary measures to ensure that no harm comes to their employees as a result of undertaking their work. If harm does occur, then employers are responsible for providing appropriate services to ameliorate the damaging effects. Most of these strategies are reactive measures. For example, if an individual has injured their back at work due to lifting excessive loads, then the organization is obligated to arrange and pay for rehabilitation and to adjust the employee’s work tasks accordingly. Moreover, the effects of physical injuries and work role adjustment can also impinge on the individual’s psychological state. Consequently, employers also need to respond to the situation by offering employees psychological services such as those provided by an EAP.

Nonadherence to minimal standards can become salient and can significantly tarnish the reputation and sustainability of an organization. The negative consequences can be numerous and include health insurance costs, low productivity and high absenteeism, compensable disorders, and litigation (Danna & Griffin, 1999). James Hardie is a case in point. James Hardie was involved in the manufacturing, distribution, and mining of asbestos and products containing asbestos (e.g., insulation and pipes). Many employees who were exposed to products containing the “fibro material developed serious medical conditions such as asbestosis and mesothelioma” (Jackson, 2004, p. 9). What is most alarming was James Hardie’s lack of appropriate action to protect employees, despite having insight into the dangers of asbestos prior to these incidents. A large number of these employees sued James Hardie and were provided with financial compensation.

The case received considerable media attention and public criticism, and the company has subsequently ceased operations in Australia.

Given the repercussions of doing harm, organizational leaders have tended to direct considerable attention toward avoiding disrepute and harm by meeting OHS/OSHA standards and legislation (or equivalent) and by developing risk management strategies. It is noteworthy, however, that compliance to the ethical standard of nonmalfeasance without consideration of the principle of beneficence does not necessarily demonstrate best practice and is by no means exceptional and commendable. However, it is a necessary starting point. Even within services such as EAPs, one can question whether only minimal standards have been reached. There is now empirical evidence to support the inclusion of positive interventions to help minimize any psychological harm experienced at work, particularly since positive interventions not only increase well-being but also decrease depression (e.g., Seligman et al., 2005; Sin & Lyubomirsky, 2009). So while it is essential for organizations to adhere to OHS/OSHA legislation, to avoid liability and legal ramifications, there is no upper limit as to what an organization can offer.

A more preventative, resource-based approach, which fosters well-being and resilience, may complement OHS/OSHA approaches. Workplace well-being programs can prevent harm from actually occurring in the first place. For example, promoting physical exercise can strengthen the body and minimize the likelihood of physical strain. Cultivating employee relationships can strengthen social support and ameliorate psychological distress.

Although there is a clear case that the implementation of workplace well-being programs can minimize harm, it is also possible that they can cause harm if they are not grounded in evidence-based practices and delivered competently. Adequately trained staff may need to be employed to assist with the selection and competent delivery of workplace well-being programs and to educate employees about the importance of health and well-being. This may take the burden off less skilled supervisors to deliver such programs and may enable a more equitable distribution of services among employees by independent staff. However, given the innocuous nature of psychological well-being interventions (e.g., identifying and using strengths, expressing gratitude, identifying goals, and developing pathways for achieving these goals), the likelihood of causing harm to recipients is remote. Moreover, some psychological well-being interventions can be self-administered using online programs, therefore negating the need to have specialist staff (e.g., Mitchell et al., 2009).

In sum, workplace well-being programs, such as those discussed here, have the potential to avert risk and minimize harm particularly if activities selected have supporting evidence regarding their efficacy and are delivered competently by sufficiently trained staff or through effective mediums such as online programs. The likelihood of mitigating harm appears to be substantially greater than the likelihood of causing harm; hence, the implementation of workplace well-being programs is in accordance with the basic premise of doing no harm.

Beneficence (To “Do Good”)

If an organization aspires to adopt best practice standards, then they should be looking to not only avoid doing harm but to enhance the health and well-being of their employees. This comes back to the notion of not just striving to eliminate disease but striving to foster well-being. This means that the organization should be prepared to go beyond offering secondary and tertiary (reactive) approaches to health, to include a primary approach whereby employee well-being is deliberately and strategically targeted. In addition to providing for physical health and well-being needs, research supports the utility of providing psychological well-being programs.

Evidence supporting the benefits of workplace well-being programs is steadily accumulating as was presented earlier. In particular, a meta-analysis by Sin and Lyubomirsky (2009) provides a compelling case for including positive interventions based on their ability to increase well-being and decrease depression. Previously cited research by Keyes and Grzywacz (2005) also demonstrates that employees who are flourishing and well are generally more effective in meeting organizational targets relating to reduced sick days, increased creativity, and work engagement. Research on strategic business teams by Losada (1999) and Losada and Heaphy (2004) has found that individuals from high performing teams, according to profit and loss statements, customer satisfaction feedback, and 360° evaluations, employed predominantly positive communication styles with their work colleagues relative to individuals from low performing teams. Clearly, encouraging a culture of positivity and wellness in the workplace can concurrently benefit the individual and the employer. However, more research is needed to determine the longevity of these positive effects to be gained from well-being interventions as it is possible that individuals may discontinue participating in, or adapt to, the intervention and subsequently will no longer reap the benefits. Hence, it is likely that workplace well-being programs need to be ongoing and regularly varied to counter both boredom and adaptation. Similarly to OHS/OSHA mechanisms within an organization, workplace well-being should be a long-standing agenda item which needs to be embedded within the organizational culture and regularly monitored, reviewed, updated, and promoted.

Moreover, integrating programs for enhancing psychological well-being and physical health with programs aimed at reducing mental illness and physical adversity enables a comprehensive approach to be adopted. Consistent with research on comprehensive wellness programs, this is more likely to lead to sustained employee and organizational benefits (see Pelletier, 2001, 2009). However, in addition to looking solely at risk management, such approaches could take into account a complete state of physical and psychological health. Keyes and Grzywacz's (2005) research, for example, has shown pursuing a complete state of physical and psychological health is likely to be associated with superior benefits (e.g., higher employee productivity and lower health-care use).

The highly desirable outcomes of healthy, happy, and productive workers are at times perceived to be competing, but as presented earlier in this chapter, there is considerable evidence in support of their positive relationship. Ultimately it is the *practice* of humanitarianism and the respect for human health and well-being which allures and retains high caliber employees and gains the respect of consumers and associated parties such as shareholders – all of which are antecedents of profitability. Google, which was rated fourth in FORTUNE Magazine's "100 Best Companies to Work For," is one example of an organization that respects and cares for its employees while also achieving desirable business outcomes related to economic and physical growth – Google supply staff with free healthy food for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. They also provide onsite medical/dental and leisure facilities such as shoreline running tracks and yoga. Google's goal is "to cultivate employee satisfaction every step of the way" <http://www.google.com/jobs/lifeatgoogle/fortune/>. Despite their substantial investment in the well-being of their staff, they are experiencing healthy financial returns and organizational growth. In sum, well-being interventions can be beneficial, but for the benefits to accrue, they require a long-term investment on the part of the organization and the employee.

Justice and Autonomy

It is also important that such programs be implemented in accordance with the principles of justice and autonomy. The notion of *justice* means to treat people fairly and equitably and in a

way that we would want to be treated under similar circumstances. *Autonomy* refers to the right to decide how to live your own life as long as it does not conflict with the rights and welfare of others (Koocher & Keith-Spiegel, 2008). Typically organizations have responsibilities toward multiple parties, including consumers, clients, shareholders, stakeholders, employees, and communities at large. It can be argued that organizations typically have a strong focus on servicing the consumer. This raises the question about whether employers should also extend this goal of “servicing” to their employees. Consistency in behavior is important, particularly with regard to forming a positive public image. Organizations gain more respect if their behaviors align with their espoused values and if this behavior is consistent across all parties. If, for example, employers claim to value philanthropic and humanitarian causes, ethical standards, or the well-being of their consumers, it will appear contradictory if they are not also affording their employees the same standards. Stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) asserts that managers are morally obliged to attend to the needs of all parties reasonably associated with the organization and cautions against purely using employees as a means to an end. Hence, attending to the needs of employees is an important task for employers.

The question then turns to whether the same level of care should apply to all employees. Many companies invest greater capital into their top executive employees, whom, it may be argued, have a greater impact on the overall performance of a company. Such investments need not focus solely on the thickness of pay packets but also on opportunities for health and development. Often top executives are given access to perks such as executive coaching. This may give select employees more opportunity to engage in activities that promote well-being as coaches often utilize goal and strength-based methodologies which have been associated with gains in psychological well-being (e.g., Grant et al., 2009; Green et al., 2006). Similarly, middle- and lower-level employees should also have opportunities for improved health and development at work. Such initiatives need not just be provided through executive coaching (which can be expensive) but can also be provided through more cost-effective group interventions, such as the Working for Wellness Program, which was introduced earlier. While jobs undertaken by employees vary, it can be argued that all employees play a valuable role and that the success of the organization is dependent on the fulfillment of the various tasks undertaken by employees. Given the instrumental role of employees in developing products or providing services, it can be argued that all employees are equally valuable and should be afforded similar opportunities and high regard for their personal well-being. This not only meets the standard of justice but also the principles of treating others with *caring and compassion* and with *dignity*. Hence, all employees should be provided with similar opportunities to participate in a range of health and well-being workplace initiatives through both formal and informal systems. Performance appraisal interviews could ideally include, as standard practice across all supervisors, some discussion and future planning around workplace well-being opportunities for the staff member (see Vella-Brodrick & Page, 2009 for several example strategies). Such a process enables some flexibility and tailoring of individual needs within a more uniform structure that applies to all employees, thus balancing the notion of formality and discretion in the delivery of such initiatives.

Another important health and well-being strategy is to provide employees with the opportunity to exercise *autonomy* (choice and self-determination) – a fundamental component of psychological well-being. Google, for example, encourage their employees to use 20% of their work time on projects of their choice. This is an example of a positive initiative that can apply to all employees; enables freedom of choice, the opportunity for employees to feel engaged and energized by their work; and demonstrates respect for the worker and their capabilities. While it is conceivable that some of the projects selected by employers may not be beneficial for the organization, based on social exchange and reciprocity theories, employees are more likely to want to return the goodwill shown by the organization through higher effort and commitment (e.g., low absenteeism, higher performance of in role and extra role behaviors) (see Aselage & Eisenberger, 2003).

Individuals also have the right to live a healthy lifestyle, and they should be able to apply this positive approach to every domain of their life, particularly significant ones where a considerable amount of time is spent, such as work. Restricting opportunities for health and well-being at work would be a major obstacle for individuals who are seeking to be fit and healthy. Not only would this adversely impact on the autonomy and health of the individual but also on society at large. Organizations, particularly large ones, are often in a position to influence the health of communities, and collectively they can reduce the burden on health-care systems. While this is not an immediate and compulsory concern for organizations, it is an aspirational standard that reflects the pursuit of excellence and an attitude of going beyond the basic requirements. It demonstrates a form of corporate citizenship (an extension of the organizational citizenship behavior construct), which is a highly regarded characteristic when delivered with genuine intent.

Similarly it should not be compulsory for employees to participate in employee well-being programs. Although employers can provide opportunities for well-being, ultimately it is the individual's right to choose whether or not to participate. To encourage participation, employers should also aim to educate staff about the potential benefits of such programs and to actively promote the programs.

In summary, our review of both deontological and consequential perspectives suggests that organizations have some responsibility to not only prevent ill-health but also to promote good health, first because it is the right and ethical thing to do and second because it aligns with the mission of profitability and other desirable organizational outcomes. Specifically, our review suggests that employee well-being programs would be an asset to organizations in addition to other commonly utilized or best practice approaches (e.g., EAPs, OHS/OSHA, stress prevention and management, comprehensive health promotion, and disease management). Failing to offer workplace well-being programs can be equated with failing to strive for excellence. This half-hearted attitude by employers can quickly transfer to employees and can ultimately result in a stagnant and negative work culture.

In order to maximize the potential benefits that can be derived from workplace well-being programs, we end this section with some strategies and recommendations:

1. Comprehensive health and well-being programs, including those that improve positive psychological health, deserve continued *commitment* from management and should be embedded within the organization's culture and structure.
2. In line with the principle of *justice*, a broad range of health and well-being programs should be available to all employees across an organization, regardless of their level of job type.
3. *Competent* staff and evidence-based approaches are needed to deliver high-quality employee well-being programs that provide optimal benefit to employees and reduce the possibility of harm.
4. While formal methods are more likely to ensure standardization of opportunities among employees, employees should be able to *choose* whether or not they wish to engage in such programs or have a variety of programs from which to select. All staff including management should be active participants (Heaney, 2003; Noblet & LaMontagne, 2009).

Summary, Agenda for Future Research, and Conclusions

Overarching Summary

In this chapter, we have explored the key role that employers play in meeting employee health and well-being needs. While, traditionally, employee health and well-being has been viewed from an illness-based perspective – where an individual is assumed to be well upon the alleviation of

illness or injury – we have utilized the contemporary and evidence-based complete health perspective. Within this framework, completely healthy individuals are those that meet certain criteria for positive psychological and physical health while also being relatively free of psychological and physical morbidity. Such employees have been shown to be more of a resource and less of a liability than either incompletely healthy or completely unhealthy employees (e.g., Keyes & Grzywacz, 2005). A more positive, and thus comprehensive, wellness approach is also supported by research showing the numerous individual and organizational benefits associated with positive well-being (e.g., Lyubomirsky et al., 2005).

Given its benefits and also its relative absence in the literature, we then explored and categorized relevant positive health and well-being criteria that are useful in a quality of life and work life context. We argued that organizations that meet aspirational standards of employee health and well-being care would (1) monitor a diverse range of employee health and well-being criteria, including those relating to positive health and well-being, and (2) take steps to improve the quality of work life through the implementation of comprehensive wellness interventions (see also Diener & Seligman, 2004). We then expanded on these recommendations, exploring various methods for enhancing employee health and well-being. This included organizational and applied research approaches, namely, corporate wellness programs, the systems approach to job stress, and comprehensive health promotion and disease management programs. Next we identified a gap in the area of positive psychological health promotion. Given this gap, and the benefits associated with psychological health for both individual and organizational health, we then devoted time to explore some best practice individual and organizational approaches to promoting positive psychological health. In particular, we drew on three related areas of study: positive psychology, positive organizational behavior, and positive organizational scholarship. We ended our chapter with a discussion of employee well-being interventions from an applied ethics perspective. This approach recognizes the importance of ethics to matters of quality of life and quality of work life and the notion of “good” business (Csikszentmihalyi, 2003). We deduced that comprehensive approaches to employee well-being that include positive psychological health promotion are in line with both ethical and organizational imperatives. In particular, we applied deontological and consequentialist perspectives to the decision-making process and emerged with a clear response supporting the affirmative course of action, that is, to promote the case for workplace well-being programs.

Agenda for Future Research

Our agenda for future research aligns with other contemporary perspectives in calling for more positive definitions and approaches to organizational health research (Barling, 2005; Macik-Frey et al., 2007; Quick & Quick, 2004; Schaufeli, 2004; Wright & Quick, 2009). In particular, there is a need for well-controlled intervention research that utilizes evidence-based theories and gold standard designs (e.g., randomized, controlled trials). Such research will add to a gradually growing literature on employee strengths and resources and factors that give life to an organization (e.g., Cameron & Caza, 2004; Luthans et al., 2006). Such approaches may be integrated with existing best practice research examining how to manage and mitigate job stress and its detrimental effects on physical and psychological health and the promotion of physical health. Indeed, authors have already pointed out the utility of integrating job stress research with comprehensive WHP programs (e.g., LaMontagne et al., 2007). Applied research of this nature would add both theoretical and practical value to existing literature, addressing long-lamented issues relating to the “scientist-practitioner gap.” In particular, it will be of critical value to evaluate evidence-based well-being interventions effectively, with a dual focus on both well-being and productivity/performance outcomes. It is crucial that research finds solid links

between employee well-being programs and relevant organizational outcomes (e.g., absenteeism, presenteeism, performance, health-care costs, turnover, consumer satisfaction, etc.) if employers (who foot the bill for such programs) are to view such programs as a viable and sustainable addition to their business.

Conclusions

Promoting and preserving health and quality of life has been emphasized as “the greatest challenge facing society in the next century” (Cox, 1997, p. 1). Organizations have a key role to play in meeting this challenge (Cox, 1997; Diener & Seligman, 2004; Tetrick & Quick, 2003). Given that work represents a significant burden on employees in terms of time, energy, and other resources, ethical organizations would be those that give back to their employees – and not just in terms of monetary reward. Giving back should involve access to health-promoting services and interventions. However, taking an aspirational approach to employee well-being need not just be motivated by ethics; indeed, improving the health and well-being of employees is also likely to contribute favorably to the financial health of an organization. Ultimately, the ideal situation is likely to be one in which both employees and employers stand to benefit, that is, developing programs that improve both well-being and productivity (Bennett et al., 2003). However, to achieve such an aim requires a genuine commitment to the health of employees, and not just a utilitarian view in which employees are seen as means to an end (Schaufeli, 2004). The goal of creating healthier, safer, and more productive communities benefits everyone and thus warrants a genuine and cooperative commitment from all stakeholders. Most importantly though, an organization needs to first identify the principles by which practice will be guided and then it needs to draw on resources that will actualize these principles. If the principles are good, then the returns should also be good. As illustrated in this chapter, workplace well-being programs align with highly valued ethical principles and if they are adequately resourced and promoted will provide numerous desirable returns.

References

- Allis, P., & O’Driscoll, M. P. (2008). Positive effects of nonwork-to-work, family and personal domains. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(3), 273–291.
- Aselage, J., & Eisenberger, R. (2003). Perceived organizational support and psychological contracts: A theoretical integration. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 24, 491–509.
- Baard, P. P., Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2004). Intrinsic need satisfaction: A motivational basis of performance and well-being in two work settings. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 34(10), 2045–2068.
- Bakker, A., & Demerouti, E. (2007). The job demands-resources model: State of the art. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 22(3), 309–328.
- Barling, J. (2005). Editorial: And now, the time has come. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 10, 1–5.
- Belkic, K., Landsbergis, P., Schnall, P., & Baker, D. (2004). Is job strain a major source of cardiovascular disease risk? *Scandinavian Journal of Work, Environment and Health*, 30(2), 85–128.
- Bennett, J. B., Cook, R. F., & Pelletier, K. R. (2003). Towards an integrated framework for comprehensive organizational wellness: Concepts, practices, and research in workplace health promotion. In J. C. Quick & L. E. Tetrick (Eds.), *Handbook of occupational health psychology* (pp. 69–95). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Binnewies, C., Sonnentag, S., & Mojza, E. J. (2009). Feeling recovered and thinking about the good side of one’s work. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 14(3), 243–256.
- Bryant, F. B. (1989). A four-factor model of perceived control: Avoiding, coping, obtaining, and savoring. *Journal of Personality*, 57(4), 773–797.

- Cameron, K. S. (2008). *Positive leadership: Strategies for extraordinary performance*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Cameron, K. S., Bright, D., & Caza, A. (2004). Exploring the relationships between organizational virtuousness and performance. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47, 731–739.
- Cameron, K. S., & Caza, A. (2004). Contributions to the discipline of positive organizational scholarship. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(6), 731–739.
- Cameron, K. S., Dutton, J., & Quinn, R. (2003). *Positive organizational scholarship*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Carver, C. S. (1998). Resilience and thriving: Issues, models and linkages. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54, 245–265.
- Caulfield, N., Chang, D., Dollard, M. F., & Elshaug, C. (2004). A review of occupational stress interventions in Australia. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 11, 149–166.
- Caverley, N., Cunningham, J. B., & MacGregor, J. N. (2007). Sickness presenteeism, sickness absenteeism, and health following restructuring a public service organization. *Journal of Management Studies*, 44(2), 305–319.
- Cheavens, J. S., Feldman, D. B., Gum, A., Michael, S. T., & Snyder, C. R. (2006). Hope therapy in a community sample: A pilot investigation. *Social Indicators Research*, 77, 61–78.
- Cooper, C. L., & Cartright, S. (1994). Healthy mind; healthy organization – A proactive approach to occupational stress. *Human Relations*, 47, 455–471.
- Cooperrider, D. L. (1986). *Appreciative inquiry: Toward a methodology for understanding and enhancing organization innovation*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, OH.
- Cooperrider, D. L., Whitney, D., & Stavros, J. M. (2008). *Appreciative inquiry handbook: For leaders of change* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Cotton, P., & Hart, P. M. (2003). Occupational wellbeing and performance: A review of organisational health literature. *Australian Psychologist*, 38(2), 118–127.
- Cox, T. (1997). Workplace health promotion. *Work and Stress*, 11(1), 1–5.
- Crimmins, T. J., & Halberg, J. (2009). Measuring success in creating a “culture of health”. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 51(3), 351–355.
- Crouter, A. C. (1984). Spillover from family to work: The neglected side of the work-family interface. *Human Relations*, 37(6), 425–441.
- Crowther, I., Thwaites, M., & Zhou, J. (2004). *Measuring the benefits of corporate health & wellbeing initiatives*. Interdisciplinary Team Research, Monash University.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2003). *Good business: Leadership, flow and the making of meaning*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & LeFevre, J. (1989). Optimal experience in work and leisure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(5), 815–822.
- Cummins, R. A. (2000). Objective and subjective quality of life: An interactive model. *Social Indicators Research*, 55, 55–72.
- Daniels, K. (2000). Measures of five aspects of affective well-being at work. *Human Relations*, 53(2), 275–294.
- Danna, K., & Griffin, R. W. (1999). Health and well-being in the workplace: A review and synthesis of literature. *Journal of Management*, 25(3), 357–384.
- Deci, E. L., Guardia, J. G. L., Moller, A. C., Scheiner, M. J., & Ryan, R. M. (2006). On the benefits of giving as well as receiving autonomy support: Mutuality in close friendships. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(3), 313–327.
- Deci, E. L., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2004). Self-determination theory and basic need satisfaction: Understanding human development in positive psychology. *Ricerche di Psicologia*, 27(1), 23–40.
- Demerouti, E., Bakker, A. B., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2005). Spillover and crossover of exhaustion and life satisfaction among dual-earner parents. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 67(2), 266–289.
- Demerouti, E., Bakker, A. B., & Voydanoff, P. (2010). Does home life interfere with or facilitate job performance? *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 19(2), 128–149.
- Demir, M., & O’zdemir, M. (2009). Friendship, need satisfaction and happiness. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 11, 243–259.
- Dewe, P., & Kompier, M. (2008). *Foresight mental capital and wellbeing project. Wellbeing at work*. London: Future Challenges.
- Diener, E. (1984). Subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin*, 95, 542–575.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 71–75.
- Diener, E., & Seligman, M. E. P. (2004). Beyond money: Toward an economy of well-being. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 5(1), 1–31.
- Dutton, J. E., & Ragins, B. R. (Eds.). (2007). *Exploring positive relationships at work: Building a theoretical and research foundation*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Eid, M., & Diener, E. (2004). Global judgments of subjective well-being: Situational variability and long-term stability. *Social Indicators Research*, 65, 245–277.

- Emmons, R. A., & McCullough, M. E. (2003). Counting blessings versus burdens: An experimental investigation of gratitude and subjective well-being in daily life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*, 377–389.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2001). The role of positive emotions in positive psychology: The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *American Psychologist*, *56*, 218–226.
- Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic management: A stakeholder approach*. Boston: Pitman.
- Fritz, C., & Sonnentag, S. (2005). Recovery, health and job performance: Effects of weekend experiences. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *10*(3), 187–199.
- Gable, S. L., & Haidt, J. (2005). What (and why) is positive psychology? *Review of General Psychology*, *9*, 103–110.
- Gable, S. L., Reis, H. T., Impett, E. A., & Asher, E. R. (2004). What do you do when things go right? The intrapersonal and interpersonal benefits of sharing positive events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *87*(2), 228–245.
- Gavin, J. H., & Mason, R. O. (2004). The virtuous organization: The value of happiness in the workplace. *Organizational Dynamics*, *33*(4), 379–392.
- Goetzel, R. Z., & Ozminkowski, R. J. (2008). The health and cost benefits of work-site health-promotion programs. *Annual Review of Public Health*, *29*, 303–323.
- Goetzel, R. Z., Roemer, E. C., Short, M. E., Pei, X., Tabrizi, M. J., Liss-Levinson, R. C., et al. (2009). Health improvement from a worksite health promotion private-public partnership. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, *51*, 296–304.
- Grant, A. M., Curtayne, L., & Burton, G. (2009). Executive coaching enhances goal attainment, resilience and workplace well-being: A randomised controlled study. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *4*, 396–407.
- Green, L. S., Oades, L. G., & Grant, A. M. (2006). Cognitive-behavioral, solution-focused life coaching: Enhancing goal striving, well-being, and hope. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *1*(3), 142–149.
- Griffin, M. A., Hart, P. M., & Wilson-Evered, E. (2000). Using employee opinion surveys to improve organizational health. In L. Murphy & C. Cooper (Eds.), *Healthy and productive work: An international perspective* (pp. 15–36). London: Taylor & Francis.
- Grzywacz, J. G., & Keyes, C. L. M. (2004). Toward health promotion: Physical and social behaviors in complete health. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, *28*(2), 99–111.
- Heaney, C. A. (2003). Worksite health interventions: Targets for change and strategies for attaining them. In J. C. Quick & L. E. Tetrick (Eds.), *Handbook of occupational health psychology* (pp. 305–323). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Huppert, F. A. (2005). Positive mental health in individuals and populations. In F. Huppert, N. Baylis, & B. Keverne (Eds.), *The science of well-being*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Huppert, F. A. (2009). Psychological well-being: Evidence regarding its causes and consequences. *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being*, *1*(2), 137–164.
- Huppert, F. A., & Whittington, J. E. (2003). Evidence for the independence of positive and negative well-being: Implications for quality of life assessment. *British Journal of Health Psychology*, *8*, 107–122.
- Ilies, R., Morgeson, F. P., & Nahrgang, J. D. (2005). Authentic leadership and eudaemonic well-being: Understanding leader-follower outcomes. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *16*, 373–394.
- International Wellbeing Group. (2005). *Personal wellbeing index: Version 3*. Retrieved May 3, 2005, from http://www.deakin.edu.au/research/acqol/instruments/wellbeing_index.htm
- Israel, B. A., Baker, E. A., Goldenhar, L. M., & Heaney, C. A. (1996). Occupational stress, safety and health: Conceptual framework and principles for effective prevention interventions. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *1*(3), 261–286.
- Jackson, D. (2004). *Report of the Special Commission of Inquiry into the Medical Research Fund and Compensation Foundation*, from http://www.dpc.nsw.gov.au/publications/publication_list_-_new#11330
- Jahoda, M. (1958). *Current concepts of positive mental health*. New York: Basic Books.
- Judge, T. A., Thoresen, C. J., Bono, J. E., & Patton, G. K. (2001). The job satisfaction-job performance relationship: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *127*, 376–407.
- Karasek, R., & Theorell, T. (1990). *Stress, productivity and reconstruction of working life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kawakami, N., Araki, S., Kawashima, M., Masumoto, T., & Hayashi, T. (1997). Effects of work-related stress reduction on depressive symptoms among Japanese blue-collar workers. *Scandinavian Journal of Work Environmental and Health*, *23*(1), 54–59.
- Keyes, C. L. M. (1998). Social well-being. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *61*, 121–140.
- Keyes, C. L. M. (2002). The mental health continuum: From languishing to flourishing in life. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *43*(2), 207–222.
- Keyes, C. L. M. (2005). Mental illness and/or mental health? Investigating axioms of the complete state model of health. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *73*, 539–548.
- Keyes, C. L. M., & Grzywacz, J. G. (2005). Health as a complete state: The added value in work performance and healthcare costs. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, *47*(5), 523–532.

- Koocher, G. P., & Keith-Spiegel, P. (2008). *Ethics in psychology and the mental health professions: Standards and case studies*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- LaMontagne, A. D., Keegel, T., & Vallance, D. (2007). Protecting and promoting mental health in the workplace: Developing a systems approach to job stress. *Health Promotion Journal of Australia*, 18, 221–228.
- LaMontagne, A. D., Keegel, T., Vallance, D. A., Ostry, A., & Wolfe, R. (2008). Job strain – Attributable depression in a sample of working Australians: Assessing the contribution to health inequalities. *BMC Public Health*, 8(181), 1–9.
- LaMontagne, A. D., Shaw, A., Ostry, A., Louie, A. M., & Keegel, T. (2006). *Workplace stress in Victoria: Developing a systems approach*. Melbourne, Australia: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation.
- Langston, C. A. (1994). Capitalizing on and coping with daily-life events: Expressive responses to positive events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 1112–1125.
- Linley, P. A., & Harrington, S. (2006). Playing to your strengths. *The Psychologist*, 19, 86–89.
- Linley, P. A., Joseph, S., Harrington, S., & Wood, A. M. (2006). Positive psychology: Past, present, and (possible) future. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 1, 3–16.
- Linley, P. A., Nielsen, K. M., Wood, A. M., Gillett, R., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2010). Using signature strengths in pursuit of goals: Effects on goal progress, need satisfaction, and well-being, and implications for coaching psychologists. *International Coaching Psychology Review*, 5(1), 6–15.
- Locke, E. A. (1976). The nature and causes of job satisfaction. In M. D. Dunnette (Ed.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (pp. 1297–1343). Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Losada, M. (1999). The complex dynamics of high performance teams. *Mathematical and Computer Modelling*, 30(9–10), 179–192.
- Losada, M., & Heaphy, E. (2004). The role of positivity and connectivity in the performance of business teams: A nonlinear dynamics model. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(6), 740–765.
- Lucas, R. E., Clark, A. E., Georgellis, Y., & Diener, E. (2004). Unemployment alters the set-point for life satisfaction. *Psychological Science*, 15(1), 8–13.
- Luthans, F. (2002). The need for and meaning of positive organizational behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23, 695–706.
- Luthans, F., Avey, J. B., Avolio, B. J., Norman, S. M., & Combs, G. M. (2006). Psychological capital development: Toward a micro-intervention. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 27, 387–393.
- Luthans, F., & Youssef, C. M. (2007). Emerging positive organisational behavior. *Journal of Management*, 33(3), 321–349.
- Lyubomirsky, S., King, L., & Diener, E. (2005). The benefits of frequent positive affect: Does happiness lead to success? *Psychological Bulletin*, 131, 803–835.
- Lyubomirsky, S., Sheldon, K. M., & Schkade, D. (2005). Pursuing happiness: The architecture of sustainable change. *Review of General Psychology*, 9, 111–131.
- Macik-Frey, M., Quick, J. C., & Cooper, C. L. (2008). Authentic leadership as a pathway to positive health. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 29, 1–6.
- Macik-Frey, M., Quick, J. C., & Nelson, D. L. (2007). Advances in occupational health: From a stressful beginning to a positive future. *Journal of Management*, 33(6), 809–840.
- Martel, J. P., & Dupuis, G. (2006). Quality of work life: Theoretical and methodological problems, and presentation of a new model and measuring instrument. *Social Indicators Research*, 77, 333–368.
- Maslow, A. H. (1968). *Toward a psychology of being*. Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand.
- Mitchell, J., Stanimirovic, R., Klein, B., & Vella-Brodrick, D. A. (2009). A randomised controlled trial of a self-guided internet intervention promoting well-being. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 25, 749–760.
- Mojza, E. J., Lorenz, C., Sonnentag, S., & Binnewies, C. (2010). Daily recovery experiences: The role of volunteer work during leisure time. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 15(1), 60–74.
- Mojza, E. J., & Sonnentag, S. (2010). Does volunteer work during leisure time buffer negative effects of job stressors? A diary study. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 19, 231–252.
- Nelson, D. L., & Simmons, B. L. (2003). Health psychology and work stress: A more positive approach. In J. C. Quick & L. E. Tetrick (Eds.), *Handbook of occupational health psychology* (pp. 97–119). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Noblet, A. J., & LaMontagne, A. D. (2009). The challenges of developing, implementing, and evaluating interventions. In S. Cartwright & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of organizational well-being*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- O'Donnell, M. P. (2001). *Health promotion in the workplace* (3rd ed.). Albany, NY: Delmar Thomson Learning.
- Oades, L. G., Crowe, T. P., & Nguyen, M. (2009). Leadership coaching transforming mental health systems from the inside out: The collaborative recovery model as person centred strengths-based coaching psychology. *International Coaching Psychology Review*, 4(1), 25–35.
- Orem, S. L., Binkert, J., & Clancy, A. L. (2007). *Appreciative coaching: A positive process for change*. San Francisco: Wiley.

- Page, K. M., & Vella-Brodrick, D. A. (2010, March). *The working for wellness program: Evaluation of an evidence-based employee well-being program using RCT*. Paper presented at the European Academy of Occupational Health Psychology conference, Rome, Italy.
- Pandey, A., Quick, J. C., Rossi, A. M., Nelson, D. L., & Martin, W. (2009). Stress and the workplace: Ten years of science, 1997–2007. In A. Baum & R. Contrada (Eds.), *The handbook of stress science: Biology, psychology, and health*. New York: Springer.
- Pedersen, M. T., Blangsted, A. K., Andersen, L. L., Jørgensen, M. B., Hansen, E. A., & Sjøgaard, G. (2009). The effect of worksite physical activity intervention on physical capacity, health, and productivity: A 1-year randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, *51*(7), 759–770.
- Pelletier, K. R. (2001). A review and analysis of the clinical- and cost-effectiveness studies of comprehensive health promotion and disease management programs at the worksite: 1998–2000 update. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, *16*, 107–116.
- Pelletier, K. R. (2009). A review and analysis of the clinical and cost-effectiveness studies of comprehensive health promotion and disease management programs at the worksite: Update VII 2004–2008. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, *51*(7), 822–837.
- Pressman, S. D., Matthews, K. A., Sheldon, C., Martire, L. M., Scheier, M., Baum, A., et al. (2009). Association of enjoyable leisure activities with psychological and physical well-being. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *71*, 725–732.
- Quick, J. C., Macik-Frey, M., & Cooper, C. L. (2007). Managerial dimensions of organizational health: The healthy leader at work. *Journal of Management Studies*, *44*(2), 189–205.
- Quick, J. C., & Quick, J. D. (2004). Healthy, happy, productive work: A leadership challenge. *Organizational Dynamics*, *33*(4), 329–337.
- Quinlan, M. (2007). Organisational restructuring/downsizing, OHS regulation and work health and wellbeing. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, *30*, 385–399.
- Reivich, K., & Gillham, J. (2003). Learned optimism: The measurement of explanatory style. In S. J. Lopez & C. R. Snyder (Eds.), *Positive psychological assessment: A handbook of models and measures*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Richman, L. S., Kubzansky, L., Maselko, J., Kawachi, I., Choo, P., & Bauer, M. (2005). Positive emotion and health: Going beyond the negative. *Health Psychology*, *24*(4), 422–429.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, *55*(1), 68–78.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2001). On happiness and human potentials: A review of research on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *52*, 141–166.
- Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *57*(6), 1069–1081.
- Ryff, C. D., & Keyes, C. L. M. (1995). The structure of psychological well-being revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*, 719–727.
- Ryff, C. D., & Singer, B. H. (1998). The contours of positive human health. *Psychological Inquiry*, *9*(1), 1–28.
- Ryff, C. D., & Singer, B. H. (2008). Know thyself and become what you are: A eudaimonic approach to psychological well-being. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *9*(1), 13–39.
- Schaufeli, W. B. (2004). The future of occupational health psychology. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *53*(4), 502–517.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (1991). *Learned optimism*. New York: Knopf.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (2008). Positive health. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *57*, 3–18.
- Seligman, M. E. P., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive psychology: An introduction. *American Psychologist*, *55*, 5–14.
- Seligman, M. E. P., Steen, T., Park, N., & Peterson, C. (2005). Positive psychology progress: Empirical validation of interventions. *The American Psychologist*, *60*(5), 410–421.
- Sheldon, K. M., & Houser-Marko, L. (2001). Self-concordance, goal attainment and the pursuit of happiness: Can there be an upward spiral? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *80*(1), 152–165.
- Sheldon, K. M., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2006a). Achieving sustainable gains in happiness: Change your actions, not your circumstances. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *7*, 55–86.
- Sheldon, K. M., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2006b). How to increase and sustain positive emotion: The effects of expressing gratitude and visualizing best possible selves. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *1*, 73–82.
- Sin, N. L., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2009). Enhancing well-being and alleviating depressive symptoms with positive psychology interventions: A practice-friendly meta-analysis. *Journal of Clinical Psychology: In Session*, *65*, 467–487.
- Snyder, C. R., Rand, K. L., & Sigmon, D. R. (2002). Hope theory: A member of the positive psychology family. In C. R. Snyder & S. J. Lopez (Eds.), *Handbook of positive psychology* (pp. 257–276). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Sonnentag, S. (2003). Recovery, work engagement, and proactive behavior: A new look at the interface between nonwork and work. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *88*, 518–528.
- Sonnentag, S., Binnewies, C., & Mojza, E. J. (2008). “Did you have a nice evening?” A day-level study on recovery experiences, sleep and affect. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(3), 674–684.
- Sparks, K., Faragher, B., & Cooper, C. L. (2001). Well-being and occupational health in the 21st century. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *74*, 489–509.
- Spector, P. E. (1997). *Job satisfaction: Application, assessment, cause, and consequences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sturgeon, S. (2007). Health promotion challenges: Promoting mental health as an essential aspect of health promotion. *Health Promotion International*, *21*, 36–41.
- Tennant, R., Hiller, L., Fishwick, R., Platt, S., Joseph, S., Weich, S., et al. (2007). The Warwick-Edinburgh mental well-being scale (WEMWBS): Development and UK validation. *Health and Quality of Life Outcomes*, *5*, 63–76.
- Tetrick, L. E., & Quick, J. C. (2003). Prevention at work: Public health in occupational settings. In J. C. Quick & L. E. Tetrick (Eds.), *Handbook of occupational health psychology* (pp. 3–17). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Tugade, M. M., & Fredrickson, B. L. (2004). Resilient individuals use positive emotions to bounce back from negative emotional experiences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *86*(2), 320–333.
- Vella-Brodrick, D. A., & Page, K. M. (2009). Leadership and well-being in the workplace (Chap. 8). In J. Sarros (Ed.), *Contemporary perspectives on leadership: Focus and meaning for ambiguous times*. Prahran, Australia: Tilde University Press.
- Walker, C. J. (2010). Experiencing flow: Is doing it together better than doing it alone? *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *5*(1), 3–11.
- Warr, P. (1987). *Work, unemployment and mental health*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Warr, P. (1990). The measurement of well-being and other aspects of mental health. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, *63*, 193–210.
- Warr, P. (1999). Well-being and the workplace. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, & N. Schwartz (Eds.), *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 392–412). New York: Russell Sage.
- Waterman, A. S. (1993). Two conceptions of happiness: Contrasts of personal expressiveness (eudaimonia) and hedonic enjoyment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *64*(4), 678–691.
- Waterman, A. S. (2005). When effort is enjoyed: Two studies of intrinsic motivation for personally salient activities. *Motivation and Emotion*, *29*(3), 165–188.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measure of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *54*, 1063–1070.
- WHO. (2005). *Promoting mental health: Concepts, emerging evidence, practice*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization, Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse.
- Wolf, A. M., Siadaty, M. S., Crowther, J. Q., & Nadler, J. L. (2009). Impact of lifestyle intervention on lost productivity and disability: Improving control with activity and nutrition. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, *51*(2), 139–145.
- Wright, T. A., & Bonett, D. G. (2007). Job satisfaction and psychological well-being as nonadditive predictors of workplace turnover. *Journal of Management*, *33*(2), 141–160.
- Wright, T. A., & Cropanzano, R. (2004). The role of psychological well-being in job performance: A fresh look at an age-old quest. *Organizational Dynamics*, *33*(4), 338–351.
- Wright, T. A., Cropanzano, R., & Bonett, D. G. (2007). The moderating role of employee positive well-being on the relation between job satisfaction and job performance. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *12*(2), 93–104.
- Wright, T. A., Cropanzano, R., Bonett, D. G., & Diamond, W. J. (2009). The role of employee psychological well-being in cardio-vascular health: When the twain shall meet. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *30*, 193–208.
- Wright, T. A., & Quick, J. C. (2009). The emerging positive agenda in organizations: Greater than a trickle but not yet a deluge. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *30*, 147–159.
- Wrzesniewski, A. (2003). Finding positive meaning in work. In K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, & R. E. Quinn (Eds.), *Positive organizational scholarship* (pp. 296–308). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Wrzesniewski, A., & Dutton, J. E. (2001). Crafting a job: Revisioning employees as active crafters of their work. *Academy of Management Review*, *26*(2), 179–201.

Author Biographies

Andrea E. Abele is a social and organizational psychologist (Ph.D., U/Konstanz, Germany, 1976), Professor of Social Psychology at University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany. She has published extensively in the area of career psychology, social cognition, mood and information processing, psychological well-being, and gender issues. Her work appeared in outstanding international journals (*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *Journal of Vocational Psychology*, *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *European Journal of Social Psychology*, etc.), and she is the author/ editor of a number of books related to career psychology and social cognition. She is the principal investigator in a longitudinal research on career development of about 2,000 academics that has started in 1995 and is continuing until now. The focus of this research is on predictors of career development as well as on the interrelationship of work and private life. Her research applies both correlational (cross-sectional and longitudinal) and experimental methodology. Andrea is Fellow of the Interdisciplinary Institute of Labor Market Research in Nuremberg. She serves on several editorial boards and is an ad hoc reviewer for more than 20 journals. She is a member of several professional organizations, such as American Psychological Association, Association for Psychological Science, Society for Longitudinal Research, European Association of Social Psychology, European Association of Work and Organizational Psychology, and the German Psychological Association. She was awarded several grants both from national and international institutions. In 2010, she received an award for her lifetime engagement on gender issues in career psychology.

Carolyn Ball is an Associate Professor of Public Administration and Director of Graduate Programs at the University of Maine (Ph.D., Purdue University, Political Science). Her research and teaching interests include such diverse areas as religion and spirituality in the workforce, community policing, transparency in organizations, and organizational theory. She recently took part in the first virtual international conference of *Religion and Spirituality in Society* where she was a presenter and created an accompanying PowerPoint presentation and video on YouTube. She has worked with numerous law enforcement agencies on community policing surveys, strategic planning, technology needs, and domestic violence. Her publications on religion and spirituality include “Accommodating Islam in Law Enforcement” and “Diversity in Religious Practice: Implications of Islamic Values in the Public Workplace.” She has recently visited the United Arab Emirates, India, and Bangladesh and plans work on comparing religious practices in the health-care workplace. She can be reached at Ball@maine.edu.

Connie Rae Bateman is an Associate Professor of Marketing (D.B.A, SIU-C, 1998), Full Member of the Graduate Faculty, and CoBPA Director of UND/ICN European Business Summer Study Abroad Program at the College of Business and Public Administration, University of North Dakota (UND). She has published in outlets such as the *Journal of Business Ethics*; *Journal of Business Research*; *Journal of Marketing Studies*; *Journal of Legal, Ethical, and Regulatory Issues*; and *Business Horizons*. Her publications are in the areas of consumer and business ethics, ethics of transfer pricing decisions, ethics of credit card marketing practices, and workplace witnessing among others. In 2000, she received the Best Paper Award at the International Conference Promoting Business ethics and has received the Distinguished Research Award from Allied Academies International Conference in 2002 and 2006. In addition, she has served frequently as a reviewer and track chair within the academy. She also developed an online continuing education course “Marketplace Ethics and Professionalism” at UND which is currently required for real estate professionals seeking recertification or certification. She has been honored to receive the UND Presidential Scholar Faculty Stars Award in 2006 and 2011.

Katerina Bezrukova is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Santa Clara University. Her research interests include workplace diversity, conflict, justice, intergroup and interorganizational relations, and health. Her work appears in *Organization Science*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *Personnel Psychology*, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, and other outlets.

James A. Breugh received his Ph.D. in Industrial and Organizational Psychology from Ohio State University in 1977. He holds a joint faculty appointment at the University of Missouri-St. Louis in the College of Business Administration and in the Department of Psychology. He primarily teaches graduate-level human resource management courses. Since 1983, he has been head of the Management Department in the College of Business Administration. Over the years, Professor Breugh has conducted research on the topics of employee recruitment, selection, work-family balance, turnover, and job design. His articles have appeared in the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Management*, *Organizational Research Methods*, *Personnel Psychology*, *Human Resource Management Review*, and *Academy of Management Review*. His research contributions have resulted in his being voted to fellowship status in three professional organizations.

Carrie A. Bulger is a Professor and Chair in the Department of Psychology at Quinnipiac University in Hamden, Connecticut. Carrie earned her B.A. in psychology from the University of Minnesota, Morris, and her M.A. and Ph.D. in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from the University of Connecticut. She has published and presented on several areas related to quality-of-work-life issues, including the work/personal life interface, technology and its impact on work/non-work boundaries, aging workers, sexual harassment, and affirmative action. Her publications have appeared in journals such as the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, the *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, and *Sex Roles*. Her most current research is focused on gaining a better understanding of successful techniques for managing the multiple demands from work and personal life. In 2005, Carrie won the Quinnipiac University Center for Excellence in Teaching award. She is a member of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, the Society for Occupational Health Psychology, the Association for Psychological Science, the New England Psychological Association, and the Society for Human Resource Management.

Alison E. Carr received her M.A. in 2010 and is currently a doctoral candidate in I/O Psychology at The University of Akron. Her research and consulting interests include performance appraisal, feedback, coaching, training, and selection. In addition to her scholarly publications and conference presentations in these areas, she has had experience consulting both internally and externally, for private and nonprofit organizations.

Keith A. Carroll received his B.A. degree in Psychology from Oglethorpe University and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from DePaul University. He is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at The Chicago School of Psychology and the Chair of the Business Psychology Department. Dr. Carroll has provided expert consultation for numerous US public service organizations on selection, promotion, and adverse impact. He assisted in the development of legislation in New Jersey for hiring practices of police officers. He also developed and implemented an assessment center for graduate students at The Chicago School of Psychology, which serves as a comprehensive measurement tool for the Business Psychology department. He serves as a Chair for numerous graduate student dissertations and is a member of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP) and the American Psychology Association (APA). Dr. Carroll's work has been featured in peer-reviewed journals and conference presentations.

Wendy J. Casper is an Associate Professor of Management at the University of Texas at Arlington. Wendy holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from George Mason University and a B.S. from Penn State University. Her research interests include work-life issues, human resource practices, training, diversity, and organizational recruitment. In the area of work-life issues, she has promoted the inclusion of singles and conducted research examining the unique work-life issues of singles. Her research on the work-life issues of singles was a finalist for the Rosabeth Moss Kanter Award for Excellence in Work-Family Research. She has published in numerous journals including the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, and *Human Resource Management*. Her work has been featured in media outlets such as the Washington Post, MSNBC, HR Magazine, and Working Mother Magazine.

Elise J. Dallimore (Ph.D., U/Washington 1998) is the Associate Vice-Provost for First-Year Undergraduate Programs and an Associate Professor of Organizational Communication—with a joint appointment in the College of Business Administration—at Northeastern University. Her research investigates various areas of organizational learning including newcomer socialization, quality of life, instructional design, and pedagogy, including classroom discussion facilitation and service learning. Some of the journals in which her research has been published include *Human Relations*; *Community, Work and Family*; *Journal of Management Education*; *Business Communication Quarterly*; *Communication Education* and *Women's Studies in Communication*. Additionally, she has engaged in instructional and organizational consulting activities for nearly two decades.

Bella DePaulo (Ph.D., Harvard, 1979) has been a Visiting Professor of Psychology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, since 2000. Her primary area of interest is in single life and the place of singles in society. She has also published extensively on the social psychology of deceiving and detecting deceit. DePaulo is the author of “Singled Out: How Singles Are Stereotyped, Stigmatized, and Ignored, and Still Live Happily Ever After” and she writes the “Living Single” blog for *Psychology Today*. She has served in a variety of leadership positions in professional organizations and has been honored with numerous awards, such as the James McKeen Cattell Award and a Research Scientist Development Award. Her website is www.BellaDePaulo.com.

Lillian T. Eby, Professor of Psychology, joined the University of Georgia (UGA) in 1996. Dr. Eby's research interests are in the area of relationships at work, occupational health, and organizational careers. Specifically, she studies positive and negative aspects of mentoring relationships, factors that predict individual career success, stress and burnout at work, and the intersection of work and family life. She has published and presented over 200 peer-reviewed research papers. Her research has been published in scholarly outlets such as the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Personnel Psychology*, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Organizational Behavior*

and *Human Decision Processes*, *Journal of Management*, among others. Dr. Eby also coedited a book on mentoring in organizational, educational, and community settings and is currently working on a coedited book on workplace relationships for the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology's *Frontiers Series* published by Taylor & Francis/Routledge Press. Her scholarly work has garnered numerous awards including a Creative Research Medal from the University of Georgia. She serves on the editorial board of several scholarly journals and is past Associate Editor for the peer-reviewed journal *Personnel Psychology*. To support of her research, Dr. Eby has received various sources of grant support from the University of Georgia Research Foundation and private industry. She is currently the Principal Investigator on three multiyear, multimillion dollar research grants from the *National Institute on Drug Abuse* to study workforce development issues and organizational innovation in substance abuse treatment organizations.

Sarah E. Eisinger received her B.A. in Psychology from the College of St. Benedict/St. John's University (2009) and her master's in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from Radford University (2011). Sarah was awarded a research fellowship at St. Benedict during the summer of 2008, where she was involved in the study of personality and leadership style. Ms. Eisinger was also awarded a graduate teaching fellowship at Radford, where she taught Introduction to Psychology classes. Sarah presently works in the private sector for Perspectives Charter Schools in Chicago, Illinois, as their Data and Testing Coordinator. She is a member of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP).

Gabi Eissa is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Management Department of the Spears School of Business at Oklahoma State University. He completes his Ph.D. in May 2012, and his research interests include behavioral ethics, leadership, dysfunctional workplace behavior, workplace deviance, and the dark side of organizational behavior. He presented research papers at the *Academy of Management*, *Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *Southern Management Association*, and his research appeared in the *Journal of Applied Psychology*.

Angela M. Farabee is a doctoral candidate in the Industrial/Organizational Psychology program at the University of Missouri, Saint Louis. Her research interests surround person-organization fit, web-based recruitment, the impact of social media on hiring decisions, and employee creativity. Currently, she is working full-time at Nestlé Purina PetCare as the Human Resources Analyst. Her responsibilities include workforce planning, creating department scorecards, providing deep-dive analyses around HR function capabilities, and assisting with an initiative on work-life balance.

Gwenith G. Fisher is a Research Scientist at the Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. Gwen earned a B.A. in psychology from Penn State University and her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from Bowling Green State University. Her research has examined many aspects of quality of life, including the intersection of work and personal life, aging workforce issues, retirement, and cognitive aging, as well as survey design and psychological measurement issues related to these topics. Gwen was the inaugural recipient of the A. Regula Herzog Young Investigators award at the University of Michigan in 2003. In addition to her primary role at the University of Michigan, she is an adjunct professor of psychology at the University of Detroit Mercy, where she teaches graduate courses in statistics and industrial/organizational psychology. Gwen worked in a global research capacity for IBM in Armonk, New York, and has more than 15 years of experience designing and implementing surveys. She has provided services to a variety of organizations in which she designed and implemented talent management solutions supporting a range of applications including climate and culture assessment, staffing, performance management, and employee development. She is on the Scientific Advisory Board of PI Worldwide and a member of the American Psychological Association, the Society for Industrial/Organizational Psychology, the Society for Occupational Health Psychology, and the Gerontological Society of America. Outside of work,

she enjoys spending time with her family and dogs, and her hobbies include running, cycling, downhill skiing, hiking, and scuba diving.

Noelle Frantz is a doctoral student in Industrial/Organizational Psychology at The University of Akron. She has completed undergraduate and graduate research in the area of feedback processes under the leadership of Dr. Paul E. Levy. Her other research interests include performance management as well as leadership and motivation. Currently, she serves as the Graduate Assistant for Employer Relations at The University of Akron's Career Center. Noelle's other work experiences include an internship in Human Resources and Organizational Development at The J. M. Smucker Company, a multinational consumer products company, teaching Introduction to Psychology to undergraduate students, and as a participant in Proctor and Gamble's 2011 Industrial/Organizational Psychology Graduate Student Seminar.

Dianne Gardner is a Senior Lecturer in Industrial/Organizational Psychology in the School of Psychology at Massey University in Auckland, New Zealand. She is a registered psychologist and a member of the New Zealand Psychological Society. The primary focus of her research and teaching is on psychological stress and well-being in workplaces. Her overall approach is that of positive psychology: the focus on human strengths and resources including resilience, optimism, well-being, and growth. She joined Massey University in 2003 from the University of New South Wales in Sydney where she worked at the School of Safety Science (now the School of Risk and Safety Management), conducting teaching and research into workplace health and safety management issues. She is currently interested in well-being and healthy work, in particular the positive and negative outcomes that can arise from work demands. She has published a range of papers on research into work-life balance, coping, resilience/cognitive hardiness, generational differences at work, the role of optimism, self-esteem and social support in work-related well-being and stress, emotional intelligence, the veterinary profession, learning from errors, contingent and temporary workers, and the effective management of noise hazards at work. At present, as well as her ongoing interest in generational differences (or the lack thereof) at work, she is involved in research evaluating the effectiveness of work and non-work-related interventions to reduce noise-induced hearing loss and in the prevalence, causes, outcomes, and solutions to workplace bullying.

Donald E. Gibson is Professor of Management and Interim Dean of the Charles F. Dolan School of Business, Fairfield University in Fairfield, Connecticut. Professor Gibson's research examines the attributes and impact of organizational role models, the management of individual emotional experience and expression in organizations, anger in the workplace, and conflict management. He has academic articles published in *Organization Science*, *Journal of Management*, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *Journal of Business Ethics*, *International Journal of Conflict Management*, and *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, among others, and a book for practicing managers, *Managing Anger in the Workplace*. He received his MBA and Ph.D. from the University of California at Los Angeles, and was a professor for 6 years at the Yale University School of Management. Dr. Gibson is a coeditor of *Organization Management Journal* and has also served as Executive Director and Program Chair of the International Association for Conflict Management, a professional organization whose mission is to understand and improve conflict management in family, organizational, societal, and international settings.

C. Allen Gorman is the coordinator of the I/O Psychology master's program at Radford University in Radford, Virginia. Allen received his B.A. in Psychology from the University of Georgia, his master's in I/O Psychology from the University of Nebraska at Omaha, and his Ph.D. in I/O Psychology from the University of Tennessee. His research on performance appraisal, training, and individual differences in work performance has been published in journals such as

the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, and *Performance Improvement Quarterly*. Allen is a member of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, the American Psychological Association, the Academy of Management, and the Society for Human Resource Management.

Rebecca L. Greenbaum is an Assistant Professor in the Management Department of the Spears School of Business at Oklahoma State University. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Central Florida in 2009. Her research interests include behavioral ethics, dysfunctional leadership, organizational justice, and workplace deviance. Her honors and awards include the Best Paper Overall Award from the Southern Management Association 2010. Greenbaum's research has appeared in the *Academy of Management Journal*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, and *Journal of Business Ethics*.

Kelsey Herb is a third year M.A./Ph.D. student who came to The University of Akron from Oregon's Willamette University. In addition to coordinating all Introductory Psychology classes through her position as head Teaching Assistant, Kelsey's research interests include performance appraisal, feedback, motivation, and employee well-being. Her recent research has focused on topics such as sexual harassment, feedback environment, and feedback-seeking behavior. She provides volunteer I/O consultation for a local nonprofit organization, has worked with Akron's Center for Organizational Research, and has worked as an intern for a fast-growing talent management software firm.

Carrie S. Hurst is an Assistant Professor of Management at Tennessee State University. She completed her Ph.D. at the University of Georgia. Her current research interests include occupational health and safety as well as individual and organizational career development issues such as career plateaus and mentoring. She is particularly interested in how individuals experience stress, cope with being plateaued at work either hierarchically or in terms of job content, and the negative aspects of being involved in mentoring relationships. An additional area of interest involves research methods and the use of qualitative research. Dr. Hurst's research appears in the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Career Development Quarterly*, and other outlets. She has served as a reviewer for the *Journal of Vocational Behavior* and *Journal of Management Education* and as a member of the *Academy of Management*, *Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, and *Southern Management Association*.

Stacey R. Kessler received her Ph.D. in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from the University of South Florida and is currently an assistant professor of management at Montclair State University. Dr. Kessler's research interests center around counterproductive work behavior (deviant behaviors in the workplace), Machiavellianism/leadership, and organizational structure. She is the author of various articles published in journals such as the *Journal of Management* and the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. She is also the 2010 recipient of the Ramie Sagie New Scholar Award from the International Society for the Study of Work and Organizational Values. Recently, Dr. Kessler was awarded two grants. The first was a 2010 Foundation grant from Target to conduct a leadership training program and the second was research grant from the Southern Management Association to examine perceptions of leadership in association with the recent Oil Spill Crisis in the Gulf of Mexico. Dr. Kessler also teaches courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels in both leadership and organizational behavior.

Alicia S.M. Leung (B.Sc., MBA, Ph.D.) is an Associate Professor of Management at the Hong Kong Baptist University. She holds a Ph.D. in Management Learning from the University of Lancaster, UK. She is active in researching and writing materials about Asian organizations and management issues. Her research interests lie in the areas of gender differences, business ethics,

workplace incivility, and corporate social responsibility. Alicia has published more than 50 refereed journal articles and book chapters on these topics. She also writes business cases for classroom discussion. She is currently the director of the Master of Science in Strategic Human Resources Program.

Paul E. Levy is a Professor and Chair of the Department of Psychology at The University of Akron. Dr. Levy received his Ph.D. in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from Virginia Tech in 1989 and has been a faculty member at The University of Akron since that time. He chaired the nationally ranked Industrial/Organizational Psychology Program at Akron for 10 years and in 2005 became the Chair of the Department of Psychology. He is a fellow of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, the American Psychological Association, and the Association for Psychological Science. His consulting and research interests include performance appraisal, feedback, motivation, coaching, and organizational surveys/attitudes. He is the author of one of the leading I/O textbooks in the field and has over 50 refereed publications with many appearing in the top journals in the discipline such as the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *Academy of Management Journal*, and *Personnel Psychology*. Dr. Levy is currently the Associate Editor of *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* which is one of the leading scholarly publications in the field of Industrial/Organizational Psychology. He has over 20 years of consulting and grant-related experience, and his clients/sponsors have included the federal government, large private organizations, and local not-for-profit companies. Dr. Levy's most recent work has revolved around the feedback processes that are critical to successful organizational functioning. He and his students have refined existing constructs, defined new constructs, and developed and validated measures of constructs that are integrally related to how feedback is delivered, received, used, reacted to, and interpreted in organizations. His work in this area continues to have a substantial impact on the field and has been the basis and foundation for other work being conducted in the USA and Europe. In particular, his work has defined the *feedback environment* as the climate for feedback that exists in organizations. His research has identified the feedback environment as one of the most critical factors that determines the success of performance management processes in organizations. In addition, his research also identifies an individual's *feedback orientation* (receptivity and attitude toward feedback) as integral to this process. His current work is continuing to uncover how these and other constructs interact to determine the effectiveness of feedback in the workplace.

Keith Macky joined the Auckland University of Technology (AUT) at the beginning of 2007 and is the Associate Professor of Human Resource Management and Associate Dean Undergraduate in the School of Business. Prior to AUT, he has taught a wide variety of courses at both Auckland University and Massey University in New Zealand, including organizational behavior, work psychology, the sociology of work, organization development, and quantitative research methods. He has also held senior positions in Cap Gemini, Ernst & Young, and KPMG. His current research interests include high-performance work systems, employee well-being, investigating why people do or do not join unions, and a critical analysis of whether generational differences at work really exist or are a managerial myth in the making.

Joseph J. Mazzola received his Ph.D. in Industrial/Organizational (I/O) Psychology with a concentration in Occupational Health Psychology from the University of South Florida and has taught most recent as a professor of I/O psychology at The University of Tulsa. Dr. Mazzola's research interests include the effects of workplace climates on health behaviors and the prevalence and effects of stressors in the workplace. He has been published in *Work & Stress*, *Stress & Health*, and *The Journal of Mixed Methods Research* and was awarded a pilot grant from the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health. He has also been an executive committee

member of the Society for Occupational Health Psychology. Dr. Mazzola teaches courses at the undergraduate and graduate level in industrial/organizational psychology, research methodology, and statistics.

Kelly McCann is a member of the 2011 graduating class of Fairfield University. She majored in psychology and double minored in both management and communication. Beginning fall 2011, she will be pursuing a Master of Arts in Industrial/Organizational psychology at NYU.

Amy E. Mickel (Ph.D., U/Washington 2000) is a Professor of Organizational Behavior and Human Resource Management in the College of Business Administration at California State University, Sacramento. Much of her research investigates ways employees and employers can enhance overall life quality for all workers in this era of increasing demands and expectations. Some of the journals in which her research has been published include *Academy of Management Review*, *Human Relations*, *Journal of Management Education*, *Journal of Management Inquiry*, and *Community, Work and Family*. She has also consulted for the State of California on a range of issues for nearly a decade.

Camille Gallivan Nelson is an Executive Consultant with Aclarity Partners, Ltd., a leading professional services firm. Dr. Nelson received her B.A. with distinction from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She received her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from DePaul University where she received the Dean's Fellowship award for outstanding research in psychology. She has worked in the area of applied research and consulting for the past 13 years and has designed and simultaneously managed global high-profile measurement projects for numerous Fortune 500 client organizations. Her professional focus is on developing and deploying employee engagement surveys, leadership and culture surveys, change management training, and leadership tools for driving employee and organizational performance. She has authored scientific publications and conference presentations on organizational effectiveness and workplace harassment and taught research methods and Industrial/Organizational Psychology courses at the graduate and undergraduate levels. Dr. Nelson's professional and research interests include the mitigation of workplace incivility and harassment, the enhancement of employee well-being and engagement, and methods for enabling leaders to maximize business performance. She is a member of the Society for Industrial/Organizational Psychology (SIOP) and the American Psychological Association (APA).

Joel H. Neuman is associate professor of management and organizational behavior (Ph.D., University at Albany, State University of New York, 1990) and director of the Center for Applied Management in the School of Business at the State University of New York at New Paltz. His research and consulting activities focus on workplace aggression and violence, workplace bullying, and related forms of counterproductive work behavior. His research in these areas has appeared in publications such as the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *Journal of Management*, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Public Administration Quarterly*, *Employee Rights and Employment Policy Journal*, *Aggressive Behavior*, *Journal of Healthcare Management*, and the *Journal of Management & Organization*. Book chapters related to workplace aggression and bullying have appeared in *Antisocial Behavior in Organizations*, *Bullying and Emotional Abuse in the Workplace*, *The Dark Side of Organizational Behavior*, *Counterproductive Work Behavior*, *the Destructive Side of Organizational Communication*, and *Insidious Workplace Behavior*. Interviews with Dr. Neuman have appeared in *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Boston Globe*, *New York Post*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Fortune Magazine*, *Essence Magazine*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. In recognition of his seminal research on workplace aggression, Dr. Neuman was among the first recipients of the Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Research from the Research Foundation of the State University of New York. He currently serves on the Advisory Board of the New

Workplace Institute at Suffolk University Law School, a not-for-profit research and education center promoting healthy, productive, and socially responsible workplaces.

Benjamin L. Overstreet currently holds a position at a Fortune 100 delivery corporation as the head statistician for its worldwide Employee Opinion Survey. His research interests include differential prediction, statistical methods, meta-cognition, regulatory focus, and performance variability. His work involves examinations of organizational structures in university and credit union settings. Mr. Overstreet received his Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology from The University of Central Florida (with minors in Cognitive Science and Mathematics), his Master of Science degree in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from Angelo State University, and he is currently in the Industrial/Organizational Psychology Ph.D. Program at the University of Georgia. He is a member of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology and the Southern Management Association.

Kathryn M. Page is a Research Fellow at The University of Melbourne in Australia specializing in work, health, and well-being. She is also a registered psychologist, with a Doctorate in Organizational Psychology from Monash University. Her key research interests lie within applied fields of mental health and well-being research, including occupational health psychology and positive psychology. Over the last 6 years, Kathryn has looked extensively at how best to define, assess, and develop well-being and positive mental health at work. She is particularly interested in the design and evaluation of interventions, with a focus on promoting well-being and reducing stress through effective behavior change. Kathryn's research on employee well-being and occupational health has been published in various peer-reviewed journals and edited books, including *Social Indicators Research* and *Journal of Managerial Psychology*. She has presented her work at various international conferences such as the European Academy of Occupational Health Psychology conference and the World Congress on Positive Psychology. In 2010, Kathryn was awarded the Andre Bussing Memorial Prize by the European Academy of Occupational Health Psychology for outstanding early career achievement. In addition to her research work, Kathryn works as a consultant and facilitator. Most recently, she has worked with the Victorian Occupational Health and Safety regulator on several employee stress and well-being projects. She also facilitates mindfulness-based stress reduction programs in both general and student populations.

Badrinarayan Shankar Pawar received his Ph.D. from Oklahoma State University in 1996. He received the membership of Phi Kappa Phi in recognition of his academic performance in the Ph.D. program. He is a Professor in the area of OB & HR at Indian Institute of Management (Kozhikode). He has done research in various areas including organizational citizenship behavior, transformational leadership, and workplace spirituality. His coauthored/solo academic works include papers published in *Academy of Management Review*, *Journal of Business Ethics*, *Long Range Planning*, *Leadership and Organizational Development Journal*, *Best Papers Proceedings of the Academy of Management*, a chapter in "Handbook of Organizational Citizenship Behavior" (2005, Nova Science Publishers, Inc.), and paper presentations at the Academy of Management. He has also served as the guest editor for a special issue of *Journal of Organizational Change Management* on transformational leadership (2004, Volume 17(2)). His most recent publications are four articles on the topic of workplace spirituality published in international refereed journals (two of which are in the *Journal of Business Ethics*) and two books. In 2009, his book "Theory Building for Hypothesis Specification in Organizational Studies" and, in the year 2010, his book (coauthored with Professor M. M. Monippally of IIMA) "Academic Writing: A Guide for Management Students and Researchers" were published by Response Books (Business books from SAGE): New Delhi. He has taught for about 15 years. He has taught at various institutes including Oklahoma State University, City University of Hong Kong,

Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, and XLRI School of Business and Human Resources. Subjects taught include human resource management (undergraduate students), organizational behavior-related subjects (postgraduate students and students in research degree program), business research methods (postgraduate students), research methods (M.Phil., research degree program students, Faculty Development Program participants), and advanced research methods (research program students).

Jeanne A. Phelps is emeritus professor at Missouri State University. Her long-standing interest in the work/family interface began with her doctoral research at Kansas State University, where she earned a Ph.D. in Industrial/Organization Psychology. In addition to her research focus on elder care and on understanding the interplay between work and life outside work, she has conducted twin studies and has published critiques of common twin-study methodologies.

Ronald F. Piccolo is an Associate Professor of Management and Academic Director of the Center for Leadership Development in the Roy E. Crummer Graduate School of Business at Rollins College. He earned a Ph.D. in management from the University of Florida. His research on leadership, motivation, job design, and personality has been published in top academic journals such as the *Academy of Management Journal* (AMJ), *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Personnel Psychology*, and the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. He serves on the editorial boards for AMJ and the *Leadership Quarterly*.

Nora P. Reilly is an organizational social psychologist (Ph.D., Dartmouth, 1985), Professor of Psychology, and Associate Dean of the College of Graduate, and Professional Studies at Radford University in Virginia, USA. She has published in the areas of quality of work life, the behavioral expression of commitment, perceptions of/reactions to stigmatizing conditions in the workplace, and the self-regulation of affect in such outlets as *The Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Motivation and Emotion*, *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, and *The Academy of Management Journal*, as well as serving on several editorial boards. Her teaching interests range from organizational psychology, applied social psychology, psychometrics, methodology, statistics, and organization development. She has served as the coordinator of the master's program in industrial and organizational psychology at Radford as well as in numerous internal governance positions, including president of the faculty senate. She is currently responsible for graduate academic course and program reviews as well as the administration of graduate assistantships at Radford. She is a member of several professional organizations, including the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, where she served on the Education and Training Committee. Finally, she is an active OD consultant, primarily in the area of health care. She may be reached at nreilly@radford.edu.

Graham Sewell is an organizational sociologist (Ph.D., University of Wales, 1994) and professor of organization studies and human resource management in the Department of Management and Marketing, University of Melbourne, Australia. Before taking up this position, he was Professor and Chair in Organizational Behavior at Imperial College Business School, London. Graham has published extensively on the topics of workplace surveillance and the ethics of teamwork, and his work has appeared in leading management and sociological journals, including the *Administrative Science Quarterly*, the *Academy of Management Review*, the *Journal of Management Studies*, and *Organization Studies*. He is also a senior editor of *Organization Studies*. Graham has held visiting positions at the University of California's Berkeley and Santa Cruz campuses, and from 2004 to 2005, he was the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencias de España visiting professor in the Departament di Economia y Empresa at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. His latest book, *Technology and Organization: Essays in Honour of Joan Woodward* (with Nelson Phillips and Dorothy Griffiths), was published by Emerald in 2010.

Carol F. Shoptaugh is a Professor at Missouri State University and the coordinator of the I/O Master of Science track. She received her Ph.D. in Industrial and Organizational Psychology with an emphasis in Human Factors from the University of Missouri-St. Louis, and has published articles on range of work-family issues including elder care. Her other interests include workplace safety, the ADA and psychological disorders, workplace ethics, and motivation.

M. Joseph Sirgy is a management psychologist (Ph.D., U/Massachusetts, 1979), Professor of Marketing, and Virginia Real Estate Research Fellow at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech). He has published extensively in the area of consumer behavior, marketing/quality of life, and business ethics. He is the author/editor of many books related to consumer behavior, marketing communications, marketing and society, and quality of life.

He cofounded the International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies (ISQOLS) in 1995 and is currently serving as its Executive Director. In 1998, he received the Distinguished Fellow Award from ISQOLS. In 2003, ISQOLS honored him as the Distinguished QOL Researcher for research excellence and a record of lifetime achievement in QOL research. He also served as President of the Academy of Marketing Science from which he received the Distinguished Fellow Award in the early 1990s and the Harold Berkman Service Award in 2007 (lifetime achievement award for serving the marketing professoriate). In the early 2000s, he helped cofound the Macromarketing Society and the Community Indicators Consortium and currently is serving as a board member of these two professional associations. Furthermore, he is the current editor of the QOL section in the *Journal of Macromarketing* and the editor-in-chief of *Applied Research in Quality of Life*. He received the Virginia Tech's Pamplin Teaching Excellence Award/Holtzman Outstanding Educator Award and University Certificate of Teaching Excellence in 2008. In 2010, ISQOLS honored him for excellence and lifetime time service to the society. Also, in 2010, he won the Best Paper Award in the *Journal of Happiness Studies*.

Ed Snape is Associate Vice President of Hong Kong Baptist University and also Professor and Head of the Department of Management at HKBU. Before joining HKBU, he taught at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University (where he was Professor and Head of the Department of Management and Marketing), University of Strathclyde, and the University of Bradford. He graduated from Durham University, following which he completed a master's degree in Industrial Relations at Cardiff. He has a Ph.D. from Durham and is a chartered member of the UK Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD) and an associate member of the Hong Kong Institute of Human Resource Management (HKIHRM). Ed Snape's research interests include employee commitments, leadership, and union participation. His work has appeared in such journals as *Academy of Management Journal*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Human Relations*, *Industrial Relations*, *Journal of Management Studies*, and *Journal of Applied Psychology*.

Chester S. Spell is Associate Professor of Management at Rutgers University. Most of his research is directed toward the topics of behavioral health, organizational justice and generally the role of the organization in employee well-being. Some of the journals publishing his work include the *Academy of Management Journal*, the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Personnel Psychology*, the *Journal of Management*, and the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*.

Daniel Spurk is an applied social as well as work and organizational psychologist. He graduated in 2006 from the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany, and completed his Ph.D. in 2011 at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Social Psychology Group. In his dissertational thesis, he analyzed the dynamic relationship between socio-cognitive variables and different dimensions of career success. He is currently working as assistant professor in the Social Psychology Group, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. Further research interests cover leadership as well as longitudinal research designs and data analysis. He published in the areas of career research, leadership, and measurement issues. His work appeared in several international peer-reviewed

journals, such as *Applied Psychology: An International Research*, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Journal of Business and Psychology*, and the *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*. Daniel Spurk is ad hoc reviewer for different journals. He is member of the Society of Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP). Daniel Spurk and Andrea E. Abele received a Best Poster Award at the annual meeting of SIOP in New Orleans, in the year 2009.

Cath Sullivan is Senior Lecturer in Psychology in the University of Central Lancashire's School of Psychology, and her research interests mainly relate to the social psychology of gender, discourse, and social constructionism. Cath has been researching issues relating to "work-life balance" for many years; was on the organizing committee of the 2005 International Community, Work and Family Conference; and has acted as a member of the selection panel for the Kanter Award for Excellence in Research on Work and Family several times, and her publications include various articles and book chapters in this area.

Christina N. Thibodeaux is a graduate student in the master's in I/O Psychology program at Radford University. Ms. Thibodeaux received her B.A. in Psychology from the University of Maryland, College Park, in 2008. She has experience in providing research-related support in a wide variety of research-related areas such as selection and performance assessments, certification, compensation, job analyses, and program evaluation. Her responsibilities within these areas included developing test and training materials, conducting quality control reviews, facilitating interviews and focus groups, and analyzing qualitative and quantitative data. Ms. Thibodeaux is the recipient of the 2011 inaugural McConnell scholar award at Radford University. She is a student member of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP).

Dianne A. Vella-Brodrick (Ph.D.) is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Psychology and Psychiatry at Monash University, Australia. She has coordinated the Masters in Psychology (Health) program and has developed numerous well-being and positive psychology subjects and workshops. Dianne has also developed and taught ethical and professional practice issues for organizational psychology students. She is a member of the Australian Psychological Society (APS) and the APS College of Health Psychologists. She is the Secretary of the International Positive Psychology Association and a cofounder of the Emotion and Well-being Unit at Monash University. Dianne is also a Coeditor-in-Chief of the *Psychology of Well-Being: Theory, Research and Practice* journal and has been Codirector of two Australian positive psychology conferences in 2008 and 2010. Dianne has published extensively in the scientific literature and has served as reviewer for many leading well-being journals. Her research interests include the development and evaluation of well-being interventions, positive education, workplace well-being, and ethical and professional practice issues.

Michelle E. Visio is associate professor at Missouri State University. She has published articles on work/family conflict, employees with eldercare issues, and same-sex sexual harassment. She received her Ph.D. in applied experimental psychology from Southern Illinois University of Carbondale. Her research interests include work and family linkages, employee eldercare issues, gender and forensic interviewing, and gender stereotype violations in the workplace.

Judith Volmer is an industrial/organizational as well as applied social psychologist. She graduated in 2002 from the University of Bielefeld, Germany, and received her Ph.D. in 2006 from the Technical University of Braunschweig, Germany, on the topic of star performers in teams. She also worked as a research associate at the University of Konstanz, Germany, and had several research stays in the USA. After completion of her Ph.D., she joined the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg Social Psychology group as Assistant Professor. Currently, she holds an intermediate full professorship at the University of Bamberg, Germany. She has published her work on the interplay between individual and team performance, leadership, and career research in several

national and international peer-reviewed journals, such as *Applied Psychology: An International Research*, *Human Performance*, *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, and the *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*. She applies a variety of research designs and analytical strategies, comprising experimental, longitudinal, and multilevel research designs. Her current research interests especially cover stress research (i.e., workplace conflict), leadership, and career research. Judith Volmer also serves as ad hoc reviewer for different journals, for example, *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *Leadership Quarterly*, and *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. She is a member of several professional organizations, such as Academy of Management (AoM), Society of Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP), and the German Society of Psychology.

Index

A

Aging workforce, 181, 425
Attribution theory, 13, 308, 383

B

Blame, 13, 116, 147, 241, 297, 307–321, 385

C

Career progress, 84, 108, 109, 113, 114, 117, 118, 125, 425
Career stagnation, 9, 10, 107–125, 261, 262, 269
Codes of ethics, 6, 7, 21–32
Contagion, 245, 315, 317–320
Counterproductive work behaviors, 10, 12, 89, 100, 157–175, 239, 352, 383
Credit, 13, 85, 217, 298, 307–321, 351, 357
Cultural competency, 430, 433, 440–441
Culture, 4–8, 10, 13–15, 23–25, 27–29, 32, 67, 76, 86, 97, 98, 102, 103, 136, 163, 188, 189, 191, 195, 196, 213, 218, 222–225, 227, 232, 239, 241–242, 245, 246, 263, 285, 292, 296, 298, 299, 301, 302, 307–321, 350, 355, 356, 361–364, 375–382, 385–387, 404, 405, 409, 410, 417, 418, 420, 425, 426, 430, 432, 437, 439–442, 444, 449, 450, 452, 458, 467, 468, 480, 482, 494, 498

D

Deviance, 4, 158, 165, 170–172, 174, 294, 295, 375, 380, 381, 383, 384, 386–389
Dilemma, 5, 7–16, 23, 29, 65–67, 76, 85–87, 90, 91, 107–125, 139, 143, 157–175, 182, 185, 191–195, 203–213, 218, 224–227, 237–246, 275, 292–299, 302, 309, 312, 318–321, 355–356, 359, 384, 406, 409, 417, 419, 420, 423, 424, 426, 450–451, 457–459
Disparate impact, 10, 96, 98–100, 102, 104

Diversity, 3, 5, 24, 25, 82, 118, 123, 124, 170, 225, 243, 246, 278, 285, 286, 329, 418, 420, 429–444, 469

E

Economics, 5, 8, 35, 37, 38, 103, 108, 112, 120, 123, 133, 137, 140, 144, 173, 194, 197, 211, 238, 252, 276, 278, 291, 296–298, 300, 302, 312, 316, 318, 326, 327, 330–333, 335, 337, 338, 346, 355, 362, 364, 399, 402, 419, 420, 422, 429, 431, 436, 450, 480
Eldercare, 8, 203–213, 252, 253
Employee assistance programs, 71, 185, 205, 211, 212, 356, 361, 442, 469, 472
Employee attitudes, 51, 189, 222, 238, 240, 242, 363, 409, 452, 457, 477
Employee benefits, 210–213, 224, 228, 237–246, 260, 261, 268, 474
Employee rights, 7, 8, 275, 282
Employee well-being, 5, 8, 35–56, 133–150, 161, 186, 246, 278, 291–303, 449–459, 463, 464, 468, 470–479, 482–484
Employer responsibilities, 10, 205, 463, 464, 469
Ethical dilemmas, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 29, 65–67, 87, 90, 91, 118, 157, 160, 170, 175, 185, 191, 213, 225–227, 275, 293, 294, 297, 309, 319, 419, 424, 450, 457–459
Ethics/ethical, 4, 21, 65, 81, 95, 112, 134, 157, 181–182, 206, 217, 239, 251, 275, 291, 307, 325, 343, 378, 417, 435, 450, 463

F

Fairness, 4, 10, 12, 26, 85, 99, 100, 102, 103, 138, 144, 165, 188, 206, 224, 225, 232, 238–240, 243, 245, 246, 278, 293, 327, 329, 331, 332, 336, 337, 380, 384, 385, 388, 408, 419, 423, 437
Faith-friendly workplace, 436–439

Family-friendly benefits, 11, 185, 186, 188, 192, 223
 Flexible work hours, 113, 251–273
 Flexitime, 30, 44, 45, 193, 204–206, 209, 229, 242,
 265–273

G

Generational differences, 8, 15, 417–426
 Governance of a profession, 22
 Groups, 4, 9, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31, 50, 56, 70, 73, 75, 85,
 115–117, 121–124, 160, 207, 212, 218, 221,
 225, 227, 228, 244–246, 264, 283, 300,
 313–317, 321, 325, 326, 333, 336, 338, 356,
 364, 378, 379, 388, 389, 403, 417, 418,
 420–424, 429, 432, 440–442, 473, 476

H

Hostile work environment, 14, 355, 375–390, 396,
 398, 399, 405
 Humanistic work, 355
 Human nature, 336–338

I

Incivility, 10, 50, 157, 169, 172, 350, 352, 354, 365,
 379, 387, 410, 497, 498
 Inclusion, 5, 98, 121, 140, 188, 211, 217–232, 278,
 301, 336, 441, 450, 472, 479, 493
 Interpersonal aggression, 158, 349, 356, 361, 364,
 365, 383
 Intervention(s), 5, 8, 16, 70, 98, 108, 112, 113, 115,
 118–123, 125, 138, 157, 162, 164, 167, 168,
 207, 209, 213, 218, 246, 300, 309, 320, 321,
 364, 365, 409, 470–474, 476–481, 483, 484,
 495, 499, 502

J

Job design, 12, 195, 258, 291, 292, 299–302
 Justice, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 25, 26, 85, 86, 98–100, 108,
 112, 113, 115–118, 124, 125, 141, 144, 156,
 162, 164–170, 174, 187, 188, 192–194, 203,
 206, 207, 213, 224, 225, 237–246, 293, 310,
 330, 332, 334, 335, 337, 346, 353, 358, 360, 380,
 388, 390, 398, 419, 455, 478, 480–482, 3290

L

Leadership, 7, 8, 12–15, 24–30, 53, 66, 116–118, 122,
 182, 191, 291–297, 299–303, 313, 355, 356,
 361, 364, 379, 386–387, 419, 437–440, 443,
 444, 450, 458, 472, 473, 477
 Legal processes, 95–96, 166, 211–212, 432–436

M

Mentor, 9, 45, 53, 71–75, 81–91, 108, 112, 114, 115,
 119, 121, 122, 125, 147, 231, 361, 419, 425,
 426, 441, 442

O

Occupational health psychology, 464
 Organizational behavior, 96, 294, 309, 319, 325, 376,
 382, 464, 473, 483
 Organizational culture, 6, 7, 13, 103, 136, 191,
 195, 218, 222, 223, 227, 241, 242, 285,
 296, 319, 361, 376, 385, 387, 404, 409,
 426, 458, 480
 Organizational ethics, 275, 277–278
 Organizational policy, 6, 97, 100, 102, 138, 213, 218,
 361, 399, 409

P

Performance management, 8, 10, 133–150, 385
 Positive psychology, 134, 184, 464, 473, 483
 Principles, 4, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 24–29, 66, 83–85, 90,
 113, 118, 124, 157, 160, 168, 169, 206,
 224–225, 229, 292, 293, 326, 328–332, 360,
 376, 382, 417, 419, 423, 431, 441, 450, 457,
 463, 477–482, 484
 Professional ethical standards, 21–32
 Protégé, 9, 81–90, 114, 115, 121, 122
 Punishment, 4, 48, 66, 161, 164, 165, 293, 302, 308,
 309, 313–318, 320, 331, 332, 380, 388, 396,
 407–409

Q

Quality of life (QOL), 5, 11, 15, 35, 37, 39–41, 44,
 47, 48, 56, 67–69, 71, 108, 113, 157, 159, 160,
 162, 163, 167, 169, 174, 182, 183, 185, 191,
 196, 237, 238, 244, 278, 282, 286, 287, 308,
 321, 343, 349, 352–356, 376, 431, 435, 438,
 463, 465, 466, 483, 484
 Quality of working life, 35, 275, 277, 325–338, 423,
 424, 426
 Quality of work life (QWL), 3–16, 30, 35, 36, 38,
 44, 45, 69, 81, 87–91, 140, 185, 190–191,
 218, 227–231, 243, 251–273, 307–321,
 325, 338, 355, 363, 365, 396–400, 402,
 406, 407, 409, 410, 430, 432–443, 463,
 465, 466, 468, 483

R

Religious competency, 431, 433, 440, 441
 Religious pluralism, 440, 442–444
 Remote work, 13, 68, 259, 275–287
 Responsibility, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 21, 23, 25,
 26, 29, 30, 38, 47, 76, 83, 84, 95, 103,
 108, 111, 112, 115, 118, 125, 148, 160,
 185, 190, 193–195, 204, 206, 230, 254,
 256, 260, 269, 284, 291, 293, 297, 300,
 307–315, 317, 320, 321, 331, 333, 355,
 407, 418, 423, 425, 426, 439, 442, 457,
 458, 463, 464, 469, 482
 Review, 8, 25, 40, 67, 81, 95, 111, 133, 181, 220,
 245, 255, 275, 299, 309, 336, 346, 378, 420,
 459, 464

S

Sexual harassment, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 352, 361, 379, 395–410
 Singles, 11, 12, 38, 75, 113, 116, 123, 166, 173, 188, 217–232, 251, 252, 260, 297, 307, 312, 314, 319, 326, 333, 346, 353, 359, 378, 396
 Spirituality, 15, 51, 430–433, 438–439, 441, 442, 444, 449–459
 Stress, 9, 30, 36, 65, 89, 108, 134, 161, 181, 205, 227, 238, 251, 278, 300, 344, 379, 400, 424, 450, 464
 Supportive culture, 76, 195

T

Teamwork, 14, 53, 325–338, 381, 382, 418, 425, 443
 Telecommuting, 13, 14, 30, 44, 113, 209, 224, 251–273, 425
 Telework, 13, 187, 208, 256, 257, 275, 276, 278, 279, 282, 283
 Training
 opportunities, 9, 95–100, 103, 104, 145
 selection, 95–100, 102–104

U

Utilitarian, 328, 332, 333, 484

V

Victimization, 353, 402, 420
 Virtue ethics, 333–335

W

Well-being, 4, 35–56, 65, 81, 110, 133, 159, 186, 228, 238, 251, 275, 291–303, 308, 328, 375, 396, 420, 439, 449–459, 463
 Well-being programs, 469, 473–476, 478–480, 482–484
 Work ethic, 15, 291, 417, 425, 436, 457
 Work family, 43, 44, 71, 73, 75, 76, 171, 181, 182, 184, 187–190, 192, 193, 197, 213, 222, 223, 225, 226, 231, 262, 279–280, 284, 285, 478
 Work family conflict, 12, 43, 48, 49, 52, 56, 67, 68, 71, 73, 89, 113, 149, 168, 183–184, 187–189, 195, 196, 252, 253, 257, 271, 272, 279, 282
 Working caregivers, 208, 210–213
 Working conditions, 4, 5, 8, 24, 36, 47, 52, 136, 237, 243, 282, 295, 329, 355, 398
 Work life
 balance, 5, 11, 13, 48, 66, 149, 150, 181–197, 222, 225–227, 230, 231, 275–287, 419, 421, 422, 425, 450
 enhancement, 184–185, 191, 196
 Workplace
 aggression, 158, 348–352, 354–357, 360–363, 365
 bullying, 116, 123, 349, 352, 354, 355, 361, 365, 379, 384
 mobbing, 166
 program, 211, 470
 spirituality, 51, 439, 449–459
 violence, 8, 12, 14, 158, 160, 343–365
 Work well being, 35, 37, 39, 148, 454, 481