

Research in Personnel  
and Human Resources  
Management

**Volume 38**

# Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management

**Edited by**

M. Ronald Buckley  
Anthony R. Wheeler  
John E. Baur

Jonathon R. B. Halbesleben

Research in Personnel  
and Human Resources  
Management

**Volume 38**

# Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management

**Edited by**

M. Ronald Buckley

Anthony R. Wheeler

John E. Baur

Jonathon R. B. Halbesleben



# RESEARCH IN PERSONNEL AND HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT



# RESEARCH IN PERSONNEL AND HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

Series Editors: M. Ronald Buckley, Anthony R.  
Wheeler, John E. Baur, and Jonathon R.  
B. Halbesleben

## Earlier Volumes:

- Volumes 1–10: Edited by Kendrith M. Rowland and Gerald R. Ferris
- Volumes 11–20: Edited by Gerald R. Ferris
- Supplement 1: International Human Resources Management  
Edited by Albert Nedd
- Supplement 2: International Human Resources Management  
Edited by James B. Shaw and John E. Beck
- Supplement 3: International Human Resources Management –  
Edited by James B. Shaw, Paul S. Kirkbridge and  
Kendrith M. Rowland
- Supplement 4: International Human Resources Management in the  
Twenty-First Century – Edited by Patrick M. Wright,  
Lee D. Dyer, John W. Boudreau and George T.  
Milkovich
- Volume 21: Edited by Joseph J. Martocchio and Gerald R. Ferris
- Volume 22: Edited by Joseph J. Martocchio and Gerald R. Ferris
- Volumes 23–27: Edited by Joseph J. Martocchio
- Volume 28: Edited by Joseph J. Martocchio and Hui Liao

- Volume 29: Edited by Hui Liao, Joseph J. Martocchio and  
Aparna Joshi
- Volume 30: Edited by Aparna Joshi, Hui Liao and Joseph J.  
Martocchio
- Volume 31: Edited by Joseph J. Martocchio, Aparna Joshi and  
Hui Liao
- Volumes 32–36: Edited by M. Ronald Buckley, Jonathon R. B.  
Halbesleben and Anthony R. Wheeler
- Volume 37: Edited by M. Ronald Buckley, Anthony R. Wheeler,  
John E. Baur, Jonathon R. B. Halbesleben

RESEARCH IN PERSONNEL AND HUMAN  
RESOURCES MANAGEMENT VOLUME 38

# **RESEARCH IN PERSONNEL AND HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT**

**M. RONALD BUCKLEY**

*University of Oklahoma, USA*

**ANTHONY R. WHEELER**

*Widener University, USA*

**JOHN E. BAUR**

*University of Nevada, Las Vegas, USA*

**JONATHON R. B. HALBESLEBEN**

*University of Alabama, USA*



United Kingdom – North America – Japan  
India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited  
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2020

Copyright © 2020 Emerald Publishing Limited

**Reprints and permissions service**

Contact: [permissions@emeraldinsight.com](mailto:permissions@emeraldinsight.com)

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-80043-076-1 (Print)  
ISBN: 978-1-80043-075-4 (Online)  
ISBN: 978-1-80043-077-8 (Epub)

ISSN: 0742-7301 (Series)



# CONTENTS

## *List of Contributors*

### **Chapter 1 Is Leadership More Than “I Like My Boss”?**

*Francis J. Yammarino, Minyoung Cheong, Jayoung Kim and Chou-Yu Tsai*

### **Chapter 2 Mindfulness and Relationships: An Organizational Perspective**

*Lillian T. Eby, Melissa M. Robertson and David B. Fecteau*

### **Chapter 3 Dyads of Politics and the Politics of Dyads: Implications for Leader Development**

*Wayne A. Hochwarter, Ilias Kapoutsis, Samantha L. Jordan, Abdul Karim Khan and Mayowa Babalola*

### **Chapter 4 The Future of Unions in the United States**

*Gayle Hamilton and Marick F. Masters*

## **Chapter 5    Prosocial Advocacy Voice in Healthcare: Implications for Human Resource Management**

*Soo-Hoon Lee, Thomas W. Lee and Phillip H. Phan*

## **Chapter 6    Discrete Incivility Events and Team Performance: A Cognitive Perspective on a Pervasive Human Resource (HR) Issue**

*Arieh Riskin, Peter Bamberger, Amir Erez and Aya Zeiger*

## **Chapter 7    HR Research and Practice from a Deonance Perspective**

*Robert Folger and Steven W. Whiting*

## **Chapter 8    Using Computer-Assisted Text Analysis (Cata) to Inform Employment Decisions: Approaches, Software, and Findings**

*Emily D. Campion and Michael A. Campion*

*About the Authors*

# LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

<i>Mayowa Babalola</i>	United Arab Emirates University, UEA
<i>Peter Bamberger</i>	Tel Aviv University, Israel
<i>Emily D. Champion</i>	Old Dominion University, USA
<i>Michael A. Champion</i>	Purdue University
<i>Minyoung Cheong</i>	Penn State Great Valley, USA
<i>Lillian T. Eby</i>	University of Georgia, USA
<i>Amir Erez</i>	University of Florida, USA
<i>David B. Fecteau</i>	University of Georgia, USA
<i>Robert Folger</i>	University of Central Florida, USA
<i>Gayle Hamilton</i>	Wayne State University, USA
<i>Wayne A. Hochwarter</i>	Florida State University, USA
<i>Samantha L. Jordan</i>	Florida State University, USA
<i>Ilias Kapoutsis</i>	Athens University of Economics and Business (AUEB), Greece
<i>Abdul Karim Khan</i>	United Arab Emirates University, UEA
<i>Jayoung Kim</i>	Purdue University Northwest, USA
<i>Soo-Hoon Lee</i>	Old Dominion University, USA



<i>Thomas W. Lee</i>	University of Washington, USA
<i>Marick F. Masters</i>	Wayne State University, USA
<i>Phillip H. Phan</i>	Johns Hopkins University, USA
<i>Arieh Riskin</i>	Tel Aviv University & Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, Israel
<i>Melissa M. Robertson</i>	University of Georgia, USA
<i>Chou-Yu Tsai</i>	Binghamton University, State University of New York, USA
<i>Steven W. Whiting</i>	University of Central Florida, USA
<i>Francis J. Yammarino</i>	Binghamton University, State University of New York, USA
<i>Aya Zeiger</i>	Tel Aviv University, Israel

# CHAPTER 1

## IS LEADERSHIP MORE THAN "I LIKE MY BOSS"?\*

Francis J. Yammarino, Minyoung Cheong, Jayoung Kim and Chou-Yu Tsai

### **ABSTRACT**

*For many of the current leadership theories, models, and approaches, the answer to the question posed in the title, "Is leadership more than 'I like my boss?', is "no," as there appears to be a hierarchy of leadership concepts with Liking of the leader as the primary dimension or general factor foundation. There are then secondary dimensions or specific sub-factors of liking of Relationship Leadership and Task Leadership; and subsequently, tertiary dimensions or actual sub-sub-factors that comprise the numerous leadership views as well as their operationalizations (e.g., via surveys). There are, however, some leadership views that go beyond simply liking of the leader and liking of relationship leadership and task leadership. For these, which involve explicit levels of analysis formulations, often beyond the leader, or are multi-level in nature, the answer to the title question is "yes." We clarify and discuss these various "no" and "yes" leadership*

*views and implications of our work for future research and personnel and human resources management practice.*

**Keywords:** leadership theories; liking/likability; relationship leadership; task leadership; multi-level leadership; leadership operationalizations

## INTRODUCTION

Is leadership, both conceptually and empirically, something more than the simple notion of “I like my boss”? Or in the current vernacular regarding “like,” is leadership something more than the analog to the *Facebook* thumbs-up icon or the *Twitter* retweet symbol? Has about 100 years of leadership research provided the field with leadership theories, models, and approaches that offer sophisticated conceptual understanding and sound empirical work on leadership, or simply offered just nuanced versions of people liking, or not liking, their bosses? This is the issue explored here; and although we cannot provide a definitive answer, only comprehensive empirical work can do so, our conclusion is that for many current and past leadership theories, models, and approaches, the answer to the title question is “no,” with many of the concepts and measures being simply versions of *liking the boss*. The answer to the title question is “yes,” however, for several other current leadership views that generally involve explicit levels of analysis formulations, often beyond the leader, or are multi-level in nature.

To fully understand this somewhat controversial position, it is important to explore *Liking* and its key derivatives, *liking* of *Relationship Leadership* and *Task Leadership*, as well as some basic levels of analysis issues and the ways in which levels can contribute to the formulation and operationalization of leadership approaches that go beyond simply *liking the boss*. After developing these fundamental issues, we summarize several leadership approaches that fit the view of liking the leader as the primary conceptual dimension or general empirical factor foundation, and with

secondary conceptual dimensions or specific empirical sub-factors of relationship leadership and task leadership. For these “no” answer to the title question leadership approaches, we highlight the tertiary conceptual dimensions or empirical sub-sub-factors that comprise these numerous leadership views as well as their operationalizations (e.g., via surveys).

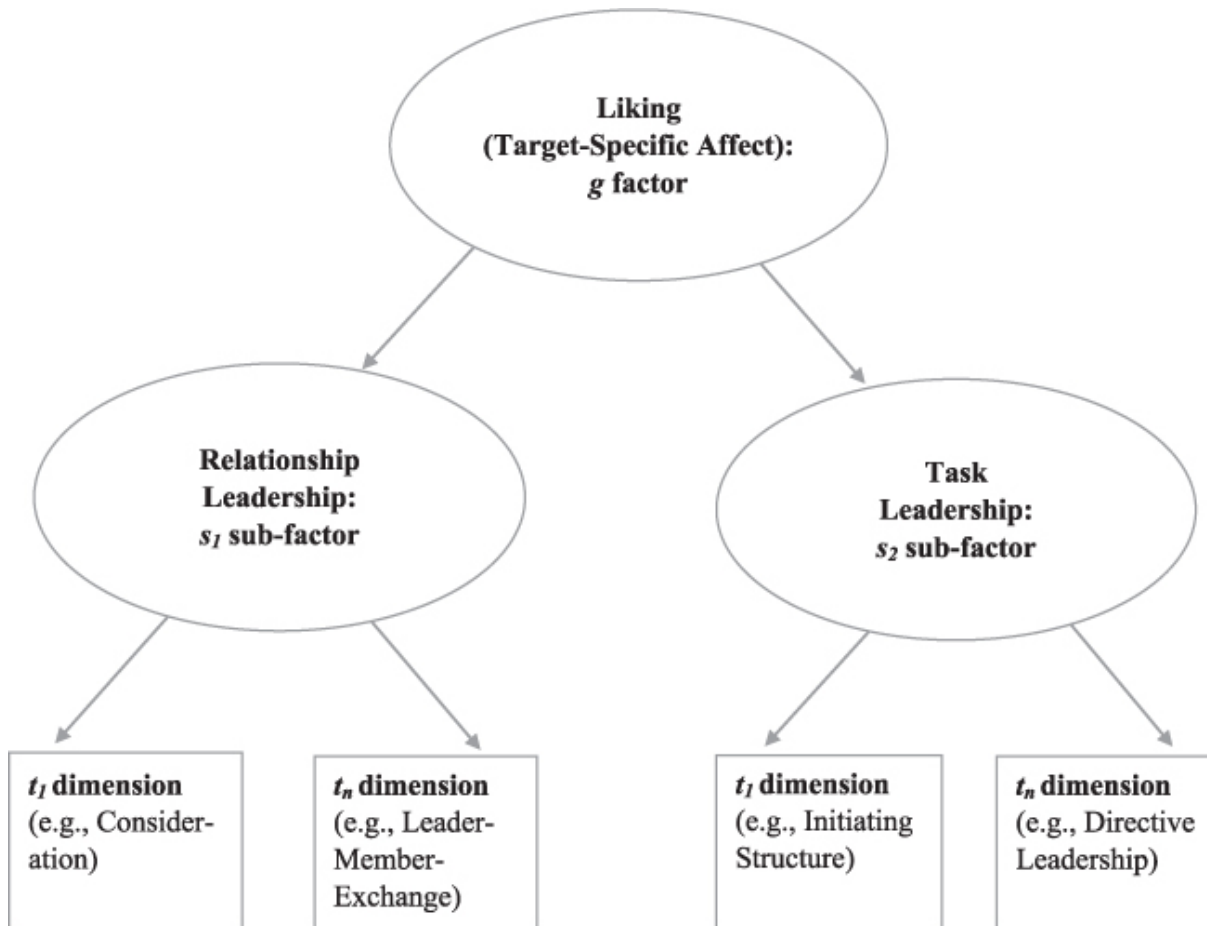
Subsequently, we develop, primarily through a multi-level focus, what is required to move beyond liking of the leader and even liking of relationship leadership and task leadership. Determination for these leadership approaches that offer formulations beyond primarily *liking the boss* is whether they have a focus on the leader but with dimensions and factors that are not simply relationship leadership or task leadership, a focus beyond the leader with an explicit level of analysis higher than individual/leader level, or are multi-level in nature. For these “yes” answer to the title question leadership approaches, we then highlight and summarize the key elements that comprise these leadership views by focusing on their levels of analysis aspects.

By explicating the underlying dimensions and factors of both sets of leadership approaches, those that derive from liking the leader as well as those that rely on other notions, we hope to clarify the current state of leadership work from a conceptual perspective and to lay the ground work for future empirical work examining and fully testing these notions. In this regard, we also discuss the implications of our work for future research and personnel and human resources management (PHRM) practice.

## **LIKING: PRIMARY DIMENSION AND *G* FACTOR IN LEADERSHIP**

The main theme and key point we develop in the next several sections is summarized in [Fig. 1](#). As shown in the figure, there is a hierarchy of leadership dimensions and concepts that is also reflected in the operationalizations and measures, particularly

survey-based ones, in the leadership field. The primary conceptual dimension and the general empirical or *g* factor in leadership is *liking the boss*. Deriving from this dimension and factor are two secondary conceptual dimensions and specific empirical  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  sub-factors of *relationship leadership* and *task leadership*, and more specifically, the *liking* of these leader styles. Deriving from these dimensions and factors are all the tertiary conceptual dimensions and actual empirical  $t_1$  to  $t_n$  sub-sub factors that comprise many leadership views and their connections to relationship, task, or both types of leadership. Liking, at the top of the hierarchy, is viewed as the general or *g* factor that runs through the specific or  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  sub-factors of relationship leadership and task leadership that then run through the various actual or  $t_1$  to  $t_n$  sub-sub-factors, at the bottom of the hierarchy, that comprise numerous leadership theories, models, and approaches as well as most operationalizations. This hierarchical view of leadership provides a way to integrate leadership conceptualizations and their operationalizations (see [Bass, 2008](#)) under a simplified framework and also offers an explanation of and solution to the issue of construct redundancy and construct proliferation in leadership and related work (see [Banks, Gooty, Ross, Williams, & Harrington, 2018](#); [Le, Schmidt, Harter, & Lauver, 2010](#)).



*Fig. 1.* Hierarchy of Leadership Concepts Based on “Liking.”

## *Foundations*

Leadership is a very broad and wide-ranging field with a long history that includes literally 1000s of definitions and 100s of theories, models, views, and approaches (for reviews, see [Bass, 2008](#); [Dinh et al., 2014](#); [Dionne et al., 2014](#); [Lord, Day, Zaccaro, Avolio, & Eagly, 2017](#); [Yammarino, Dionne, Chun, & Dansereau, 2005](#); [Yammarino, Salas, Serban, Shirreffs, & Shuffler, 2012](#); [Zhao & Li, 2019](#); [Zhu, Song, Zhu, & Johnson, 2019](#)). For some scholars, this has resulted in a construct proliferation and redundancy problem in leadership ([Banks et al., 2018](#)), and others have attempted to simplify and integrate these leadership formulations (e.g., [Yammarino & Dansereau, 2009](#)). As noted by [Bass \(2008\)](#), [Dansereau and](#)

[Yammarino \(1998a, 1998b, 1998c\)](#), and [Yammarino \(2012, 2017\)](#), despite this breath and multitude of formulations, there are some key commonalities in leadership work. Essentially, various antecedents of leadership (precursors or predictors such as fundamental underlying human processes) drive the numerous leadership processes and approaches that in turn result in various leadership consequences (outcomes or criteria such as leadership effectiveness). Moreover, leadership is inherently multi-level because you cannot be a leader without at least one follower; and as a leader, you (individual level) have to link with other people either on a one-to-one basis (dyad level) or on a one-to-many basis (group/team and collective/organization levels) and in a context (multiple levels). In this regard, *leadership* is a multi-level leader–follower interaction process that occurs in a particular situation where a leader and followers share a purpose and jointly and willingly accomplish things (see [Yammarino, 2012, 2017](#)).

In terms of the assessments of leaders, whether done in practice on-the-job through interactions with them or in a research setting primarily via surveys for example, essentially, followers’/subordinates’/direct reports’ assessments of leaders, are typically a function of their affective evaluations of the leaders (see [Martinko, Mackey, Moss, Harvey, McAllister, & Brees, 2018](#); [Mumford & Higgs, 2020](#)). Although these evaluations can, in turn, impact subsequent (and perhaps even concurrent) behaviors, many current leadership approaches are thus simply assessing whether followers/subordinates/direct reports *like their boss*. And liking is a key element of an implicit or ideal leader type that followers hold and endorse (see [Brown & Keeping, 2005](#); [Hall & Lord, 1995](#); [Lord & Maher, 1993](#); [Martinko et al., 2018](#); [van Knippenberg, 2011](#); [Wayne & Ferris, 1990](#)).

These implicit and ideal leader-type notions seem to provide a foundation for the liking of a boss/leader. [Lord and Maher \(1993\)](#) and [Hall and Lord \(1995\)](#) noted that perception and information-processing literatures imply that perceptions and implicit views of leadership are based on both affective and cognitive processing strategies. Affect and emotions work in leadership (e.g., on affect

and various emotions; and emotional intelligence, labor, and contagion) has received increased attention (e.g., Gooty, Connelly, Griffith, & Gupta, 2010; Rajah, Song, & Arvey, 2011; Sadri, Weber, & Gentry, 2011); and the cognitive aspects of leadership have been widely researched (e.g., Bass, 2008; Brown & Keeping, 2005; Hall & Lord, 1995; Lord & Maher, 1993; Mumford & Higgs, 2020). These processing mechanisms determine followers' and subordinates' perceptions of leaders and have a key role in the often rapid formation of liking or disliking of a leader. Also, information about the situation and past events is used by followers and subordinates to judge a leader's intentions and draw conclusions about his/her (subsequent/concurrent) behavior and effectiveness.

## *What Is Liking?*

"I've learned that people will forget what you said, people will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel." Maya Angelou

What specifically is "liking"? In neuroscience, a multidisciplinary field which utilizes knowledge from psychology and biology/life sciences to study the nervous system as a whole (i.e., brain, spinal cord, and peripheral nerves), and in neuropsychology which studies the role of the nervous system in human and animal behavior and learning (e.g., Kolb & Whishaw, 2009; Squire et al., 2012), *emotion* is a body state triggered by external stimuli that emerges from perception and processing of stimuli in brain circuits and in the context of an unfolding event between social partners. *Feeling*, in these disciplines, is the mental state or conscious experiences that accompany the body state changes (see King, 2019). Moreover, the neural structures associated with emotion and cognition are deeply intertwined (Kolb & Whishaw, 2009), which suggests that each emotion may have a cognitive aspect to it, and each cognition may have an emotional aspect to it.

As such, for us then, "I like/dislike my boss" is a *feeling* that results from an emotion (or perhaps several emotions) based on an event (or perhaps a series of events) or social interaction involving



the leader/supervisor/boss and follower/subordinate/direct report. Thus, *liking/disliking* is target-specific affect (e.g., [Brown & Keeping, 2005](#); [Gooty et al., 2010](#)), and, cognitively, it can be perceived differently (i.e., follower and leader individual differences) or similarly (i.e., leader–follower dyadic agreement), for the parties involved. In other words, *liking/disliking* the leader may be used as an experiential reference point, which all affect and emotions do to some extent; and thus, *liking/disliking* attributions may have cognitive implications and can impact perceptions.

To be clear, there is nothing incorrect about liking/disliking the boss or that this notion is an important part of conceptualizations and operationalizations of leadership. [McAllister, Moss, and Martinko \(2019\)](#) have used the term “likership” to describe the phenomenon. They noted that *likership* is not the opposite of leadership, but rather a key ingredient of effective leadership. There is nothing wrong with a leader being liked. In fact, liking/disliking can be critical in the determination of both subjective (e.g., various forms of satisfaction, commitment, and loyalty) and objective (e.g., performance, absenteeism, and turnover) leadership outcomes (see [Bass, 2008](#); [Dansereau & Yammarino, 1998c](#); [Yammarino, 2012, 2017](#)). What is incorrect, or at least inappropriate, however, for many extant leadership conceptualizations and operationalizations is to ignore liking/disliking completely or imply that these leadership views go well beyond liking when liking/disliking is actually a key conceptual component and underlying factor of them.

Relatedly, [Potter \(2019\)](#) noted that *likability*, as an important personality trait, traces to the late 1800s with associations to virtue, character, and success in business. In the 1900s, likability became a prominent part of advertising, public relations, and politics; projecting and selling oneself as likable was viewed as critical in multiple arenas for success and effectiveness and for being viewed as a leader ([Potter, 2019](#)). As such, liking the boss can be seen as a primary dimension or general factor in leadership.

In a similar sense, [Sanders \(2005\)](#) discussed four critical elements of likability: (a) friendliness, the ability to communicate liking and openness to others; (b) relevance, the capacity to connect with

others' interests, wants, and needs; (c) empathy, the ability to recognize, acknowledge, and experience other people's feelings; and (d) realness, the integrity that stands behind likability and guarantees its authenticity. He asserted that by accentuating these aspects of personality, executives could learn to be effective leaders. This implies that liking is not only a primary dimension and general factor in leadership but also that it drives secondary dimensions and sub-factors of relationship leadership (elements a, c, and d above) and perhaps task leadership (element b above).

Likewise, [Bhargava \(2012\)](#) noted that likability is critical to the establishment of an emotional connection to others; and people do business with, vote for, and build relationships with people they like. In particular, he asserted that likability is all about building deeper and more trusted personal relationships in business and life based on truth, relevance, unselfishness, simplicity, and timing. Again, this implies that liking is not only a primary dimension and general factor in leadership but also that it drives the secondary dimension and sub-factor of relationship leadership.

Overall, "I like my boss" can be specified as *liking/disliking* from the perspective of the follower/subordinate/direct report which reflects *likability*, a characteristic/trait of the leader/superior/supervisor. Likability is thus associated with an emotional connection between a leader/superior/supervisor and a follower/subordinate/direct report. The feeling that is created from this connection, liking/disliking, may be shared and positive, making the leader worthy of trust by the follower; or not shared and negative, making the leader untrusted and suspected by the follower.

### *Liking Basis and Levels of Analysis*

These ideas can be explored further by considering the potential theoretical bases for liking and likability and the relevance of levels of analysis for understanding these issues. *Levels of analysis* are the entities or objects of study for theory building and theory testing

(see [Dansereau, Alutto, & Yammarino, 1984](#); [Yammarino, 2012, 2017](#)). Levels are generally hierarchically ordered, with lower-level entities nested or embedded in higher-level entities ([Yammarino & Dansereau, 2008, 2009, 2011](#)). The multi-level aspect means multiple levels of analysis are involved; and for leadership work, there are four critical levels or perspectives on the human beings who comprise organizations (see [Yammarino & Dionne, 2018](#)). *Individuals* or *persons* (e.g., both leaders and followers) allow for the exploration of individual differences, and the focus can be on a leader or a follower, or how leaders or followers differ from one another. *Dyads* are two-person groups with interpersonal relationships involving one-to-one interdependence between dyadic partners; and the focus can be on superior–subordinate or leader–follower dyads, independent of the work group or team (see [Yammarino & Gooty, 2017](#)).

*Groups/Teams* are collections of individuals who are interdependent and interact on a face-to-face or non-co-located (virtual) basis with one another. Groups and teams generally consist of a leader and his/her immediate followers/direct reports, and may include formal/appointed leaders or informal/emergent leaders. *Collectives* are clusters of individuals, larger than groups/teams (e.g., departments, functional areas, strategic business units, organizations), where members are interdependent based on a hierarchical structuring, a set of common or shared expectations, or even networks (see [Yammarino & Dionne, 2018](#)). Collectives, organizations, and networks are often (but not always) overseen by formal or informal leaders.

These levels of analysis and associated theoretical positions can provide some potential underlying bases for liking from the perspectives of individual differences, dyadic agreement, and widespread agreement in group/teams and collectives. From an individual differences perspective, an individual/person level of analysis, an underlying basis for liking and likability may be self-expansion theory which has a long history in social psychology (e.g., [Aron & Aron, 1986, 1996, 2000](#); [Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992](#); [Aron, Aron, Tudor, & Nelson, 1991](#)). Self-expansion is a fundamental

theory about close relationships involving a psychological process in which a focal individual psychologically incorporates another individual into himself/herself to improve or enhance the focal individual. In particular, self-expansion begins with a comparison of the current self to the potential self. If the potential self represents some improvement on the present self, an individual is then motivated to self-expand to include another individual to help achieve that improvement. Thus, as a person includes another person into the self, an expansion of the self takes place via this relationship building process.

Self-expansion is a relatively new concept in the leadership realm. [Dansereau, Seitz, Chiu, Shaughnessy, and Yammarino \(2013\)](#) conceptualized self-expansion to underlie and be the common theoretical grounding or foundational process of numerous leadership approaches. Specifically, they identified and conceptualized how the leader–follower relationship, a key to most leadership approaches, is developed via self-expansion. [Dansereau et al. \(2013\)](#) reviewed and then integrated, via a self-expansion explanation, numerous leadership approaches that are based on individuals, groups, organizations, development, visions, outcomes, and even non-leadership. These approaches, as developed below, conceptually rely on relationship leadership and task leadership and even more basically on liking and likability; but to date, there has been no empirical work testing the connections among self-expansion, leadership, and liking/likability.

Along these same lines, at the individual level, another underlying basis for liking and likability may be individual differences that are evident based on attachment theory (e.g., [Bowlby, 1979, 1982](#)). Attachment theory asserts that individuals examine the behaviors of significant others with whom they interact by relying on internal working mental models of relationships. These internal models include both affective and cognitive components and provide rules for behavior in relationships and for attention and memory. Individuals form these mental models based on early childhood experiences, and the associated attachment styles are cognitive representations of an individual's orientation toward others, and

include secure attachment, insecure avoidant attachment, and insecure ambivalent attachment styles.

For adult situations, [Hazan and Shaver \(1987, 1990, 1994\)](#) translated these early childhood attachment patterns into the attachment styles of secure, insecurely avoidant, and anxious ambivalent. The secure adult attachment style includes behaviors that emphasize trust, comfort with closeness, a positive sense of worthiness, and an expectation that others are accepting and supportive of the focal individual. Secure individuals find it relatively easy to get close to others and are comfortable depending on others and having others depend on them. They don't worry about being abandoned or about others getting too close to them. The insecure adult attachment styles include both avoidant and anxious ambivalent individuals. Avoidant attachment is characterized by reluctance to trust and a preference for maintaining an emotional distance. Avoidant individuals are somewhat uncomfortable being close to others and find it difficult to trust others and to allow themselves to depend on others. They get nervous when anyone gets too close to them or wants a closer relationship. Anxious ambivalent is characterized by separation anxiety and viewing others as unpredictable. Anxious ambivalent individuals find others are reluctant to get as close as they would like. They often worry about relationships staying intact and desire closer relationships with others which can scare others away. These three adult attachment styles can be a potential source of the implicit leadership and ideal leader-type notions and are directly linked to liking/likability as well as whether others see the focal individual as a potential leader (see [Berson, Dan, & Yammarino, 2006](#)).

Whereas both self-expansion and attachment focus on individuals and how they build relationships, from a purely dyadic perspective, a dyad level of analysis, underlying bases for liking and likability may be attraction, similarity, and exchange (e.g., [Blau, 1964](#); [Byrne & Nelson, 1965](#); [Heider, 1958](#); [Homans, 1974](#); [Liden, Anand, & Vidhyarthi, 2016](#); [Secord & Backman, 1974](#)) as well as positive interpersonal relationships (e.g., [Algoe, 2019](#); [Fredrickson, 1998](#); [Gable, Reis, Impett, & Asher, 2004](#); [Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000](#);

[Secord & Backman, 1974](#)), all of which have long histories in social psychology. At the dyad level, attraction and exchange are important fundamental human processes. For example, similarity or a match on a mutual interest or characteristic can lead to mutual liking of one another. Likewise, attraction and exchange can be linked to positive interpersonal relationships. The importance of positive interpersonal relationships based on positive emotions such as amusement (having fun and sharing laughter), joy (disclosing good news), and gratitude (showing kindness) (see [Algoe, 2019](#)) are critical for liking and likability. As such, based on these theoretical notions, liking could become a dyadic phenomenon if there is leader–follower agreement on the liking/disliking based on attraction/similarity and positive interpersonal relationships.

At the dyad level, another underlying basis for liking and likability may be dyadic agreement as developed in self-other agreement work in leadership (e.g., [Atwater, Ostroff, Yammarino, & Fleenor, 1998](#); [Atwater & Yammarino, 1992, 1997](#); [Braddy, Gooty, Fleenor, & Yammarino, 2014](#); [Fleenor, Smither, Atwater, Braddy, & Sturm, 2010](#)). Self-other agreement research typically investigates the relationship between a focal leader's self-ratings and the ratings of key others in the leader's realm (e.g., superior/boss, subordinates/direct reports, peers/coworkers, customers/clients). Analytic tools to assess the actual self-other agreement in ratings, each with differential strengths and weaknesses, include various types of differences analyses, agreement and consensus indices, categorical combination analyses, and advanced techniques such as polynomial regressions, random coefficient models, and relative weight analyses (see [Braddy et al., 2014](#); [Fleenor et al., 2010](#); [Gooty & Yammarino, 2011](#); [Yammarino, 2003](#)). These ratings could be obtained for a variety of leadership elements (e.g., knowledge, skills, abilities, styles, and dimensions), many of which are directly linked to liking or likability, and are typically used for leader and leadership development purposes but also have been used less often as leader and leadership evaluation metrics.

For higher levels of analysis, groups/teams and collectives/organizations levels, underlying bases for liking and



likability may be widespread agreement or consensus in groups/teams via cohesion and interdependence (Yammarino & Dansereau, 2009, 2011; Yammarino & Dionne, 2018) and in collectives/networks/organizations via shared or common expectations (Dansereau et al., 1984; Yammarino & Dansereau, 2009, 2011). As underlying emotions and cognitions are connected and can be collectivized (see Dionne, Gooty, Yammarino, & Sayama, 2018), so too can liking, which can result in group-wide and collective-wide liking of the leader (e.g., via emotional contagion and a shared mental model about the leader). At the group/team level, for example, climate and norms are important fundamental human processes; and a key group/team norm is that leaders are predetermined (e.g., appointed) or emerge (e.g., informal) and fulfill certain functions and create positive climates. Based on the interdependence among group/team members, cohesion can be developed, and this can contribute to a group- and team-wide liking of the leader. At the collective level, organizational culture and values are important fundamental human processes; and various elements of culture and values can impact or influence the appointment and emergence of various types of leaders and the organizational leadership philosophy and managerial style. Based on the shared expectations and commonalities among collective members, collective-wide liking of the boss (e.g., CEO) can be developed and spread via, for example, contagion processes or communication using various methods, media, and technology. As such, in groups/teams and in collectives/networks/organizations, higher-level agreement beyond leader–follower dyadic agreement, can occur resulting in widespread liking of the leader across a group/team or an entire collective/organization.

### *Etiology of Liking*

Although widespread agreement on liking a leader or boss may be difficult to achieve in groups/teams and collectives/organizations, viewing the underlying bases of liking at both the individual level in

terms of individual differences and at the dyad level in terms leader–follower agreement (mutual liking) seems more straightforward. Why do we expect the notion of liking from an individual differences (individual-level) perspective to hold? From an evolutionary theory perspective ([Gould, 2002](#)), does the effect make a difference in terms of the human condition and survival? Liking, perhaps based on self-expansion, attachment or other elements, involves an individual making a decision/choice and, as such, means cutting off other options/choices and committing to a particular choice/course of action, in this case, “to like” someone. This effect (i.e., option-cutting and commitment, see [Yammarino & Dansereau, 2009, 2011](#), [Yammarino & Dionne, 2018](#)) allows individuals to make decisions and stay with or attach to them; an individual can commit to a course of action and pursue it. Without this capability, when faced with a threat, there would be virtually unlimited options to pursue, and the individual could experience analysis paralysis. If a predator was to attack, for example, this paralysis might result in death and ultimately extinction of the species. Thus, this effect may be important for the survival of humans. Those individuals with capabilities to cut options and become committed, in this case to like or not like someone, may have been able to pass on, in an evolutionary sense, that characteristic.

Likewise, why do we expect the notion of liking, more specifically agreement on or mutual/shared liking, from a dyad-level perspective to hold? From an evolutionary theory perspective ([Gould, 2002](#)), does the effect make a difference in terms of the human condition and survival? Mutual liking, or agreement on liking for various degrees/amounts (e.g., low–low or high–high), perhaps based on attraction/similarity and positive interpersonal relationships or other elements, can be viewed as a commodity to be exchanged and, as such, can be aspects of the investments in and returns from individuals in a dyad. This effect (i.e., investments and returns, see [Dansereau et al., 1984](#); [Yammarino & Dansereau, 2009, 2011](#)) allows individuals to experience the benefits (receiving returns) from interacting with others (making investments), in long-term and even in short-term interactions. For example, those individuals who are



likely to experience returns (e.g., of a sexual nature) from interacting with others are those who are more likely to have children and pass on, in an evolutionary sense, the capability implicit here. In addition, without this effect and some benefit to the parent or other caregiver, it would be impossible for a child to survive because he/she cannot fend for himself/herself. Thus, if caring/fending for the child did not provide a benefit, the child would be unable to survive. As such, if a focal individual's investments in (i.e., liking) another individual do not relate to that focal individual's returns (i.e., reciprocal liking) from the other individual, and generally of similar degrees/amounts (i.e., high-high or low-low), the dyadic relationship could be perceived as unfair or inequitable and then dissolve and eventually end.

### *Operationalization of Liking*

Given all the above, it is not surprising that liking per se, as a primary conceptual dimension and general *g* factor, has been operationalized in leadership and related work (see [Bass, 2008](#)). In particular, liking has been shown to be a significant source of influence on and variance in raters' judgments, perceptions, and ratings about performance (e.g., by supervisors), leadership (e.g., by subordinates), and other factors (e.g., hiring decisions by interviewers) (see [Bass, 2008](#); [Brown & Keeping, 2005](#); [Hall & Lord, 1995](#); [Martinko et al., 2018](#); [Wayne & Ferris, 1990](#); [Yammarino, 2003](#)).

As such, [Brown and Keeping \(2005\)](#) used a four-item [Wayne and Ferris \(1990\)](#) measure of liking (with a five-point response format from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree") that included: "I think that my supervisor would make a good friend"; "How much do you like your supervisor"; "I get along well with my supervisor"; and "Working with my supervisor is a pleasure." This liking measure accounted for a significant amount of variance in a transformational leadership measure, sub-scales of it, and the associations among the sub-scales and with outcome measures.

Similarly, [Martinko et al. \(2018\)](#) concluded that the extent to which subordinates have positive and negative feelings about their supervisors (i.e., leader affect/liking) underlies common variance shared by leadership measures. In 10 studies, they developed and validated a 5-item positive and a 5-item negative measure of leader affect, called the Leader Affect Questionnaires (LAQs), which used a 7-point response format ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” Their positive LAQ measure included: “I feel positively about my supervisor”; “I like my supervisor”; “I like to work with my supervisor”; “I value the relationship I have with my supervisor”; and “I have been happy with my supervisor.” Their negative LAQ measure included: “I dislike my supervisor”; “I have disdain for my supervisor”; “I get irritated when I’m around my supervisor”; “I resent my supervisor”; and “I get upset when I think about my supervisor.” The two LAQ measures correlated  $-0.77$  to  $-0.86$  across multiple studies, essentially measuring the same thing – affect or liking/disliking of the leader. [Martinko et al. \(2018\)](#) found a significant overlap between extant leadership measures (i.e., abusive supervision, leader–member exchange, and authentic leadership), and the overlap was generally a function of the affect/liking captured by their measure. Moreover, they noted the strength of relationships between leadership measures and other variables was reduced when controlling for leader affect, and leader affect/liking accounted for significant variance in outcomes beyond other leadership measures.

Based on [Brown and Keeping \(2005\)](#), [Martinko et al. \(2018\)](#), and other work (e.g., [Bass, 2008](#); [Wayne & Ferris, 1990](#)), we suspect, though have no empirical evidence, that a simple one-item operationalization of liking, “I like my boss,” with a five-point or seven-point response format from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree,” would yield many of the same results for most extant leadership survey measures, regardless of the underlying leadership approach.

## **RELATIONSHIP AND TASK LEADERSHIP: SECONDARY DIMENSIONS AND $S_1$ AND $S_2$ FACTORS**

Liking, however, especially as linked to implicit and ideal leader-type notions, can have multiple aspects or dimensions deriving from it. As such, it seems reasonable to explore what specifically do followers/subordinates/employees *like* (based on the primary dimension or general *g* factor) about their leaders/supervisors/bosses. Deriving from this general liking dimension and factor, we assert there are two secondary conceptual dimensions and specific empirical  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  sub-factors of *relationship leadership* and *task leadership* (see [Fig. 1](#)), and in particular, the *liking* by followers of these styles of leadership by the boss.

### *What Are Relationship Leadership and Task Leadership?*

Relationship leadership and task leadership are the most established and robust (see [Bass, 2008](#); [Schriesheim, Cogliser, & Neider, 1995](#); [Stogdill & Coons, 1957](#)) as well as important ([Banks et al., 2018](#)) but often forgotten ([Judge, Piccolo, & Ilies, 2004](#)) conceptual dimensions and empirical factors in leadership. Together they comprise the key leadership derivatives from liking the boss and, as such, are the secondary conceptual dimensions and specific empirical sub-factors that then run through various even more specific tertiary leadership concepts and their sub-sub factors operationalizations.

Relationship leadership addresses the people, relationship, and consideration dimension of leadership. It is generally defined (see [Bass, 2008](#)) as the extent to which leaders show concern and respect for followers, look out for followers' general welfare, and express appreciation to and support for followers. It is the people-component of leadership. From the follower's perspective,

essentially, this secondary dimension or specific factor ( $s_1$ ) says, "I like (don't like) that I have a good (bad) relationship with my boss." Relationship leadership is about how the boss treats people and shows consideration toward them, and how followers respond to, feel about, or like this treatment or leader style.

Task leadership deals with the work, task, and structure dimension of leadership. It is typically defined (see [Bass, 2008](#)) as the extent to which leaders specify work to and organize the work roles of followers and themselves, and clarify goals and the attainment of these for followers. It is the work-component of leadership. From the follower's perspective, in essence, this secondary dimension or specific factor ( $s_2$ ) says, "I like (don't like) the interesting/challenging (boring/routine) tasks my boss assigns to me." Task leadership is about which tasks and how the boss assigns those tasks to people, and how followers respond to, feel about, or like this treatment or leader style.

An interesting issue is whether relationship leadership and task leadership are separate and unique or associated dimensions of leadership. From a theoretical perspective, given the conceptual definitions in the literature (see [Bass, 2008](#)), relationship leadership and task leadership appear to be conceptually unique and distinct. From an empirical perspective, however, via the various operationalizations of these concepts, they seem to be somewhat associated. For example, a typical specification (i.e., in [Fig. 1](#), tertiary sub-sub factors  $t_1$  to  $t_n$ ) of these two dimensions is the concepts of consideration and initiating structure and their survey-based measures in the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ), LBDQ-Form XII, Supervisory Behavior Description Questionnaire (SBDQ), and Leader Opinion Questionnaire (LOQ) (see [Bass, 2008](#); [Stogdill & Coons, 1957](#)). [Banks et al. \(2018\)](#) reported a meta-analytic (estimated true-score/population) correlation of 0.26 between these specifications of relationship leadership and task leadership via various measures of consideration and initiating structure. For consideration and initiating structure, [Judge et al. \(2004\)](#) reported meta-analytic correlations, which were highly

dependent on the operationalization used, ranging from  $-0.08$  (for SBDQ and LOQ) to  $0.28$  (for other measures),  $0.44$  (for LBDQ), and  $0.46$  (for LBDQ-Form XII).

At an extreme, constructs can be empirically indistinguishable despite a well-established conceptual distinction between them (see [Le et al., 2010](#)). Perhaps analogous to the conceptual distinction between height and weight which also have a strong empirical relationship (often reported in meta-analyses in the 0.70s and 0.80s), relationship leadership and task leadership may be conceptually distinct (independent and separate) but empirically related (non-orthogonal), depending on the operationalizations involved and the psychometrics of the various measures (e.g., reliability, validity, bias, error, misspecification). An explanation for this conceptual difference and yet empirical association may be that both relationship leadership and task leadership are manifestations and derivatives of *liking*, and particularly the *liking* by the follower of the leader's style toward relationships and tasks. This is further reflected in the typical operationalizations (i.e., survey measures) which are primarily Likert-type scales with usually five-point response categories format ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." In other words, the surveys are asking followers about a feeling, resulting from an emotion, and perhaps an associated cognitive appraisal about liking the boss' relationship leadership and task leadership styles. As such, liking the boss as a general conceptual dimension then breaks down into the secondary dimensions of liking the leader's style on how he/she treats people/followers and assigns them work/tasks. Simply, if you like your relationship with your boss, it might be due in part to the tasks he/she assigns you; and likewise, if you like the tasks he/she assigns to you, then that feeling may foster liking your relationship with him/her.

### *What Levels of Analysis?*

Another explanation for the conceptual distinctiveness and empirical association of relationship leadership and task leadership is the common levels of analysis they appear to share. As in the case of liking, the potential underlying theoretical bases of relationship leadership and task leadership appear to have individual differences (individual level), dyadic agreement (dyad level), and widespread agreement (group and team level) based explanations that they have in common. From the follower's perspective, an individual difference or individual-level view is the extent to which he/she likes the relationship with his/her boss and how the boss treats him/her. Likewise, it is the extent to which he/she likes the tasks his/her boss assigns to him/her. In both instances, for relationship leadership and task leadership, the individual-level perspective is how each follower feels about, or likes, the leader's style.

At the dyad level, there can be various degrees of leader–follower agreement about the extent to which the leader's relationship leadership and task leadership are embraced by each follower in his/her one-to-one connection with the leader. In the case of both relationship leadership and task leadership, the dyad-level perspective is the extent to which there is mutual liking (agreement) on how the leader's style is endorsed by each particular follower. This dyadic agreement can be on a range from low–low to high–high liking; and if those degrees of agreement are shared or similar, the dyads can persist and survive; but, for example, low–high (or high–low) follower–leader dyadic disagreement could ultimately result in the end of that dyad.

At the group and team level, although perhaps more difficult to achieve, there can be various degrees of agreement among multiple followers, and even agreement between a leader and multiple followers, about the extent to which the relationship leadership and task leadership are embraced in the group/team and in the group's/team's connection as a whole with the leader. In both instances of relationship leadership and task leadership, the group-level perspective is the extent to which there is shared liking (agreement) on how the leader's style is endorsed by the entire group of followers. This widespread group/team (and perhaps even

higher collective level) agreement can range from low to high for the group/team as a whole. Overall, individual perceptions and differences as well as dyadic and group-wide agreement may be the relevant levels of analysis for the liking of both relationship leadership and task leadership, the secondary  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  sub-factors, in the leadership realm.

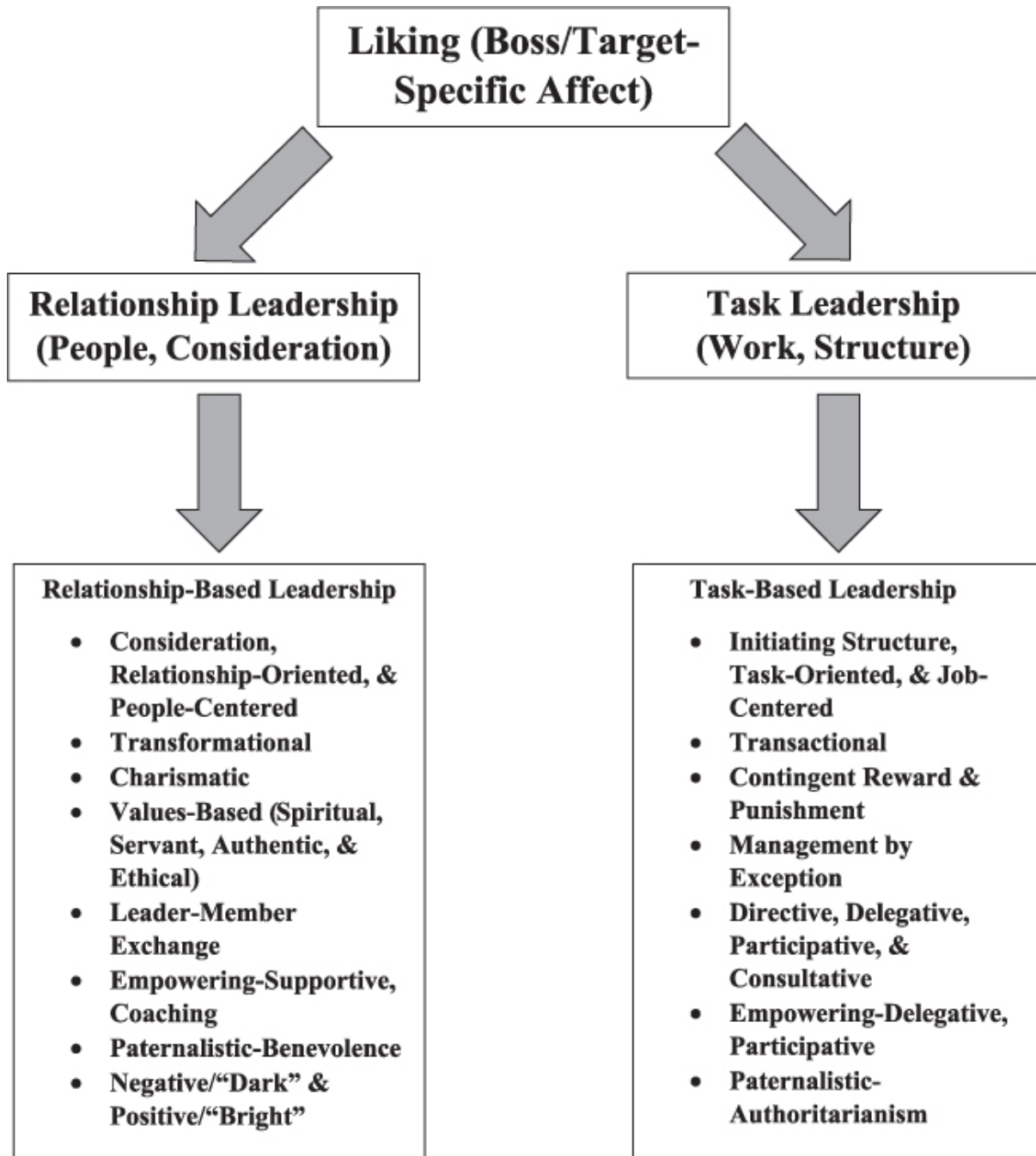
## **LEADERSHIP APPROACHES: TERTIARY DIMENSIONS AND $T_1$ TO $T_N$ FACTORS**

As shown in [Fig. 1](#), the secondary conceptual dimensions and probable specific empirical or  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  sub-factors of relationship leadership and task leadership then provide the basis for the tertiary conceptual dimensions and actual empirical  $t_1$  to  $t_n$  sub-sub-factors that comprise numerous leadership theories, models, and approaches as well as many operationalizations (e.g., surveys). These various *Relationship-based Leadership* and *Task-based Leadership* views are presented in [Fig. 2](#), linking them to the primary and secondary dimensions. In this sense, these leadership theories, models, and approaches are the “no” answer to the title question, as they are ultimately derived from liking the boss.

Clearly, there is nothing incorrect about liking the boss as a basis for leadership, but it is often the failure to acknowledge and ignore completely this point in many current conceptualizations and operationalizations of leadership that can be inappropriate. The determination of which leadership theories, models, and approaches to include in [Fig. 2](#) was based on comprehensive reviews of the literature from several sources that repeatedly identified these leadership views (i.e., [Bass, 2008](#); [Banks et al., 2018](#); [Dinh et al., 2014](#); [Dionne et al., 2014](#); [Lord et al., 2017](#); [Yammarino et al., 2005, 2012](#); [Zhao & Li, 2019](#); [Zhu et al., 2019](#)). We provide an overview of these leadership views, generally organized by theory, to better understand these tertiary conceptual dimensions and actual



empirical  $t_1$  to  $t_n$  sub-sub-factors that comprise them and their operationalizations. In each instance, we describe the leadership view, the associated relationship-based leadership and task-based leadership conceptual dimensions, and in several instances, elements of operationalizations such as associated survey measurements.





*Fig. 2. Leadership Concepts and Approaches Based on “Liking.”*

### *Ohio State, Contingency Model, and Related Leader Styles*

At Ohio State (Shartle, Stogdill, Fleishman, and Bass), the leader style dimensions of Consideration and Initiating Structure were developed and refined. During about the same time, at both Michigan (Likert, Blake, and Mouton) and Illinois (Fiedler), very similar dimensions of People-centered and Job-centered, and Relationships-oriented and Task-oriented, leader styles were developed (see [Bass, 2008](#)). We offer some details about the Ohio State and Fielder views as they are often viewed as more popular, but the Michigan approach is quite similar.

For the Ohio State leadership approach, consideration (relationship-based, friendly and interpersonally supportive supervisory behavior) and initiating structure (task-based, job-oriented, and directive supervisory behavior) were expected and found to differentially impact subordinate satisfaction and performance, given various situational moderators (e.g., unit size, job anxiety, role clarity, supervisory control) (see [Bass, 2008](#); [Judge et al., 2004](#); [Schriesheim et al., 1995](#); [Stogdill & Coons, 1957](#)). Consideration and initiating structure were viewed as relatively independent leadership styles, and leaders could be placed on a continuum for each dimension from low to high. The effectiveness of low–low, low–high, high–low, and high–high combinations of consideration and initiating structure styles depended on the type of performance assessed and various contextual factors.

This is a classic specification of relationship-based leadership and task-based leadership, and the assessments of consideration and initiating structure are via survey-based measures, that is, LBDQ, LBDQ-Form XII, SBDQ, and LOQ (see [Bass, 2008](#); [Stogdill & Coons, 1957](#)) at the individual level. The LBDQ-Form XII is the more widely used operationalization (see [Schriesheim et al., 1995](#); [Stogdill & Coons, 1957](#)). Typical consideration items that reflect both liking and

relationship-based leadership include (leader self-report version): "I am friendly and approachable," "I do little things to make it pleasant to be a member of the group," "I treat all group members as my equals," and "I look out for the personal welfare of group members." Typical initiating structure items that reflect task-based leadership include (leader self-report version): "I assign group members to particular tasks," "I schedule the work to be done," "I maintain definite standards of performance," and "I ask that group members follow standard rules and regulations."

Similarly, the contingency model of leadership effectiveness relied on relationship-oriented and task-oriented leader styles (see [Ayman, Chemers, & Fiedler, 1995](#); [Bass, 2008](#); [Fiedler, 1967](#)). The model asserted that a relationship-based or task-based style (also called, motivational orientation), a leader attribute, and situational favorability (also called, situational control, and comprised group climate, task structure, and authority) jointly determined a leader's effectiveness. The three situational control variables, each with two conditions, create the  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  eight-cell view of moderators of the leader style-performance association. Relationship-oriented leaders are expected to be more effective in moderate-control situations, whereas task-oriented leaders are expected to be more effective in both high- and low-control situations. Although numerous studies have supported these basic notions, many others have not, and the model also has been strongly criticized (see [Ayman et al., 1995](#)).

Nevertheless, in the contingency model approach, a leader's style is measured at the individual level by the Least-preferred Coworker (LPC) scale. A leader is asked to think about his/her "least preferred coworker" and then complete a checklist which is a series of bipolar adjectives, typically 18 pairs each on an 8-point rating format, that when scored generate a value for a relationship-based or task-based leader style. Some of the pairs are: pleasant-unpleasant, friendly-unfriendly, distant-close, open-guarded, and kind-unkind. The basic logic underlying the measure is essentially that if you can describe your least preferred coworker in favorable ways, then you are relationship-oriented, but if you describe them in unfavorable ways, then you are task-oriented. Clearly, the LPC measure is individual-

level in nature, tries to generate relationship-based and task-based leadership styles, and fundamentally, given the adjectives, is also tapping into liking the boss.

## *Transformational, Charismatic, and Related Leader Styles*

Transformational, charismatic, and related leadership approaches focus primarily on relationship-based leadership and whether followers like it or not. Transformational leadership, based on the work of Bass (1985), is typically defined as leader behaviors and an underlying influence process to motivate followers to go beyond their self-interests for the larger team, organization, society and, in general, greater good. Transformational leaders alter the needs and wants of followers, raise their awareness and consciousness about the value and importance of outcomes, and help them with goal accomplishment. Successful transformational leaders motivate followers to do more than initially expected based on feelings of trust in, loyalty to, respect for, and admiration of the leader. Clearly, such feelings have a liking-the-boss quality about them.

Bass (1985, 2008) viewed transformational leadership as comprised four elements: charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration. He viewed charisma as only one aspect of transformational leadership because, he asserted, a leader can be charismatic without being transformational, as there is little or no influence to change followers in the former case. Thus, Bass (1985, 2008) drew a distinction between transformational and charismatic leadership with charisma as a key (maybe the key) component of transformational leadership, a necessary but not sufficient element of transformational leadership. This position is not universally endorsed, as various charismatic leadership scholars and researchers (e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977; House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991) argued that charisma is the (sole) extraordinary or outstanding element of leadership.

Based on the work of [House \(1977\)](#), [Conger and Kanungo \(1987\)](#), and [Shamir, House, and Arthur \(1993\)](#), charismatic leadership is often defined in terms of the nature of the leader–follower relationship and leader behaviors that influence followers. Key charismatic leader behaviors include articulating a vision that is appealing and often innovative or strategic, recognizing environmental opportunities and threats, communicating high-performance expectations to followers and showing sensitivity to their needs, displaying self-confidence and creativity perhaps with unconventional behaviors, taking personal risks, being a role model of exemplary behavior, expressing confidence in followers' abilities to achieve goals, and emphasizing collective identity. Effects of these leader charismatic behaviors include followers develop radical changes in their beliefs and values, trust in, respect for, identification with the leader, and devotion, loyalty, obedience and commitment to the leader ([Conger & Kanungo, 1987](#); [House, 1977](#); [Shamir et al., 1993](#)). Again, such feelings have a liking-the-boss quality about them which are manifested in the leader–follower charismatic relationship; essentially, charisma is linked to likability, and charismatic leaders make followers feel good about themselves.

[van Knippenberg and Sitkin \(2013\)](#) provided an extensive critique of transformational and charismatic leadership, focusing on four issues: lack of a precise conceptual definition using multi-dimensional conceptualizations that fail to specify how the dimensions combine to form the overall construct; causal model specification problems and without sufficient consideration of mediating and moderating processes and influences; confounds of conceptualizations and operationalizations; and invalidity of the most used survey measures of the concepts. Based on all these problems, [van Knippenberg and Sitkin \(2013\)](#) recommended abandonment of the current transformational and charismatic leadership approaches. A shortened version of this critique might simply be that current transformational and charismatic leadership views are actually dealing with liking the boss.

[Antonakis, Bastardo, Jarquart, and Shamir \(2016\)](#) presented an extensive review of charisma literature and sought to improve upon

the traditional definitions of charisma, noting that the vast majority of definitions include the attributes of quality, ability, and gift of the leader, which could be tapping into liking, and among many other notions, are emotion-based, which clearly is linked to feelings and perhaps liking. They also detailed the many operationalization problems with survey-based measures of charisma, particularly endogeneity issues. To address these concerns, and in contrast to the extant charisma literature, [Antonakis et al. \(2016\)](#) offered a conceptualization of charisma based on signaling theory which views charisma as values-based, symbolic, and emotion-laden leader signaling with the use of various verbal and non-verbal cues and techniques. Importantly, they suggested the use of unobtrusive and objective measures (e.g., archival data) of charisma that avoid perceptions of raters, direct manipulation of charisma in lab and field experiments, and the design of better survey measures of charisma to avoid rater and other biases in current measures.

Regarding current survey measures, the most widely used measure of both transformational and charismatic leadership is the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) (see [Bass, 2008](#)). We are not able to provide sample items from the MLQ due to copyright protections. Nevertheless, [Brown and Keeping \(2005\)](#) provided empirical evidence that the MLQ contains a liking component and that a substantial proportion of the variance in the MLQ items and all sub-scales is due to liking. They demonstrated that liking substantially influenced raters' item-level responses, associations among the MLQ sub-scales, and the associations of these sub-scales with various outcome variables. As such, liking is a key component of transformational leadership, and thus charismatic leadership as well, at least when measured by the MLQ.

### *Transactional, Contingent Reward/Punishment, and Management-by-Exception Leader Styles*

Transactional, contingent reward and punishment, and management-by-exception, both active and passive forms, leadership approaches

focus primarily on task-based leadership and whether followers like it or not. Transactional leadership, the base for transformational leadership, is focused on the leader's economic exchange and cost-benefit analysis to motivate follower compliance with a leader's requests and organizational role requirements and to satisfy subordinates' needs in return for satisfactory provision of job description duties (Bass, 1985, 2008). Included in transactional leadership is contingent reward and contingent punishment which are the clarification by the leader of what is expected from subordinates and what they will receive from the leader if they provide (reward) and don't provide (punishment) expected performance (see Podsakoff, Bommer, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2006). In particular, contingent reward is the degree to which a leader administers positive reinforcements such as recognition, acknowledgement, and commendations that are contingent on high/good performance of followers. Contingent punishment is the degree to which a leader administers punitive events such as reprimands and disapproval that are contingent on low/poor performance of followers. Also included as elements of transactional leadership are management by exception, both active and passive, which is the leader monitoring task execution and performance and then intervening to address any problems (active form) or sitting back until serious issues arise and then reacting with corrective actions (passive form) (see Bass, 2008).

One of the most widely used measures of transactional leadership (contingent reward and management by exception dimensions) is the MLQ (Bass, 2008). Although we are not able to provide sample items from the MLQ due to copyright protections, Brown and Keeping (2005) provided strong evidence of a liking component in the MLQ, and that a substantial proportion of the variance in the MLQ items and sub-scales is due to liking, whether for the more relationship-based transformational leadership or more task-based transactional leadership elements.

Employing contingent reward and contingent punishment survey measures that Podsakoff and others developed, Podsakoff et al. (2006) conducted 2 large-scale studies, one based on 20 new



samples and the other using extant samples in an extensive meta-analysis. They also looked at non-contingent reward and non-contingent punishment and found that the contingent versions as compared to the non-contingent versions were more strongly related to various subjective/perceptual and objective antecedents and outcomes. The measures of contingent rewards and contingent punishments from [Podsakoff et al. \(2006\)](#) consist of 10 items and 5 items, respectively, with a 7-point Likert-type response format ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Contingent reward example items include: "My supervisor always gives me positive feedback when I perform well," "My supervisor would quickly acknowledge an improvement in the quality of my work," and "My supervisor personally pays me a compliment when I do outstanding work." Contingent punishment example items include: "My supervisor shows his/her displeasure when my work is below acceptable levels," "My supervisor would reprimand me if my work was below standard," and "When my work is not up to par, my supervisor points it out to me." All these items reflect work/task-based leadership, and the preference for contingent over non-contingent reward and punishment (i.e., stronger associations for various follower-relevant antecedents and outcomes; see [Podsakoff et al., 2006](#)) seems to indicate that followers/subordinates like the former over the latter versions.

### *Values-based Leader Styles*

Values-based leadership approaches (i.e., spiritual, servant, authentic, and ethical leadership) focus primarily on relationship-based leadership and whether followers like it or not. Spiritual leadership is challenging to address in a scholarly scientific way (see [Dent, Higgins, & Wharff, 2005](#)), but is typical of these values-based approaches, and is about the creation and sharing of a vision that gives meaning and purpose to work, and the development of an group/team culture and climate of mutual care and concern between a leader and followers (e.g., [Dent et al., 2005](#); [Fry, 2003](#); [Hicks,](#)

2002). These elements, conceptually, then result in a sense of identity and appreciation and close leader–follower relationships which then results in followers’ organizational commitment and enhanced productivity. Clearly, spiritual leadership is a relationship-based leadership view.

Servant leadership is about, first, wanting to serve based on an internal feeling, and then actually making a conscious choice to do so and lead (e.g., [Eva, Robin, Sendjaya, van Dierendonck, & Liden, 2019](#); [van Dierendonck, 2011](#)). It includes the sub-dimensions of altruistic calling, emotional healing, wisdom, persuasive mapping, and organizational stewardship. [Liden, Wayne, Zhao, and Henderson \(2008\)](#) developed a survey measure of servant leadership that includes items that seem to reflect, directly or indirectly, liking the boss (e.g., “My leader puts my best interests ahead of his/her own”) and liking of relationship-based leadership (e.g., “I would seek help from my leader if I had a personal problem”) and task-based leadership (e.g., “My leader can tell if something work-related is going wrong”) styles of the leader.

Authentic leadership is based on the notion of authenticity which many researchers in other fields have challenged as a scientifically viable concept due to a variety of definitional (no consensus or consistency), measurement (mostly self-report measures), and conceptual (positivity bias and what is the “real self”) problems; it may simply be how you feel about yourself (for details, see [Kaufman, 2019](#)). These difficulties with authenticity seem to impact authentic leadership as well which may be tapping how followers feel about, or like, their leaders, and how the leaders feel about, or like, themselves. [Alvesson and Einola \(2019\)](#), for example, used authentic leadership as an exemplar of the problems with excessive positivity in leadership work. They noted, in particular, that authentic leadership suffers from weak theoretical foundations and tautological reasoning, nonsensical measures and weak empirical studies, and an outdated and simplistic view of organizations, among other problems. [Alvesson and Einola \(2019\)](#) stated that much of their critique and these problems also applied to other theories in this



positive leadership genre (i.e., transformational, servant, ethical, and spiritual).

There are definitional disagreements about authentic leadership ([Gardner, Cogliser, Davis, & Dickens, 2011](#)), but most include being genuine and transparent to others, self-aware, and having moral standards and values ([Neider & Schriesheim, 2011](#)). Conceptually, [Gardner et al. \(2011\)](#) noted that authentic leaders are not necessarily transformational or charismatic leaders who transform others to go beyond expectations, but can be genuine and honest. [Ilies, Morgeson, and Nahrgang \(2005\)](#), however, asserted that authentic leadership is a root concept for transformational, charismatic, spiritual, servant, and ethical leadership. But there is lack of agreement in these writings on whether authentic leadership has a moral component or not. Empirically, in apparent contrast to [Gardner et al. \(2011\)](#), [Banks, McCauley, Gardner, and Guler \(2016\)](#), in a meta-analysis of 100 samples, found that the authentic-transformational leadership association was very large (meta-analytic estimated true-score/population correlation of 0.72) and neither form of leadership added noticeable predictive validity over the other one for various follower, leader, team, and organizational outcomes. All their results suggest construct redundancy and an inability to differentiate the two forms of leadership. Perhaps an explanation for this problem is that both authentic and transformational leadership are relationship-based leadership and grounded in liking the boss.

In terms of survey measures, authentic leadership includes the sub-dimensions of self-awareness, relational transparency, balanced processing, and internalized moral perspective as measured by Authentic Leadership Questionnaire (ALQ) and Authentic Leadership Inventory (see [Neider & Schriesheim, 2011](#)). Beyond the issues of self-report, positivity bias, determining one's "true self" (see [Kaufman, 2019](#)), and construct overlap with transformational leadership and other leadership approaches (see [Martinko et al., 2018](#)), an interesting survey item for authentic leadership is, "As a leader, I seek feedback to improve interactions with others," which seems to be about gathering information needed to be liked better by others.

Ethical leadership is about doing what is right and being fair, having integrity, sharing power, and leading followers to think and act ethically; the latter being accomplished by talking about ethics, explaining ethical rules, and rewarding ethical behavior among followers (e.g., [Brown & Treviño, 2006](#); [Craig & Gustafson, 1998](#); [Eisenbeiss, 2012](#); [Palanski & Yammarino, 2009](#)). Conceptually, ethical leadership differs from transformational leadership, according to these authors, because leaders can be socialized/authentic leaders or personalized/pseudo transformational leaders, and thus not always ethical (see [Bass, 2008](#); [Yammarino, Dionne, Schriesheim, & Dansereau, 2008](#)). Empirically, [Brown, Treviño, and Harrison \(2005\)](#) used a survey measure for ethical leadership which seems to deal with the ethics of relationship-based leadership (e.g., “My leader listens to what employees have to say”) and task-based leadership (e.g., “My leader defines success not just by results but also the way they are obtained”) styles.

### *Directive, Delegative/Participative, and Related Leader Styles*

Directive and autocratic, delegative and participative, consultative, and related leadership approaches focus primarily on task-based leadership and whether followers like it or not. Path-goal leadership theory (e.g., [House, 1971, 1996](#)) and participative leadership theory (e.g., [Vroom & Jago, 1995](#); [Vroom & Yetton, 1973](#)) can be viewed as integrative bases for these traditional leadership styles which, in early leadership research, focused on the tasks and work but were often discussed and assessed somewhat separately (see [Bass, 2008](#)).

Path-goal theory provided an explanation of leader behavior effects on outcomes such as subordinate satisfaction, motivation, and performance. [House \(1971\)](#) examined leader behaviors of initiating structure, consideration, authoritarianism, hierarchical influence, and closeness of supervision via valence, instrumentality variables, and situational moderators. In subsequent work, [House](#)

(1996) developed a reformulated theory of path-goal focusing on work unit leadership which specified eight classes of leader behavior that can enhance subordinate empowerment, satisfaction, and performance and work unit effectiveness, again contingent on several moderators. Essentially, path-goal theory offers a meta-proposition (House, 1971, 1996) that leaders, to be effective, engage in behaviors that complement subordinates' abilities and situations to compensate for any deficiencies and that are instrumental to their satisfaction and individual and group performance. Empirically, the key survey instrument used to assess the leadership behaviors and styles in path-goal theory was the LBDQ or LBDQ-Form XII which clearly assess not only task-based leadership but also relationship-based leadership styles.

Participative leadership, also known as a normative model of leader decision-making (Vroom & Jago, 1995; Vroom & Yetton, 1973), was developed to understand a leader's choice of autocratic (directive) versus participative (delegative and consultative) styles and behaviors. Based on 11 decision heuristics (improve decision quality, improve decision commitment, reduce decision costs and time, and increase subordinate development), the model guides a leader to a choice among five decision styles (AI, AII, CI, CII, and GII). The appropriate decision style, however, differs from situation-to-situation to result in effective leadership that can be autocratic, consultative, or collaborative (either joint or delegative). Empirically, the measurement instrument for participative leadership theory and the model are proprietary, so we are not able to show examples, but it contains 30 decision-making cases. Respondents are asked to pretend they are the leader/manager and then describe the style, ranging from highly autocratic to highly participative, that they would use in each case situation. The instrument has a clear focus on making and learning how to make better work-related decisions, and suggests that a task-based leadership style serves as the foundation.

### *Leader-member Exchange*

Leader–member Exchange (LMX) leadership focuses on liking the boss in general and in particular on whether followers like their relationship-based leadership with the boss. As noted by [Graen and Uhl-Bien \(1995\)](#), LMX is a relationship-based leadership view derived from the vertical dyad linkage (VDL) leadership approach (discussed below; see [Dansereau, 1995](#); [Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975](#)), and has a large and growing research literature (see [Dionne et al., 2014](#); [Dulebohn, Bommer, Liden, Brouer, & Ferris, 2012](#); [Gooty, Serban, Thomas, Gavin, & Yammarino, 2012](#); [Gooty & Yammarino, 2016](#); [Lord et al., 2017](#); [Schriesheim, Castro, & Cogliser, 1999](#); [Tse, Troth, Ashkanasy, & Collins, 2018](#)). Moreover, [Gooty et al. \(2010, 2012\)](#), [Gooty, Thomas, Yammarino, Kim, and Medaugh \(2019\)](#), [Martinko et al. \(2018\)](#), and [Tse et al. \(2018\)](#) noted the strong connection among affect, emotion, liking, and LMX.

[Graen and Uhl-Bien \(1995\)](#) stated that LMX research has developed through four stages, all of which are relationship-based leadership in nature. Stage one focuses on the leader developing differentiated relationships with followers; stage two focuses on the differentiated relationships within the group and the associated nomological network of constructs; stage three focuses on the development of each leader–follower relationship into a working partnership; and stage four focuses on larger clusters of these partnerships in and beyond the organization. LMX relationships, according to [Graen and Uhl-Bien \(1995\)](#), can range from low-quality (stranger), to medium-quality (acquaintance), and to high-quality (maturity) leader–follower relationships. Overall, LMX is based on exchange and negotiating followers’ work roles which results in an in-group, where some subordinates have large role flexibility as valued assistants and advisors, and an out-group, where other subordinates are limited to formalized role requirements and job descriptions.

In terms of measurement, LMX is typically assessed at the individual level by a follower via the LMX-7 survey measure, which [Graen and Uhl-Bien \(1995\)](#) noted includes the centroid item of, “How effective is your working relationship with your leader” (in their text) and “How would you characterize your working relationship with

your leader” (in their table). Clearly, this deals with a relationship-based leadership style and how followers feel about it. More recently, [Bernerth, Armenakis, Feild, Giles, and Walker \(2007\)](#) developed a more psychometrically sound individual-level survey measure of LMX, called Leader–member Social Exchange (LMSX), which focused on the quality of the social exchange in the leader–follower relationship. Again, although the focus is on somewhat different dimensions or aspects compared to LMX-7, the core of the LMSX measure (example item: “If I do something for my supervisor, s/he will eventually repay me”) is the relationship-based leadership style of the leader as reported by the follower.

### *Empowering Leadership*

Empowering leadership focuses on both relationship-based leadership (supportive and coaching aspects) and task-based leadership (delegative and participative aspects) through sharing power, allocating autonomy and responsibilities, and enhancing the meaningfulness of delegated work/tasks ([Ahearne, Mathieu, & Rapp, 2005](#); [Amundsen & Martinsen, 2014](#); [Arnold, Arad, Rhoades, & Drasgow, 2000](#); [Cheong, Spain, Yammarino, & Yun, 2016](#); [Cheong, Yammarino, Dionne, Spain, & Tsai, 2019](#); [Kim, Beehr, & Prewett, 2018](#); [Lee, Cheong, Kim, & Yun, 2017](#); [Lee, Willis, & Tian, 2018](#); [Sharma & Kirkman, 2015](#)), and whether followers like it or not. Aligned with positive organizational scholarship ([Cameron & Caza, 2004](#)) and the notion that Millennials or GenMe value individualism over collectivism and hold a greater sense of entitlement compared to previous generations ([Anderson, Baur, Griffith, & Buckley, 2017](#); [Lyons & Kuron, 2014](#)), both scholarly and practitioner interests in this leadership style, which releases and reconfigures legitimate authority/power, has increased. As such, the empowering leadership literature embodies the notion that followers attribute leader liking to the degree of relational-support (i.e., social-support, coaching) and task-support (i.e., delegative, participative) provided by their leaders.

Empowering leadership is typically measured at the individual/follower level, using items such as the following from [Amundsen and Martinsen \(2014\)](#) for autonomy support: “My leader gives me authority over issues within my department” and “My leader conveys that I shall take responsibility”; and for development support: “My leader lets me see how s/he organizes her/his work” and “My leader guides me in how I can do my work in the best way.” According to a recent meta-analytical review ([Lee et al., 2018](#)), increased followers’ psychological empowerment, trust in the leader, and LMX quality appear to explicate the positive associations among empowering leadership and in-role and extra-role behaviors of followers. Empowering leadership has also been operationalized at the group/team level via aggregation and/or referent-shift of the individual-level measures. In this case, enhanced team empowerment seems to be the main mechanism through which empowering leadership positively influences team performance ([Lee et al., 2018](#)). Nevertheless, to better clarify understanding of the multi-faceted and inherently paradoxical nature of empowering leadership, and both its relationship- and task-based leadership aspects, it is important to establish the appropriate level of analysis and examine the multi-level aspects of empowering leadership (see [Cheong et al., 2019](#)).

### *Paternalistic Leadership*

Paternalistic leadership, originally observed in Chinese family-owned organizations in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Indonesia ([Cheng, Chou, Wu, Huang, & Farh, 2004](#); [Farh & Cheng, 2000](#); [Redding, 1990](#); [Silin, 1976](#)) and more recently evidenced in both Eastern and Western countries (e.g., Japan, Korea, Turkey, and United States; [Cheng et al., 2014](#); [Lin, Cheng, & Chou, 2019](#); [Wang et al., 2018](#)), focuses on both relationship-based leadership (benevolence aspect) and task-based leadership (authoritarianism aspect), and whether followers like it or not. Paternalistic leadership refers to two jointly used yet contradictory leader behaviors of high



benevolence (relationship-oriented) and authoritarianism (task-oriented) (Chan, Huang, Snape, & Lam, 2013; Pellegrini & Scandura, 2008; Wang et al., 2018). Benevolence refers to leaders' individualized and holistic concern for followers' personal and familial well-being across work and non-work domains (Farh & Cheng, 2000); and this cultivates a long-term relationship of mutual trust and respect (Chen, Eberly, Chiang, Farh, & Cheng, 2014). In contrast, authoritarianism refers to leaders who assert authority to establish strong discipline and control over work procedures and quality. This is somewhat different from the more traditional and general view of the authoritarianism personality (see Bass, 2008). In paternalistic leadership, the authoritarianism aspect focuses on the work/tasks, and subordinates/followers attribute leader authoritarianism to person-oriented intentions (Chan et al., 2013), and they are more likely to deliver high performance to fulfill challenging expectations (Wang et al., 2018).

Paternalistic leadership may have a strong link with liking the leader as it is an extension of mutual role obligations associated with the parent-child relationship (Aycan, 2006; Farh & Cheng, 2000; Cheng et al., 2014; Wang & Cheng, 2010). As such, paternalistic leaders are highly associated with parental images (Maccoby, 2004), and these images shape the ideals about leadership and entail the affectional bonds within the leader-follower relationship (Keller, 1999, 2003). Chen et al. (2014) highlighted affective trust as the foundation of the paternalistic leadership mechanism to influence follower outcomes.

In a meta-analytical review, Hiller, Sin, Ponnappalli, and Ozgen (2019) indicated that paternalistic leadership is typically conceptualized and operationalized at the individual level. The most widely used paternalistic leadership measure, Cheng et al.'s (2004) two-dimensional one, includes as a sample item for benevolence, "My supervisor devotes all his/her energy to taking care of me," and as a sample item for authoritarianisms, "My supervisor exercises strict discipline over subordinates." In addition, the vast majority of paternalistic leadership research, on both its relationship-based leadership and task-based leadership aspects, has been focused on

the influence of leader behaviors on individual-level outcomes (e.g., job performance, turnover intention), whereas little attention has been paid to outcomes at higher levels of analysis ([Hiller et al., 2019](#)).

### *Negative/Dark and Positive/Bright Leadership*

Negative/dark, including abusive and destructive, and positive/bright leadership approaches (see [Antonakis, Day, & Schyns, 2012](#); [Bass, 2008](#); [DeRue, Nahrgang, Wellman, & Humphrey, 2011](#); [Fleishman et al., 1991](#); [Judge, Piccolo, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002](#); [Judge, Piccolo, & Kosalka, 2009](#); [Martinko et al., 2018](#); [Martinko, Harvey, Brees, & Mackey, 2013](#); [Tepper, 2007](#); [Zaccaro, Green, Dubrow, & Kolze, 2018](#)) tend to focus on or tap into relationship-based leadership and whether followers like it or not. Even more basically, many of these leader trait and characteristic views focus on liking per se, that is, whether followers like their positive/bright boss or dislike their negative/dark boss. Also, many of these leader individual differences views are closely linked to the implicit and ideal leader types in which followers perceive and view leaders as those individuals who are positive/bright, and perceive and view non-leaders as those who are negative/dark.

In particular, included in these leadership views are those that refer to stable characteristics of individuals (e.g., personality and dark and bright traits/dispositions; [Bass, 2008](#); [Judge et al., 2002, 2009](#)) or other inherent characteristics that can define a leader (e.g., various individual differences; [Antonakis et al., 2012](#); [Bass, 2008](#); [Zaccaro et al., 2018](#)) as well as specific behaviors often thought to be associated with those traits and characteristics (see [Bass, 2008](#); [DeRue et al., 2011](#); [Fleishman et al., 1991](#)). For instance, positive and negative dispositions and attributes, personality, intelligence, destructive leadership and abusive supervision ([Martinko et al., 2003](#); [Tepper, 2007](#)), as well as the dark triad of narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy (e.g., [Antonakis et al., 2012](#); [Bass, 2008](#); [Judge et al., 2009](#); [Spain, Harms, & LeBreton, 2014](#)) are



included in this work; and whether there is a genetic basis to some of these elements has been explored (e.g., [Arvey, Rotundo, Johnson, Zhang, & McGue, 2006](#)).

There are a multitude of measures, too numerous to review here, used to assess these various negative/dark and bright/positive leader traits, characteristics, and associated behaviors and styles. In general, the vast majority of operationalizations have several common features: They are survey-based, self-report more often (e.g., for traits and characteristics) than other-reported (e.g., for styles), focus on the leader per se and his/her individual differences or style and thus are individual-level measures, and link directly or indirectly to liking the leader (disliking the non-leader) or liking (disliking) the leader’s positive (negative) relationship-based leadership style.

**LEADERSHIP APPROACHES BEYOND LIKING  
AND TASK AND RELATIONSHIP**

Beyond these leadership views that are the “no” answer to the article title question, we can also consider several leadership theories, models, and approaches that appear to provide the “yes” answer to the title question. These leadership views, based on two key characteristics that can help move the leadership field beyond “I like my boss,” are summarized in [Table 1](#).

**Table 1.** Leadership Concepts Not Based on “Liking.”

Dimensions	Individual Level	Other Levels (D, G/T, C/N, ML)
Behaviors (primarily)		Vertical Dyad Linkage; Individualized Leadership
Cognitions (primarily)		Shared Leadership; Team Dynamics Leadership
Behaviors and Cognitions	Leader Skills and Emergence; CIP Model	Leader–Follower Dyad Relationship; Collective Leadership; Extended Authentic Leadership; Extended CIP Leadership

Other Dimensions	Leader Status and Emergence	Network Leadership
---------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------

*Note:* D, G/T, C/N, ML = Dyad, Group/Team, Collective/Network, and Multiple Levels. CIP = Charismatic, Ideological, and Pragmatic.

In particular, as shown in the table, these leadership theories, models, and approaches are comprised (a) dimensions that go beyond only affect or liking, (b) include explicit levels of analysis formulations, often beyond the leader, or are they multi-level in nature, or (c) both extended dimensions and levels explications. The dimensions include behaviors, cognitions, and other dimensions that are conceptualized and operate at the individual (leader) level or at higher levels of analysis (i.e., dyad, group/team, collective/network, and multiple levels). These extant leadership views, even those in early stages of development with limited empirical validity work to date, provide some promise for a way forward to generate advanced conceptual and rigorous operational leadership notions that are not simply “I like my boss” or liking of the relationship leadership and task leadership styles of the boss/leader.

The determination of which leadership theories, models, and approaches to include in these “yes” leadership views was based on comprehensive reviews of the leadership literature (i.e., [Banks et al., 2018](#); [Bass, 2008](#); [Dinh et al., 2014](#); [Dionne et al., 2014](#); [Lord et al., 2017](#); [Yammarino et al., 2005](#); [Yammarino et al., 2012](#); [Zhao & Li, 2019](#); [Zhu et al., 2019](#)) where these approaches have been mentioned regularly. If an approach focuses solely on the leader, an individual-level focus, then leader behaviors and cognitions (e.g., knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs)) and other dimensions (e.g., leader status) are necessary to move beyond liking. If an approach goes beyond individual perceptions of affect and liking and the leader level, then behaviors, cognitions, and other dimensions specified explicitly at other higher levels of analysis (e.g., larger units such as groups and teams) provide the non-liking basis. In this sense, these leadership views are not focused exclusively on liking, other affect, or solely on the leader or the individual level, and are

not simply derivatives of liking the leader's relationship leadership and task leadership styles.

Some important elements of these leadership views are detailed in [Table 2](#). In particular, the non-liking basis of the leadership theory, model, and approach along with the key dimensions (behaviors, cognitions, etc.) and primary level(s) of analysis involved are summarized in the table. The leadership views are organized by levels of analysis, with individual-level, primarily leader-focused views (leader skills, status, and emergence) first, followed by leader–follower dyad-level views (VDL which is based on dyads within groups, and individualized leadership and leader–follower dyad relationships which are based on independent dyads), group/team views (shared leadership and team dynamics leadership), collective/network views (collective leadership and network leadership), and lastly the multi-level views (multi-level extensions and reconfigurations of authentic leadership, and charismatic-ideological-pragmatic leadership, including both the original individual/leader-level model and multi-level extensions). We provide an overview of these leadership theories, models, and approaches that offer a way forward beyond liking, liking of relationship leadership and task leadership, and individual differences in perceptions of leadership.

### *Leader Skills, Status, and Emergence*

Different from, but at times related to, leader traits, dispositions, and characteristics are a variety of leader KSAs that can impact an individual's emergence as a leader and a leader's success and effectiveness (see [Acton, Foti, Lord, & Gladfelter, 2019](#); [Antonakis et al., 2012](#); [Bass, 2008](#); [Fleishman et al., 1991](#); [MacLaren et al., 2020](#); [Mumford & Higgs, 2020](#); [Zaccaro et al., 2018](#)). These KSAs, which go beyond simply affect or liking the leader, may at times be more important than explicit leader behaviors, are different from merely relationship-based leadership and task-based leadership, and help establish leaders and their task-relevant knowledge for execution of

job duties. As such, these KSAs are individual differences that operate at the leader level, even when leaders are embedded within groups/teams and collectives.

***Table 2.*** Leadership Concepts and Approaches Beyond “Liking.”

Leadership Concept/Approach	Non-Liking Basis	Key Dimensions	Key Levels of Analysis
Leader Skills, Status, and Emergence	KSAs, Status, and Emergence	KSAs (Cognitive, Information Processing, Thinking), Status (Titles, Expertise), Speaking Time	Individuals (Leaders) within Groups and Collectives
Vertical Dyad Linkage	Negotiating Latitude	Superior Exchange and Member Exchange	Leader–Follower Dyads within Groups
Individualized Leadership	Investments and Returns	Support for Self-Worth and Satisfying Performance	Independent Leader–Follower Dyads
Leader–Follower Dyad Relationship	Leader–Follower Relationship Dynamics	Communication, Information Exchange, Mentoring	Independent Leader–Follower Dyads
Shared Leadership	Team Empowerment	Information Sharing, Mutual/ Shared Responsibility and Decision Making, Task Interdependence	Groups and Teams
Team Dynamics Leadership	Team and Leadership Dynamics	Integration of Elements of Pragmatic, Individualized, and Shared-Collective Leadership	Teams and Groups
Collective Leadership	Distributed and Shared Expertise and Communication	Expertise-based Cognitive, Complex Social Problem Solving; Leader Skills and Network, Team Network and Processes, Communication, Information Exchange	Collectives and Networks
Network Leadership	Multiple Social System Elements	Network Acuity, Ego Network, Organizational Network, Inter-Organizational Network	Networks and Collectives
Authentic Leadership at Multiple Levels	Leaders beyond Authenticity, and Authentic Dyads, Teams, and Collectives	Pragmatic, Individualized, Shared, and Strategic Leadership	Individuals, Dyads, Teams, and Collectives
CIP Model & Multi-Level CIP Leadership	CIP Leaders Cognitive- and Behavior-based Styles linked with CIP Teams and CIP Collectives	CIP Leaders of Shared Leadership Teams and Collective Leadership Collectives; Teams and Collectives with CIP Characteristics	Leaders and Multi-Level Linkages among Leaders, Teams, and Collectives

*Note:* CIP = Charismatic, Ideological, and Pragmatic.

Included in these leader KSAs are, for example, general and specific cognitive abilities, and thinking and information processing skills which are very different from affect/emotion and liking, actually non-affect and non-emotion based (see [Mumford & Higgs, 2020](#)), although may be connected to these via the neurological system. Related leader skills in this set also include, for instance, general and specific knowledge, intelligence and wisdom, problem solving ability, and planning skills. But leader abilities can also include elements such as self-efficacy, self-esteem, confidence, and self-monitoring. When/If these leader KSAs are directly or indirectly recognized by others (see [Marta, Leritz, & Mumford, 2005](#)), they can foster leader emergence and can then trigger subsequent responsive behavior in others (e.g., followers and peers), including liking the boss. As such, they can drive or impact liking the boss but they are not derived from liking the boss.

In a somewhat different vein, leader status features also can impact an individual's emergence as a leader and a leader's success and effectiveness (see [Acton et al., 2019](#); [Antonakis et al., 2012](#); [Bass, 2008](#); MacLaren et al., 2020). These status features go beyond liking the leader, relationship-based leadership, and task-based leadership, but they can impact these and also help establish and acknowledge individuals as leaders. Clearly, these leader status features are also individual differences that operate at the leader level, even within groups/teams and collectives.

Included in leader status features are, for example, titles leaders hold, either formal or informal ones which signal status, and leader recognized expertise which engenders status. But also included in leader status features are more surface or obvious elements such as gender (e.g., males may be inappropriately seen as leaders more so than females), age (e.g., older individuals may be inappropriately seen as wiser and more knowledgeable and as leaders than younger individuals), race (e.g., majority members may be inappropriately seen as leaders more so than minority members), and physical features (e.g., athletic looking individuals may be inappropriately seen as leaders more so than non-athletic looking individuals).

Again, these leader status features can drive and impact liking but are not derived from liking the boss.

Both leader KSAs and leader status features can be recognized, inferred, or are known by others (e.g., subordinates/followers and peers/coworkers) and thus can foster leader emergence (for informal leaders) and/or leader acknowledgement and endorsement (for formal leaders). Considering both leader skills and leader status explanations of leader emergence in groups/teams, MacLaren et al. (2020) noted the proximal cause may be, or be closely associated with, participation amount as reflected in speaking time, which has a long research record in leadership work (see [Bass, 2008](#)). Empirically, they found total speaking time retained its direct effect on leader emergence when accounting for intelligence, personality, gender, and the endogeneity of speaking time. As such, total speaking time, an indicator of participation amount and perhaps a signal of task-relevant capability, was associated with rankings of leader emergence. Moreover, MacLaren et al. (2020) determined that gender had a substantial effect on perceptions of leader emergence, with males having a perceptual advantage over females for being seen as a leader. It is noteworthy that individuals who speak a lot relative to others are sometimes liked, and sometimes not liked, and yet they emerge as, and are identified as, leaders.

In general, leader emergence addresses how and when leaders emerge as well as the role of individual (leader) differences variables (i.e., leader KSAs and leader status features) and other higher level of analysis factors in leadership emergence ([Guastello, 2007](#); [Smith & Foti, 1998](#)). These higher-level (beyond individual) factors and approaches to leader emergence are not based on liking per se. For example, [Serban et al. \(2015\)](#), using agent-based modeling and simulations as well as experiments and quasi-experiments, showed that cognitive ability, self-efficacy, and higher-level network-related factors can impact leader emergence in both face-to-face and virtual teams. Other research has established the relationship between leadership emergence in team networks and individual characteristics such as team member network centrality (e.g., [Neubert & Taggar, 2004](#)). Relatedly, [Acton et al. \(2019\)](#) used a



complexity perspective on emergence to conceptualize leadership emergence and offer a process-oriented framework to understand this phenomenon. They view leadership emergence as a result of a collective patterning of leader and follower interactions over time based on cognitive and perceptual processes of group members. Clearly, the [Acton et al. \(2019\)](#) approach is non-liking based and relies on leader KSAs and leader status features as well leader-other (followers) repeated interactions in groups and collectives.

### *Vertical Dyad Linkage*

At the time of development, whereas other leadership views assumed that leaders treated all followers/subordinates in a group/team similarly, the VDL leadership approach asserted that leaders treat subordinates within the same work unit differently ([Dansereau, 1995](#); [Dansereau et al., 1975](#); [Dansereau & Yammarino, 1998c](#)). Leaders build differentiated dyadic relationships with each follower/subordinate in the group/team based on the key notion of negotiating latitude. Depending on the degree of the negotiating latitude, each supervisor/leader–subordinate/follower dyadic relationship can range from supervision, with low negotiating latitude, to leadership, with high negotiating latitude ([Dansereau et al., 1975](#)). In other words, some subordinates earn higher job latitude, deviating from the job description, given their greater skills and higher performance and comprise the in-group; other subordinates have lower job latitude, staying closer to the job description, given their lesser skills and lower performance and comprise the out-group. As VDL addressed the creation of in-groups and out-groups within an existing group/team, the level of analysis for VDL is dyads within groups (see [Dansereau & Yammarino, 1998c](#); [Yammarino et al., 2005](#)).

Beyond negotiating latitude, VDL also focused on the elements of superior/leader exchange and subordinate/member exchange. The former included superior/leader attention, support, sensitivity, and dyadic problems; the latter included subordinate/member role



behavior, discrepancy, and congruence (see [Dansereau et al., 1975](#); [Dansereau, 1995](#)). Highlighting the key measure, two items were used to assess each subordinate's/member's perception of negotiating latitude: First, "How flexible do you believe your supervisor is about evolving changes in your job activity structure?" with response alternatives (four-point format) of "He [She] sees no need for change," "He [She] sees little need for change," "He [She] is lukewarm about change," and "He [She] is enthusiastic about change." Second, "Regardless of how much formal authority your supervisor has built into his [her] position, what are the chances that he [she] would be personally inclined to use his [her] power to help you solve problems in your work?" with response alternatives (four-point format) of "No chance," "He [She] might or might not," "He [She] probably would," and "He [She] certainly would." Empirical support for the VDL approach showed mixed results. Initial empirical work was supportive of the ideas, but often did not replicate in further studies; and now the leadership field has moved on to its legacy models of LMX, a liking-the-boss view, and individualized leadership, another non-liking based view. Regardless, the VDL approach may offer a way forward by a return to the past as it clearly is not based on liking the boss, involves multiple exchange-based dimensions, and operates not at the individual (leader or follower only) level, but rather is based on dyads (leader and follower) within groups in which each leader–follower relationship can be unique but all relationships within a group are essentially managed by the supervisor/leader via negotiating latitude.

### *Individualized Leadership*

Individualized leadership (see [Dansereau et al., 1995](#); [Mumford, Dansereau, & Yammarino, 2000](#); [Wallis, Yammarino, & Feyerherm, 2011](#); [Yammarino & Dansereau, 2002](#)) focuses on the reciprocity, via leader and follower investments and returns, that helps two individuals become or emerge as a dyad. Investments are what one party gives to another party; returns are what one party receives

from another party. Each relationship involves the leader's investments in and returns from a follower, and the follower's investments in and returns from the leader. The key investments and returns are a leader providing support for a follower's feelings of self-worth, and a follower providing satisfying performance to a leader. The iterative process of exchanging these investments and returns between a leader and a specific follower allows the relationship between the dyadic partners to become unique, not managed solely by the leader, independent from other dyads and the group/team, and fosters interdependence within the dyad (Yammarino & Dansereau, 2002). As each leader-follower dyad can be in agreement in terms of the degree of giving and receiving of these exchanged commodities, the leadership process is individualized. Leadership then is viewed as a leader's ability to secure satisfying performance from a follower by providing support for a follower's feelings of self-worth. Research suggests that the individualized leadership investments-returns cycle begins with the leader's investment in a follower and as that is perceived as a return by that follower (see Dansereau et al., 1995; Yammarino & Dansereau, 2002).

Support for self-worth and satisfying performance are both assessed via matched survey measures in which a subordinate/follower completes all items by responding about his/her superior/leader, and the superior/leader also completes all parallel form items by responding separately about each of his/her subordinates/followers. This measurement approach then allows matching on all items/scales to assess effects beyond the individual level at the purely dyad level of analysis and independent of the group/team level. Support for self-worth is measured with three items for subordinates: "Assurance by my supervisor that he/she has confidence in my integrity, motivation, and ability," "Attention by my supervisor to my feelings and needs," and "Support by my supervisor for my actions and ideas." The response format is about the amount the subordinate is getting that ranges (five-point scale) from "almost none" to "a great deal." The parallel-form three items for supervisors (e.g., "Assurance that you [the supervisor] have confidence in

his/her [the subordinate] integrity, motivation, and ability”) uses a response format about the amount the subordinate thinks the supervisor provides, as reported by the supervisor, on the same five-point scale. Satisfying performance has been measured with different matched items, and a different number of matched items (often six), in various studies but always included, “How satisfied are you with this subordinate’s overall job performance?” (on the superior’s form) and “How satisfied do you think your supervisor is with your overall job performance?” (on the subordinate’s form), using a five-point response format from “very dissatisfied” to “very satisfied.” Other items typically dealt with the subordinate’s amount of work, quality of performance, way of working in alignment with the supervisor’s preferences, promotability, and merit raise possibility.

Individualized leadership has received considerable empirical support in all work, initial and subsequent, in both multiple quantitative (e.g., [Dansereau et al., 1995](#)) and qualitative (e.g., [Wallis et al., 2011](#)) studies such that support for self-worth and satisfying performance showed similarity within the dyads and differences across the dyads. The leadership field seems to view individualized leadership as one aspect of the larger leader–follower dyad relationship and clearly as not based on liking the boss. Individualized leadership, however, seems to be an under-utilized approach that goes beyond liking the boss by using exchange-based investments in and returns to both subordinates/followers and supervisors/leaders and operating at purely leader–follower dyad level independent of the group/team.

### *Leader–Follower Dyad Relationships*

The leader–follower dyad relationships approach views leadership through a relationship science perspective ([Berscheid, 1999](#); [Reis & Collins, 2004](#)) and concentrates on the interpersonal relationships between a leader and a follower at the dyad level ([Dionne et al., 2014](#); [Gooty et al., 2019](#); Kim et al., 2020). Leadership is viewed as

an ongoing interaction process that involves mutual influence in leader–follower dyads. Similar to individualized leadership approach, this approach also focuses on each unique one-to-one leader–follower relationship and considers both leader and follower perspectives. However, the leader–follower dyad relationships approach goes beyond individualized leadership in terms of key variables that represent leader–follower relationship dynamics at the dyad level. Given that relationships inherently involve interactions and exchange ([Berscheid, 1999](#); [Ferris et al., 2009](#); Kim et al., 2020; [Krasikova & LeBreton, 2012](#)), key variables can include those that characterize the exchange process directly, what is being exchanged in the interaction, and/or the outcomes that develop within the dyad as a result of the interactions.

Leader–follower dyad relationships go beyond liking the boss (see Kim et al., 2020), such that as relationships are dyadic by nature ([Berscheid, 1999](#)), the focus requires one to take a dyadic perspective that goes beyond one individual’s view (i.e., follower) about a relationship partner (i.e., leader). Moreover, given that relationships develop through exchange and interactions, behaviors occurring within dyads such as communication ([Meinecke, Lehmann-Willenbrock, & Kauffeld, 2017](#)) and social exchange ([Bernerth et al., 2007](#)) are key aspects of leader–follower dyad relationships. Moreover, shared cognition/agreement about the job, dyadic partner, relationship, or other work-related matters that emerge between dyadic partners could also contribute to a better understanding of leader–follower dyad relationships (e.g., [Markham, Markham, & Smith, 2015](#); [Yammarino & Dubinsky, 1992](#)).

Relationship dynamics in leader–follower dyads could be studied by investigating the interaction patterns qualitatively (e.g., [Meinecke et al., 2017](#)) or by assessing characteristics of the relationship quantitatively by combining both dyadic partners’ perspectives. For instance, [Bernerth et al. \(2007\)](#)’s LMSX scale that directly asks about the exchange relationship in a leader–follower context can be employed to understand the nature of the relationship (e.g., “My manager/subordinate and I have a two-way exchange relationship”) and the exchange behavior within a dyad (e.g., “My efforts are

reciprocated by my manager/subordinate”) using parallel form items for a leader and a follower to complete. Importantly, examining the relationship characteristics is not about understanding how each individual feels (e.g., liking) about the dyadic relationship partner in terms of the task or the relationship, but about examining how both leader and follower (inter)act and how emergent dyadic properties in the relationship are perceived by both partners.

### *Shared Leadership*

Shared leadership (e.g., [Carson, Tesluk, & Marrone, 2007](#); [Gronn, 2002](#); [Pearce, 2004](#); [Pearce & Conger, 2003](#); [Pearce, Manz, & Sims, 2008](#); [Pearce & Sims, 2002](#); [Yammarino et al., 2012](#)) is not about liking the boss, as the formal (vertical) leader is often irrelevant in this approach even though he/she may have ultimate responsibility for and authority over the group/team. Shared leadership operates at the group/team level where leadership is shared among group/team members and focuses on team empowerment and elements such as information sharing, mutual/shared responsibility, authority and decision making, and shared or distributed task interdependence among the members of the group/team. In this approach, the hierarchical, vertical, or formally assigned leader is generally viewed as not applicable or critical to the operation of the team; and the team is viewed rather broadly, both formally and informally. Leadership then is not decisions and actions made by a single leader overseeing the team, but rather is a set of role functions that can be accomplished by different individuals in equal, unequal, unilateral, or rotational distribution ways.

Team empowerment is crucial for successful shared leadership. Power shifts, away from the chain of command and the formal leader to the team members, are important for the team members to complete tasks. As such, team composition is essential because shared leadership requires team members’ (often diverse) expertise, KSAs in various roles within the team. If these team members and/or their talents are not readily available at critical times, shared

leadership will fail. Similarly, the accurate sharing of information in a timely way within the team is important for shared leadership success. The formal and informal communication systems often determine whether the team's tasks will be completed as specified and on time. If the team tasks are boring and not important as compared to interesting and challenging, which impacts task completion, if the team is operating in a static and routine as compared to dynamic and complex environment, which effects shifting power and responsibilities among team members, and if the team climate and organizational culture are supportive or not, will impact how widely and how well information is shared and used within the team. To increase the chances of shared leadership success, teams can use extra effort to communicate cultural values within a team (and within an organization), and design tasks (i.e., job crafting) in ways to account for shifting of responsibilities and situational constraints.

Although qualitative approaches can be used to assess shared leadership, most research has used survey measures administered to multiple or all team/group members, typically with a referent shift to the group/team level (i.e., asking about leadership in and of team rather than by a single leader) or at the individual level, and then in both cases using aggregation of individual team member responses. This is often done for assessing both shared and vertical leadership to compare them and their effectiveness (see [Pearce, 2004](#); [Pearce & Conger, 2003](#); [Pearce et al., 2008](#); [Pearce & Sims, 2002](#)). Employing this measurement approach, there is some empirical support for shared leadership. Various outcomes of shared leadership have been examined, including performance and effectiveness, and some antecedents, such as internal team environment and shared purpose, have been assessed as well. In general, several antecedents were found to be predictors of shared leadership emergence within teams, and shared leadership was shown to often have a more positive impact on key outcomes than vertical leadership (e.g., [Carson et al., 2007](#); [Pearce & Sims, 2002](#); [Yammarino et al., 2012](#)). The conceptualization, measurement strategy, and analyses regarding shared leadership clearly indicate



that it is not about liking the boss and that it operates at the group/team level where leadership is shared among group/team members.

### *Team Dynamics Leadership*

Team leadership views are often about leadership in and of teams or focus on team processes (see [Burke et al., 2006](#); [Day, Gronn, & Salas, 2004](#); [Yammarino et al., 2012](#)) rather than leadership per se. There are some team dynamics approaches, however, that focus more so on leadership (e.g., [Yammarino et al., 2015](#); [Yammarino, Mumford, Connelly, & Dionne, 2010](#)). Team leadership and team dynamics are not about liking the boss, as the leader's role is at times irrelevant or at least greatly reduced in these approaches which focus on leadership distributed and shared, and displayed and employed, in and by the team.

The general team leadership approach (see [Burke et al., 2006](#); [Day et al., 2004](#)) is based on the key assumption that teams as leaders, whether completed by one or multiple members, can accomplish things that a leader alone cannot. Team leadership involves identifying necessary functions to ensure team effectiveness such as a shared or complementary mental model among team members, social influencing of team members, processes of multiteam systems (i.e., collectives that are a level of analysis above the team and below the organization, but also can span the boundaries of multiple organizations), and team processes over time (e.g., [Marks, Mathieu, & Zaccaro, 2001](#); [Mathieu, Marks, & Zaccaro, 2002](#)). In this approach, leadership is viewed as both an outcome of and an input to team processes. On the input side, a focal/formal leader's KSAs impact team processes (e.g., teamwork and team learning), which in turn impact how leadership on the output side is shared and distributed within the team. There is a good deal of empirical research linking team leadership and multi-team systems approaches to a variety of team and organizational outcomes, and that indicates these views are not based on liking the boss (see

Burke et al., 2006; Day et al., 2004; Marks et al., 2001; Mathieu et al., 2002; Yammarino et al., 2012).

In a more leadership-based view, originally, the focus of the team dynamics approach (e.g., Yammarino et al., 2010, 2015) was on the integration of three leadership views that are not based on liking the boss: pragmatic leadership (cognitive problem solving of complex social problems) at the individual/leader level, individualized leadership (investments in and returns from a leader and a follower in a relationship) at the dyad level, and shared leadership (shared mental models and decision-making, cohesion, and a supportive climate) at the group/team level. Subsequently, a fourth leadership view that also goes beyond liking the boss, collective leadership (expertise networks and communication and information flows within larger formal and informal collectives) at the collective level, was included. The team dynamics approach, conceptualized for extreme and dangerous contexts (e.g., military combat, special forces operations, first responder situations, crisis management teams, scientific exploration teams in extreme environments, and the Mars mission), offers numerous multi-level precursors, consequences, and moderators of these four leadership approaches and their integration to generate an overall model of team dynamics. In brief, team assembly and formation elements at the individual level (e.g., personality, skills, and creativity) result in both team dynamics at the team level (e.g., shared mental models, cohesion, and sociometric elements) and integrated leadership dynamics (pragmatic, individualized, shared, and collective) at four levels (individual, dyad, team, and collective, respectively), which in turn result in team performance and maintenance elements (e.g., stress and performance) at individual, team, organizational, and multiple levels. The team dynamics model has implications for human resources training and development, selection, work structure and practices, feedback systems, and job aides in dangerous contexts (see Yammarino et al., 2010, 2015), and clearly goes beyond merely liking the boss, but unfortunately has not been empirically validated to date.



## *Collective Leadership*

Collective leadership (e.g., Contractor, DeChurch, Carson, Carter, & Keegan, 2012; Friedrich, Vessey, Schuelke, Ruark, & Mumford, 2009; Friedrich et al., 2014; Yammarino et al., 2010a, 2010b, 2012, 2014), along with associated work on collective intelligence and collective decision making (e.g., Dionne et al., 2018; McHugh et al., 2016), is not about liking the boss, as the focus is on the provision of leadership, intelligence, and decision-making by a larger collective in which the leader may serve as merely a member even though he/she may have formal over-sight and sign-off responsibility. Distributed and shared expertise and communication within the collective are the key foundations of collective leadership which relies on expertise-based cognitions, leader and team skills and network processes, and information exchange to solve complex social problems. In collective leadership, the collectives of focus may be more formal and specified by the organization (e.g., department, functional area), more informal and based on various networks of individuals and teams involved, or can include both formal and informal collectives operating simultaneously.

In collective leadership, a dynamic leadership process, formal and informal leaders direct timely and selective utilization of skills and expertise from multiple sources and adaptive responses to dynamic conditions to generate effective solutions to unique, rapidly emerging or changing problems. Rather than relying solely on the skills of an individual leader, collective leadership through a focus on other units, teams and networks within the collective, uses their expertise and information to make collective decisions, take collective actions, and accomplish goals and complete missions. This effectively distributes elements of the leadership role throughout an entire collective as required by the situation or problem faced (e.g., Friedrich et al., 2009, 2014; Yammarino et al., 2010a, 2010b, 2014). Related elements include sharing responsibilities and behavioral integration, information exchange, collaboration, and joint decision making based on collective intelligence and collective cognitions (e.g., Dionne et al., 2018; McHugh et al., 2016). As such,

communication is the currency of collective leadership because the regular exchange of accurate and timely information within the collective is critical for successful collective action and decision making.

In the collective leadership model, there are four sets of constructs (for details, see [Friedrich et al., 2009, 2014](#); [Yammarino et al., 2010a, 2010b, 2014](#)). The first set is the core constructs of leader skills, leader network, leader–team/collective exchange, communication, problem setting, team/collective performance parameters, team/collective affective climate, and team/collective network. The second set is the base-line processes of leader structuring and maintenance of team/collective, mission, and team/collective processes. The third set is the immediate and long-term outcomes, and collective performance capabilities. The fourth set is the organizational context and setting, including the expertise and professionalism of collective members, collective workflow, and organizational structure within which the collective is embedded.

Although measures for these sets of constructs in collective leadership and for elements in the larger nomological network have been developed ([Yammarino et al., 2010a, 2010b](#)), empirical research to validate collective leadership model is somewhat limited. To avoid the bias and other problems with survey measures, collective leadership operationalizations use a variety of historiometric and content coding techniques based on validated markers and behavior-based rating scales completed by multiple coders and assessed for agreement and consensus. Preliminary results were supportive of the collective leadership model (e.g., [Yammarino et al., 2010a, 2010b](#)), as were more comprehensive tests (e.g., [Friedrich et al., 2014](#); [Yammarino et al., 2014](#)). Further validation of the collective leadership model, an approach that clearly goes beyond liking the boss, is needed.

## *Network Leadership*

Network leadership (see [Balkundi & Kilduff, 2006](#); [Carter, DeChurch, Braun, & Contractor, 2015](#); [Contractor et al., 2012](#); [Yammarino et al., 2012](#)), based on network theory and analysis (e.g., [Balkundi & Harrison, 2006](#); [Balkundi & Kilduff, 2006](#); [Brass, Galaskiewicz, Greve, & Tsai, 2004](#)), is not about liking the boss, as the focus is on the entire network, which generally includes the leader, and leadership functions of that network via the various nodes/individuals and their connections to one another including the leader. Network leadership, at the network level of analysis, relies on multiple social system elements such as the network acuity, ego network, organizational network, and inter-organizational network (e.g., [Balkundi & Harrison, 2006](#); [Balkundi & Kilduff, 2006](#); [Carter et al., 2015](#)).

Network leadership assumes that leadership emerges from a relatively stable network of social exchanges that operate within a social system, and offers propositions about a leader's ability to perceive and interpret characteristics of a social network and relevant outcomes. As such, network leadership can be viewed as a static leader-centric approach, but with potentially dynamic and non-leader elements as well, in which antecedents are viewed relative to the leader's perceptions of the network and position in the network, and outcomes are a result of the leader operating within the social network. Network leadership starts with a micro perspective on the leader which focuses on the leader's network acuity (social cognition), and then moves beyond to consider the leader's ego network (personal network), the leader's organizational network (position within the organizational network), and the leader's inter-organizational network (position within networks external to the organization). Leader effectiveness is impacted by these four networks and can be specified in terms of organizational level (e.g., survival, growth, and innovation) and intra-organizational level (e.g., coalition building, mentoring distributed leadership, developing the social networks, and brokering) outcomes. Density of the network, range of individuals within the network, and degree of cohesion within the network, characteristics of the leader's ego network, along with the leader's centrality position within the organizational network, can impact outcomes. The leader can alter the

interorganizational network, connecting to others, by engaging in boundary-spanning and alliances, and representing the organization to other organizations.

Empirical support for network leadership indicates that, at the individual level, the positions of leaders within communication, friendship, and workflow networks are relevant (Brass et al., 2004). At the team level, network structure is related to team effectiveness and performance (Mehra, Smith, Dixon, & Robertson, 2006), and the association between leadership emergence in team networks and individual characteristics (e.g., team member network centrality) also seems clear (e.g., Neubert & Taggar, 2004). How team effectiveness relates to members' and leaders' social network structures (e.g., Brass et al., 2004), how the network structure of leadership perceptions is linked to performance, and how distributed leadership, depending on structural characteristics, can impact team performance also has been examined at the team level (e.g., Mehra et al., 2006).

It is noteworthy that likability may contribute to network centrality for both formal leaders and informal leaders. In particular, one aspect of network leadership, the friendship network, seems to be clearly about liking; not only liking the boss, who can be a node in the network, but also liking or not liking everyone, who are the other nodes in the network of focus. If, for example, researchers wanted to assess the friendship relationships involving  $N$  individuals in a work setting, they would ask each individual to identify their friends and who they believe are the friends of the other individuals. These individual cognitive maps are then checked, cleaned, and modified based on all the data from all individuals to create an  $N \times N$  matrix that becomes the basis for further network analyses. Another measurement strategy is simply to begin with the  $N \times N$  matrix of all individuals in a team, organization, etc. and ask each person to identify who their friends are (e.g., using "yes-no" or "one-zero" codes, or rating scales with, say, one to five codes from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree").

Using these same strategies to collect network data, however, other aspects of network leadership seem to be not about liking and

are focused on gathering information in and about the network, and building and examining network connections for increasingly larger units from an individual (leader and non-leader) to a team/group to the entire organization and beyond. As such, network leadership is not about liking a boss, but rather focuses on various networks in which a particular leader, or non-leader, may or may not have a prominent role or central location for elements of interest such as expertise and information.

### *Multi-level Authentic Leadership*

To address problems with authenticity and authentic leadership, [Yammarino et al. \(2008\)](#) offered a multi-level reconfiguration and extension of the original authentic leadership approach that is not based on liking the boss or liking oneself. They first demonstrated, with detailed content coding of the extant literature, that the traditional formulation of authentic leadership is simply authenticity at the leader level, which is an individual differences perception view and not a multi-level view as claimed by authentic leadership proponents. [Yammarino et al. \(2008\)](#) then provided a formulation that goes beyond individual differences and liking the boss that considers authenticity at various (higher) levels of analysis, also conceptualizing characteristics of authentic dyads, authentic groups/teams, and authentic organizations. In particular, they develop linkages among a more cognitive and behavioral view of authenticity and authentic leadership with a pragmatic leader style at the individual level, individualized leadership in leader–follower connections at the dyad level, shared leadership and mental models among members at the team level, and strategic leadership involving managerial philosophy and values at the organizational level. Although the work of [Yammarino et al. \(2008\)](#) is not liking based and shows some promise to go even further with a multi-level cognitive and behavioral view of authentic leadership, it is only conceptual in nature and has not been tested or validated in empirical work.

## *Leader Styles and Multi-level Charismatic-Ideological-Pragmatic Leadership*

Two additional leader styles, ideological and pragmatic, that were at times investigated separately and in other fields (e.g., political science) (see [Bass, 2008](#)), have been integrated along with a charismatic leader style in the Charismatic-Ideological-Pragmatic (CIP) model of leadership (see [Lovelace, Neely, Allen, & Hunter, 2019](#); [Mumford, 2006](#); [Mumford, Antes, Caughron, & Friedrich, 2008](#); [Yammarino, Mumford, Serban, & Shirreffs, 2013](#)). Although the traditional perspective on these styles viewed charismatic and ideological leader styles as relationship-based leadership and a pragmatic leader style as task-based leadership, the full CIP model extends these notions and goes beyond merely liking-the-boss derived dimensions by focusing on cognitive- and behavior-based elements in leader styles ([Mumford, 2006](#); [Yammarino & Mumford, 2012](#); [Yammarino, Sotak, & Serban, 2020](#)).

The CIP model of leadership asserts and has had substantial empirical support for the idea that all three leader styles offer potential alternative pathways to outstanding leadership and leader effectiveness. In particular, each pathway or leader style (charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic) to outstanding leadership employs different leader mental models and behaviors to provide sensemaking in different ways to followers. The three leader styles focus differentially on what leaders espouse based on their visions and display via associated behaviors and messages/communications, the political tactics leaders employ, and the form or type of connections leaders have with both immediate and distant followers and non-followers. Charismatic leaders make use of positive emotions and visions that focus on the future, and a better time ahead and often on how to get there. Ideological leaders make use of negative emotions and visions that focus on the past, and a return to a better time there. Pragmatic leaders make use of reasoning, logic, and more balanced emotions, and focus on practical solutions for complex social problems in the present time. All three types of leaders (charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic)



can be successful and effective but begin from different foundations and accomplish things in different ways (see [Mumford, 2006](#)). Charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic leaders also can be the targets of non-followers who do not view their styles and effectiveness as impacting them in beneficial ways (see [Yammarino et al., 2013](#)).

The CIP model deals with different outstanding leader styles that operate at the individual/leader level of analysis. Unlike many other approaches, however, measurement for the CIP model leader styles has not relied on surveys and followers as respondents; this further helps eliminate the liking-the-boss element in operationalization. Rather, to assess charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic leader styles, content coding of original source documents about the leader (e.g., biographies, encyclopedic entries) by multiple trained coders using psychometrically sound rating scales with behavior-based markers and anchors are used (for details, see [Mumford, 2006](#)). Despite no direct links to liking the boss and surveys, the CIP model and coded documents are at the leader (individual) level.

To provide logical higher-level extensions to the leader-focused CIP model, [Yammarino et al. \(2020\)](#) offered a multi-level reconfiguration and extension of the model. They integrate the CIP leader styles with shared leadership and collective leadership using a multi-level perspective. The three leader styles (charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic) at the individual level and two leadership approaches (shared and collective) at (higher) team and collective levels, respectively, that rely on different foundational constructs and involve different associations among variables, are integrated with a multi-level approach.

In particular, their multi-level linkages involve CIP leaders as well as CIP teams and CIP collectives in two key ways: First, charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic leaders are considered when interacting and engaging with teams using shared leadership and with collectives using collective leadership for which they are responsible and oversee. Second, teams and collectives are considered with CIP characteristics, suggesting the possibility of charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic teams as well as charismatic, ideological, and

pragmatic collectives. These multi-level extensions are plausible conceptually because of the more cognitive- and behavior-based elements in the CIP model (see [Mumford, 2006](#); [Yammarino & Mumford, 2012](#); [Yammarino et al., 2020](#)) and should be addressable empirically given the non-survey-based historiometric and content coding measurement approach used with the CIP model. As such, these extended views are not the CIP individual differences leader styles alone, but rather are cognitive- and behavior-based ideas about leaders with CIP styles interacting with a team using shared leadership and with a collective using collective leadership; and about teams with charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic characteristics using shared leadership and about collectives with charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic characteristics using collective leadership. Despite the non-liking basis and multi-level view of the work of [Yammarino et al. \(2020\)](#), it is only conceptual in nature and has not been tested or validated in empirical work.

## **ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Our discussion and review of both the “no” (see [Figs. 1 and 2](#)) and “yes” (see [Tables 1 and 2](#)) leadership theories, models, and approaches to answer the article title question, “Is leadership more than ‘I like my boss’?,” would not be complete without consideration of four additional issues: current state of the leadership field, limitations of our work, future research directions for the leadership field, and potential implications of our work for PHRM professional practice.

### *State of the Field*

The overall conclusion to be drawn from our work is that the current state of the leadership field is (a) vibrant and growing and yet (b) deficient and in need of improvements. In particular, the review and discussion above makes clear that there is a plethora of leadership theories, models, and approaches, with much support and



enthusiasm for many of these views, with no single dominant view, and with new leadership formulations being added to the literature literally on a daily basis. The number of articles published on leadership, covering both basic and applied research in a wide variety of outlets, is legion and has been increasing, and perhaps at an accelerating rate, over the years. This is the good and positive news – we “like” leadership!

There is also, however, a key deficiency in a large majority of the leadership views that we have tried to clarify; that is, the lack of recognition of “liking my boss” and “liking my boss’s relationship leadership and task leadership styles” that underlies these leadership theories, models, and approaches. The recognition of the dominance and prominent role of *liking* in many current leadership views can then spur the field to improve upon these approaches and discover new non-liking-based leadership views. This work has already started, as we noted above, in some developing leadership approaches. Moving beyond solely liking-based and similar general affect-based views, with an explicit focus on both additional dimensions (e.g., behaviors and cognitions along with specific emotions and their interplay) and multiple levels of analysis, will allow conceptually stronger and more empirically valid multi-level leadership approaches to emerge and thrive. As such, we are concerned about the current limitations within much of the leadership field but also hopeful about the improved directions that are possible for future leadership work.

### *Limitations*

As with the leadership field in general, our work is not without limitations. A first potential limitation is the lack of complete coverage of the vast leadership literature. We have not reviewed all the 1000s of leadership definitions and 100s of leadership views noted and reviewed in various handbooks, textbooks, and top-tier journals. Nevertheless, we have tried to incorporate the major and popular leadership views based on coverage in other prominent

reviews of the leadership field ([Banks et al., 2018](#); [Bass, 2008](#); [Dinh et al., 2014](#); [Dionne et al., 2014](#); [Lord et al., 2017](#); [Yammarino et al., 2005](#); [Yammarino et al., 2012](#); [Zhao & Li, 2019](#); [Zhu et al., 2019](#)). We may have missed other “no” and “yes” leadership views, overlooked other leadership views not easily classified into “no” and “yes” based on “I like my boss,” and from the proponents’ perspectives, we may have misclassified their leadership views. Our intent was not to offend any developers or proponents of any of leadership views, but rather to be generally comprehensive in our coverage of the leadership field and to clarify leadership as we see it.

A second limitation of our work is that it requires empirical verification through multiple studies using multiple methods and with extensive replications. The leadership concepts hierarchy we assert based on liking the boss and the “no” approaches (see [Figs. 1](#) and [2](#)) may be a useful organizing framework for leadership but may not hold up to empirical scrutiny. Likewise, the “yes” approaches we asserted (see [Tables 1](#) and [2](#)), after broader empirical work, may also be versions ultimately of liking the boss or something completely different. Moreover, the underlying theoretical bases and levels of analyses for liking, as well as the basic etiology of liking, require empirical verification.

A third potential limitation is the accuracy of the casual sequence regarding liking-based and non-liking-based leadership theories, models, and approaches. For the “I like my boss” based leadership views, we describe: Liking → Relationship Leadership and Task Leadership Styles → Tertiary Leadership Dimensions → Outcomes. For the non-liking-based leadership views, we describe: Behaviors, Cognitions, Other Dimensions and Levels → Outcomes. In both cases, we do not detail precursors, antecedents, or exogenous factors that can influence endogenous factors such as liking and behaviors, cognitions, and other dimensions. What comes before, or are the causes of, leadership in general and liking in particular? In other words, what is exogenous to these endogenous elements? Clearly, neuroscience/neuropsychology with a focus on the neurological system and explanations for the emotion–cognition

connection and links to subsequent (leader and follower) behaviors offer relevant explanations. We can push back even more in causal sequencing to evolutionary theory for a further understanding of these issues; and an even further push-back in the casual sequence presumably gets us to the Big Bang theory. Thus, the full causal sequence for the “no” approaches to the title question may be: Big Bang → Evolution → Neurological System → Other Exogenous Factors → Liking → Relationship Leadership and Task Leadership → Tertiary Leadership Aspects → Outcomes. For the “yes” approaches to the title question, the full causal sequence may be: Big Bang → Evolution → Neurological System → Other Exogenous Factors → Behaviors, Cognitions, Other Dimensions and Levels → Outcomes. Although some of this work might be outside the realm of leadership, scholars in the leadership field are certainly capable of pursuing emotions–cognitions–leadership connections and other likely exogenous factors at each level of analysis. For example, at the individual leader or follower level, relevant factors are IQ, personality and similar traits, and perhaps some KSAs and status features; at the leader–follower dyad level, important factors may be dyadic demographics (e.g., dyadic tenure) and perhaps similarity/attraction; at the group/team level, useful factors might be group/team demographics (e.g., group/team tenure and membership stability/change) and perhaps interdependence; and at collective/network level, relevant factors can be collective demographics (e.g., collective tenure and longevity) and perhaps standard operating procedures and policies.

### *Future Research Directions*

Future research could pursue addressing these limitations. To do so will require extensive large-scale data gathered in multiple ways and in multiple studies over time. Our ideas, and those of the leadership field in general, are well ahead of the data. We need comprehensive empirical tests of the ideas presented, especially the hierarchy and structure of factors of the “no” leadership views in [Figs. 1](#) and [2](#), as

well as the validity of the conceptual “yes” leadership approaches presented in [Tables 1 and 2](#).

In particular, regarding levels of analysis and multi-level issues, we need to better link building multi-level leadership theories to testing those theories with appropriate multi-level data collection and analysis approaches (see, e.g., Eckardt, Yammarino, Dionne, & Spain, in press; [Yammarino & Gooty, 2017](#)). There is a need for both cross-level and multi-level theory building and testing that focuses not only on level-dominant and level-specific phenomena but also on top-down and bottom-up phenomena involving two or more levels of analysis. Moreover, considering multiple levels of analysis and applying a levels of analysis framework to many of the “no” leadership theories, models, and approaches may allow them to be reformulated, extended, and rejuvenated to become “yes” leadership views (e.g., as with the CIP model and authentic leadership approach above).

For theory, we need more comprehensive leadership theory validation and modification based on extensive replications and reproductions. As part of this effort, addressing construct redundancy and construct proliferation in leadership work and pursuing theoretical parsimony and theory pruning seem necessary (see [Banks et al., 2018](#); [Le et al., 2010](#)). This suggests the importance of examining both the theoretical and empirical redundancy involved with all the “no” theories of leadership, which would allow us to better identify and acknowledge the unique aspects of each theory ( $t_1$  to  $t_n$  sub-sub-factors) after controlling for the  $g$  factor (liking) and/or the  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  sub-factors (relationship leadership and task leadership). The opportunities here include integrating the vast leadership literature both within and between the numerous disciplines involved, refining extant theories in more testable ways, and the reconceptualization of leadership per se. If, however, the  $g$  factor of liking and the  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  sub-factors of relationship leadership and task leadership are ignored and not acknowledged, then what we thought were different phenomena may actually be the same phenomenon, just with different names. If

this falsehood or error persists, we will be moving away from pursuing good science with less parsimony and more proliferation, with little new discovery and only minor contributions, and with a slower substantive development of the leadership field.

The key threat to this research strategy, of course, is that in our desire for parsimony and pruning, we may create omission errors by mistakenly removing unique leadership elements from the field. To avoid the latter, we might also include efforts directed toward a fuller consideration of the unique and independent sub-dimensions of leadership constructs, an atomistic approach, extraction rather than expansion of relevant constructs, exploration of more non-liking bases of leadership, and based on the leadership views described here, pinpointing further the under-developed areas of leadership theory. Moreover, from a temporal perspective, we need much better understanding of leadership views from discrete and stable perspectives as well as continuous and changeable perspectives which will likely require process-focused theory development. Interestingly, this suggestion applies to the study of liking the boss as well. In particular, the developmental processes involved with liking as compared to disliking the boss may be different, evolve over different length time periods, and be based on different events, situations, and interactions between leaders and followers.

In terms of research design, there is a need to pursue leadership research in new and different contexts such as those involving virtual or non-co-located teams (which are becoming more common), extreme and dangerous situations (e.g., military combat, first responder contexts, space missions), the coexistence of humans and machines (e.g., non-human leaders/followers based in artificial intelligence and robotics), and the sustainability of leadership in the digital and big data era. For instance, there are likely numerous leadership and technological implications regarding leader likability in human-artificial intelligence interactions and human-robot relationships with robots fulfilling the role of follower and perhaps even leader. Likewise, as an alternative to using questionnaires and surveys, different patterns of leader non-verbal and verbal behaviors could be examined using big data and machine learning to identify

key notions in numerous leadership approaches. Moreover, there is additional leadership work needed using experimental and quasi-experimental designs (e.g., manipulation of charismatic behaviors) to better assess causality, intervention, and development of leadership. Computational modeling (e.g., mathematical, agent-based, and other forms of simulation) for both leadership theory building and theory testing, and latent and discrete growth modeling (e.g., via random coefficient modeling and other approaches) to assess leadership processes over time, would also help to address these issues.

Regarding measurement and data analyses issues, the use of item response theory to assess discriminant validity within survey measures of a construct (i.e., item-level analyses) is greatly under-applied in leadership work, as is the development of implicit measures of leadership to determine within-person variability and process and change views over time. There is also a dearth of usage of objective indicators and measures in leadership work, many of which are available, especially at a more macro level (e.g., large-scale data bases), and are particularly helpful for pursuing external validity and assessing the convergence/discrimination with the more dominant subjective and survey measures. Moreover, endeavors to develop and validate non-affect-based measures for the “no” theories of leadership are needed; for example, the LMSX measure (Bernerth et al., 2007) is behavior-based, and relational schema measures are cognition-based (Tsai, Dionne, Wang, Spain, Yammarino, & Cheng, 2017). Lastly, given the key issue here regarding “I like my boss,” it seems necessary to at least control for liking the leader in empirical studies, not only at the individual follower level but also at higher leader–follower dyad and group/team levels, develop better measures of liking if it is so important, and then after more such improved studies are conducted, incorporate liking in various meta-analyses of leadership theories, models, and approaches.

### *Implications for PHRM*

Generating implications for PHRM professional practice is difficult because much current leadership work appears to be based on simply liking the boss, and many of the ideas presented here for both types of leadership views, “no” but especially “yes” views, are speculative. We have no or limited data on them, and we need quality and comprehensive data as well as replication work to be completed. Cognizant of this, if our ideas are supported empirically and replicated, we can speculate about some potential implications for PHRM practice.

If liking is the basis or foundation of much of leadership, then perhaps to be successful, leaders must be liked, learn to be liked, and probably need to like those with whom they work. If this is the case, and the neuroscience and etiology of liking may support this notion, then this two-way (mutual) liking may need to be fostered between focal leaders and their 360° or multisource interaction partners including subordinates/followers, peers/coworkers, customers/clients, and bosses/supervisors. This can be accomplished through various training and development programs and via recruitment and selection systems. Liking/Likability thus can be viewed as a type of KSA which can be assessed and selected for (e.g., during employment/promotion interviews) and educated and encouraged (e.g., via management development programs/workshops).

Beyond liking, leadership is secondarily based on relationship and task aspects, and can also involve the “yes” multi-level and explicit levels-of-analysis-based leadership views; all of which are critical for successful, high performance PHRM practices. Leadership, in general, promotes high performance human resources practices that include skill-enhancing (recruitment, selection, and training and development), motivation-enhancing (career development and performance management), and opportunity-enhancing (employee involvement, flexible job design, information/knowledge sharing, and work teams) practices to improve employee intrinsic motivation and engagement and job and personal resources (see [Karam, Gardner, Gullifor, Tribble, & Li, 2017](#)). Leadership-related KSAs are conceptualized and operate at different levels of analysis – for

example, at the individual/leader level, information processing, decision making, and task confidence; at the leader–follower dyad level, relational and communication skills; at the group/team level, competition and coordination; and at the collective/organizational level, networking and boundary spanning – and these various KSAs can be enhanced to improve PHRM practices via development of not only individual leaders, but also leader–follower dyads, groups/teams, and the entire organization.

Based on this perspective, skill-enhancing PHRM practices could include, for example, specification of a competence/competency-based mentor-protégé program for leader–follower dyadic development; a group/team work design with diversified inputs such as team selection and well defined competence/competency sets; group/team leader behavior that fosters a learning-oriented climate or learning-based organizational culture; and a 360° or multisource feedback system, based on self-other agreement, in groups/teams or collective/organization. Motivation-enhancing PHRM practices might include, for instance, the matching of followers with leaders (i.e., leader–follower fit) with consideration of goal orientation and the goal alignment structure between them and the organization; and development of a group/team or collective/organization based performance standards beyond typical performance criteria (e.g., performance using shared cognitions or mental models, assessment of team building success). Opportunity-enhancing PHRM practices could include, for example, enhancement of group/team and collective/organization communication channels and information sharing and exchange; and employing expertise-based collective leadership and other forms of knowledge-sharing leadership for the development of cross-functional teams, self-managed teams, or multi-team systems.

## **CONCLUSION**

Is leadership more than “I like my boss”? It depends! For many current leadership theories, models, and approaches there seems to



be a direct derivation from *liking* per se and the *liking* of relationship leadership and task leadership styles that impact actual leadership dimensions and measures. We explain the foundations of liking and likability and develop “I like my boss” as a general or *g* factor that runs through the specific or *s*<sub>1</sub> and *s*<sub>2</sub> sub-factors of liking the relationship leadership and task leadership styles of the boss that in turn run through the various actual or *t*<sub>1</sub> to *t*<sub>*n*</sub> sub-sub-factors that comprise numerous leadership theories, models, and approaches as well as most operationalizations. For other current leadership views, however, there appears to be different determinants that provide a non-liking basis for leadership. In particular, these leadership theories, models, and approaches are comprised of dimensions that go beyond only affect or liking (e.g., behaviors, cognitions), include explicit levels of analysis formulations, often beyond the leader to higher dyad, group/team, collective/network, and multiple levels, and can be multi-level in nature.

Given problems and challenges associated with the “I like my boss” (“no” answer to the title question) leadership views, and prospects and opportunities for the “beyond liking the boss” (“yes” answer to the title question) leadership views, it may be time for leadership scholars to concentrate on the latter ones and also develop completely new leadership approaches which could better grasp and explain the complex nature of leadership phenomena. Regardless, our hope is that the field now has a clearer understanding of these issues and leadership views and that we have provided some guidance to pursue related leadership research in the future that ultimately impacts PHRM practice in beneficial ways.

## REFERENCES

- Acton, B. P., Foti, R. J., Lord, R. G., & Gladfelder, J. A. (2019). Putting emergence back in leadership emergence: A dynamic, multilevel, process-oriented framework. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 145–164.
- Ahearne, M., Mathieu, J., & Rapp, A. (2005). To empower or not to empower your sales force? An empirical examination of the influence of leadership empowerment

- behavior on customer satisfaction and performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90, 945–955.
- Algoe, S. B. (2019). Positive interpersonal relationships. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 28, 183–188.
- Alvesson, M., & Einola, K. (2019). Warning for excessive positivity: Authentic leadership and other traps in leadership studies. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 383–395.
- Amundsen, S., & Martinsen, Ø. L. (2014). Empowering leadership: Construct clarification, conceptualization, and validation of a new scale. *Leadership Quarterly*, 25, 487–511.
- Anderson, H. J., Baur, J. E., Griffith, J. A., & Buckley, M. R. (2017). What works for you may not work for (Gen) me: Limitations of present leadership theories for the new generation. *Leadership Quarterly*, 28, 245–260.
- Antonakis, J., Bastardo, N., Jarquart, P., & Shamir, B. (2016). Charisma: An ill-defined and ill-measured gift. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology & Organizational Behavior*, 3, 293–319 (and Supplementary Materials).
- Antonakis, J., Day, D. V., & Schyns, B. (2012). Leadership and individual differences: At the cusp of a renaissance. *Leadership Quarterly*, 23, 643–650.
- Arnold, J. A., Arad, S., Rhoades, J. A., & Drasgow, F. (2000). The empowering leadership questionnaire: The construction and validation of a new scale for measuring leader behaviors. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 21, 249–269.
- Aron, A., & Aron, E. N. (1986). *Love and the expansion of self: Understanding attraction and satisfaction*. New York, NY: Hemisphere/Harper & Row.
- Aron, A., & Aron, E. N. (1996). Self and self-expansion in relationships. In G. J. O. Fletcher & J. Fitness (Eds.), *Knowledge structures in close relationships: A social psychological approach* (pp. 325–344). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Aron, A., & Aron, E. N. (2000). Self-expansion motivation and including other in the self. In W. Ickes & S. Duck (Eds.), *The social psychology of personal relationships* (pp. 109–129). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Aron, A., Aron, E. N., & Smollan, D. (1992). Inclusion of other in the self scale and the structure of interpersonal closeness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63, 596–612.
- Aron, A., Aron, E. N., Tudor, M., & Nelson, G. (1991). Close relationships as including other in the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60, 241–253.
- Arvey, R. D., Rotundo, M., Johnson, W., Zhang, Z., & McGue, M. (2006). The determinants of leadership role occupancy: Genetic and personality factors. *Leadership Quarterly*, 17, 1–20.
- Atwater, L. E., Ostroff, C., Yammarino, F. J., & Fleenor, J. W. (1998). Self-other agreement: Does it really matter? *Personnel Psychology*, 51, 577–598.
- Atwater, L. E., & Yammarino, F. J. (1992). Does self-other agreement on leadership perceptions moderate the validity of leadership and performance predictions? *Personnel Psychology*, 45, 141–164.
- Atwater, L. E., & Yammarino, F. J. (1997). Self-other rating agreement: A review and model. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 15, 121–174.
- Aycan, Z. (2006). Paternalism: Towards conceptual refinement and operationalization. In K. S. Yang, K. K. Hwang, & U. Kim (Eds.), *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 445–466). New York, NY: Springer.
- Ayman, R., Chemers, M. M., & Fiedler, F. (1995). The contingency model of leadership effectiveness: Its levels of analysis. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6, 147–167.

- Balkundi, P., & Harrison, D. A. (2006). Ties, leaders, and time in teams: Strong inference about network structure's effects on team viability and performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49, 49–68.
- Balkundi, P., & Kilduff, M. (2006). The ties that lead: A social network approach to leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 941–961.
- Banks, G. C., Gooty, J., Ross, R. L., Williams, C. E., & Harrington, N. T. (2018). Construct redundancy in leader behaviors: A review and agenda for the future. *Leadership Quarterly*, 29, 236–251.
- Banks, G. C., McCauley, K. D., Gardner, W. L., & Guler, C. E. (2016). A meta-analytic review of authentic and transformational leadership: A test for redundancy. *Leadership Quarterly*, 27, 634–652.
- Bass, B. M. (1985). *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Bass, B. M. (2008). *The Bass handbook of leadership* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Free Press.
- Bernerth, J. B., Armenakis, A. A., Feild, H. S., Giles, W. F., & Walker, H. J. (2007). Leader–member social exchange (LMSX): Development and validation of a scale. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 28(8), 979–1003.
- Berscheid, E. (1999). The greening of relationship science. *American Psychologist*, 54, 260–266.
- Berson, Y., Dan, O., & Yammarino, F. J. (2006). Attachment style and individual differences in leadership perceptions and emergence. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 146, 165–182.
- Bhargava, R. (2012). *Likeonomics*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Bowlby, J. (1979). *The making and breaking of affectional bonds*. London: Tavistok.
- Bowlby, J. (1982). Attachment and loss: Vol. 1. Attachment (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Braddy, P. W., Gooty, J., Fleenor, J. W., & Yammarino, F. J. (2014). Leader behaviors and career derailment potential: A multi-analytic method examination of rating source and self-other agreement. *Leadership Quarterly*, 25, 373–390.
- Brass, D. J., Galaskiewicz, J., Greve, H. R., & Tsai, W. (2004). Taking stock of networks and organizations: A multilevel perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, 47, 795–817.
- Brown, D. J., & Keeping, L. M. (2005). Elaborating the construct of transformational leadership: The role of affect. *Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 245–272.
- Brown, M. E., & Treviño, L. K. (2006). Ethical leadership: A review and future directions. *Leadership Quarterly*, 17, 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.
- Burke, C. S., Stagl, K. C., Klein, C., Goodwin, G. F., Salas, E., & Halpin, S. M. (2006). What type of leadership behaviors are functional in teams? A meta-analysis. *Leadership Quarterly*, 17, 288–307.
- Byrne, D. & Nelson, D. (1965). Attraction as a linear function of proportion of positive reinforcements. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1, 659–663.
- Cameron, K. S., & Caza, A. (2004). Introduction: Contributions to the discipline of positive organizational scholarship. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47, 731–739.

- Carson, J., Tesluk, P., & Marrone, J. (2007). Shared leadership in teams: An investigation of antecedent conditions and performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50, 1217–1234.
- Carter, D. R., DeChurch, L. A., Braun, M. T., & Contractor, N. S. (2015). Social network approaches to leadership: An integrative conceptual review. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 100, 597–622.
- Chan, S. C. H., Huang, X., Snape, E., & Lam, C. K. (2013). The Janus face of paternalistic leaders: Authoritarianism, benevolence, subordinates' organization-based self-esteem, and performance. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 34, 108–128.
- Chen, X. P., Eberly, M. B., Chiang, T. J., Farh, J. L., & Cheng, B. S. (2014). Affective trust in Chinese leaders: Linking paternalistic leadership to employee performance. *Journal of Management*, 40, 796–819.
- Cheng, B. S., Boer, D., Chou, L. F., Huang, M. P., Yoneyama, S., Shim, D., ... Tsai, C. Y. (2014). Paternalistic leadership in four East Asian societies: Generalizability and cultural differences of the triad model. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 45, 82–90.
- Cheng, B. S., Chou, L. F., Wu, T. Y., Huang, M. P., & Farh, J. L. (2004). Paternalistic leadership and subordinate response: Establishing a leadership model in Chinese organizations. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 7, 89–117.
- Cheong, M., Spain, S. M., Yammarino, F. J., & Yun, S. (2016). Two faces of empowering leadership: Enabling and burdening. *Leadership Quarterly*, 27, 602–616.
- Cheong, M., Yammarino, F. J., Dionne, S. D., Spain, S. M., & Tsai, C. Y. (2019). A review of the effectiveness of empowering leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 34–58.
- Conger, J. A., & Kanungo, R. N. (1987). Toward a behavioral theory of charismatic leadership in organizational settings. *Academy of Management Review*, 12, 637–647.
- Contractor, N. S., DeChurch, L. A., Carson, J., Carter, D. R., & Keegan, B. (2012). The typology of collective leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 23, 994–1011.
- Craig, S. B., & Gustafson, S. B. (1998). Perceived leader integrity scale: An instrument for assessing employee perceptions of leader integrity. *Leadership Quarterly*, 9, 127–145.
- Dansereau, F. (1995). A dyadic approach to leadership: Creating and nurturing this approach under fire. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6, 479–490.
- Dansereau, F., Alutto, J. A., & Yammarino, F. J. (1984). *Theory testing in organizational behavior: The variant approach*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Dansereau, F., Graen, G., & Haga, W. J. (1975). A vertical dyad linkage approach to leadership within formal organizations: A longitudinal investigation of the role-making process. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 13, 46–78.
- Dansereau, F., Seitz, S., Chiu, C. Y., Shaughnessy, B., & Yammarino, F. J. (2013). What makes leadership, leadership? Using self-expansion theory to integrate traditional and contemporary approaches. *Leadership Quarterly*, 24, 798–821.
- Dansereau, F., & Yammarino, F. J. (Eds.) (1998a). *Leadership: The multiple-level approaches (Part A: Classical and new wave) (Vol. 24 of Monographs in Organizational Behavior and Industrial Relations)*. Stamford, CT: JAI Press.
- Dansereau, F., & Yammarino, F. J. (Eds.) (1998b). *Leadership: The multiple-level approaches (Part B: Contemporary and alternative) (Vol. 24 of Monographs in Organizational Behavior and Industrial Relations)*. Stamford, CT: JAI Press.
- Dansereau, F., & Yammarino, F. J. (1998c). A multiple-level leadership mosaic: One way to put the pieces together. In F. Dansereau & F. J. Yammarino (Eds.), *Leadership: The*

- multiple-level approaches (Part B)* (pp. 327–349). Stamford, CT: JAI Press.
- Dansereau, F., Yammarino, F. J., Markham, S. E., Alutto, J. A., Newman, J., Dumas, M., ... Keller, T. (1995). Individualized leadership: A new multiple-level approach. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6, 413–450.
- Day, D. V., Gronn, P., & Salas, E. (2004). Leadership capacity in teams. *Leadership Quarterly*, 15, 857–880.
- Dent, E. B., Higgins, M. E., & Wharff, D. M. (2005). Spirituality and leadership: An empirical review of definitions, distinctions, and embedded assumptions. *Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 625–653.
- DeRue, D. S., Nahrgang, J. D., Wellman, N., & Humphrey, S. E. (2011). Trait and behavioral theories of leadership: An integration and meta-analytic test of their relative validity. *Personnel Psychology*, 64, 7–52.
- Dinh, J. E., Lord, R. G., Gardner, W. L., Meuser, J. D., Liden, R. C., & Hu, J. (2014). Leadership theory and research in the new millennium: Current theoretical trends and changing perspectives. *Leadership Quarterly*, 25, 36–62.
- Dionne, S. D., Gooty, J., Yammarino, F. J., & Sayama, H. (2018). Decision making in crises: A multi-level model of the interplay between cognitions and emotions. *Organizational Psychology Review*, 8, 95–124.
- Dionne, S. D., Gupta, A., Sotak, K. L., Shirreffs, K., Serban, A., Hao, C., ... Yammarino, F. J. (2014). A 25-year perspective on levels of analysis in leadership research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 25, 6–35.
- Dulebohn, J. H., Bommer, W. H., Liden, R. C., Brouer, R. L., & Ferris, G. R. (2012). A meta-analysis of antecedents and consequences of leader-member exchange: Integrating the past with an eye toward the future. *Journal of Management*, 38, 1715–1759.
- Eckardt, R., Yammarino, F. J., Dionne, S. D., & Spain, S. M. (in press). Multilevel methods and statistics: The next frontier. *Organizational Research Methods*, forthcoming.
- Eisenbeiss, S. A. (2012). Re-thinking ethical leadership: An interdisciplinary integrative approach. *Leadership Quarterly*, 23, 791–808.
- Eva, N., Robin, M., Sendjaya, S., van Dierendonck, D., & Liden, R. C. (2019). Servant Leadership: A systematic review and call for future research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 111–132.
- Farh, J. L., & Cheng, B. S. (2000). A cultural analysis of paternalistic leadership in Chinese organizations. In J. T. Li, A. S. Tsui, & E. Weldon (Eds.). *Management and organizations in the Chinese context* (pp. 84–127). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ferris, G. R., Liden, R. C., Munyon, T. P., Summers, J. K., Basik, K. J., & Buckley, M. R. (2009). Relationships at work: Toward a multidimensional conceptualization of dyadic work relationships. *Journal of Management*, 35, 1379–1403.
- Fiedler, F. E. (1967). *A theory of leadership effectiveness*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Fleenor, J., Smither, J., Atwater, L., Braddy, P., & Sturm, R. (2010). Self-other rating agreement in leadership: A review. *Leadership Quarterly*, 21, 1005–1034.
- Fleishman, E. A., Mumford, M. D., Zaccaro, S. J., Levin, K. Y., Korotkin, K. L., & Hein, M. B. (1991). Taxonomic efforts in the description of leader behavior: A synthesis and functional interpretation. *Leadership Quarterly*, 2, 245–287.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (1998). What good are positive emotions? *Review of General Psychology*, 2, 300–319.
- Friedrich, T. L., Vessey, W. B., Schuelke, M. J., Mumford, M. D., Yammarino, F. J., & Ruark, G. A. (2014). Collective leadership and George C. Marshall: A historiometric analysis of career events. *Leadership Quarterly*, 25, 449–467.

- Friedrich, T. L., Vessey, W. B., Schuelke, M. J., Ruark, G. A., & Mumford, M. D. (2009). A framework for understanding collective leadership: The selective utilization of leader and team expertise within networks. *Leadership Quarterly*, 20, 933–958.
- Fry, L. W. (2003). Toward a theory of spiritual leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 14, 693–727.
- 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 event. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 228–245.
- Gardner, W. L., Cogliser, C. C., Davis, K. M., & Dickens, M. P. (2011). Authentic leadership: A review of the literature and research agenda. *Leadership Quarterly*, 22, 1120–1145.
- Gooty, J., Connelly, S., Griffith, J., & Gupta, A. (2010). Leadership, affect, and emotions: A state of the science review. *Leadership Quarterly*, 21, 979–1004.
- Gooty, J., Serban, A., Thomas, J. S., Gavin, M. B., & Yammarino, F. J. (2012). Use and misuse of levels of analysis in leadership research: An illustrative review of leader-member exchange. *Leadership Quarterly*, 23, 1080–1103.
- Gooty, J., Thomas, J. S., Yammarino, F. J., Kim, J., & Medaugh, M. (2019). Positive and negative emotional tone convergence: An empirical examination of associations with leader and follower LMX. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 427–439.
- Gooty, J., & Yammarino, F. J. (2011). Dyads in organizational research: Conceptual issues and multi-level analyses. *Organizational Research Methods*, 14, 456–483.
- Gooty, J., & Yammarino, F. J. (2016). The leader-member exchange relationship: A multi-source, cross-level investigation. *Journal of Management*, 42, 915–945.
- Gould, S. J. (2002). *The structure of evolutionary theory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Graen, G. B., & Uhl-Bien, M. (1995). Relationship-based approach to leadership: Development of leader-member exchange theory of leadership over 25 years: Applying a multi-level, multi-domain perspective. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6, 219–247.
- Gronn, P. (2002). Distributed leadership as a unit of analysis. *Leadership Quarterly*, 13, 423–451.
- Guastello, S. J. (2007). Non-linear dynamics and leadership emergence. *Leadership Quarterly*, 18, 357–369.
- Hall, R. J., & Lord, R. G. (1995). Multi-level information-processing explanations of followers' leadership perceptions. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6, 265–287.
- Hazan, C., & Shaver, P. R. (1987). Romantic love conceptualized as an attachment process. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52, 511–524.
- Hazan, C., & Shaver, P. R. (1990). Love and work: An attachment theoretical perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 270–280.
- Hazan, C., & Shaver, P. R. (1994). Attachment as an organizational framework for research on close relationships. *Psychological Inquiry*, 5, 1–22.
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Hicks, D. A. (2002). Spiritual and religious diversity in the workplace: Implications for leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 13, 379–396.
- Hiller, N. J., Sin, H. P., Ponnappalli, A. R., & Ozgen, S. (2019). Benevolence and authority as WEIRDly unfamiliar: A multi-language meta-analysis of paternalistic leadership behaviors from 152 studies. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 165–184.
- Homans, G. C. (1974). *Social behavior: Its elementary forms* (revised ed.). New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

- House, R. J. (1971). A path-goal theory of leadership effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 16, 321–339.
- House, R. J. (1977). A 1976 theory of charismatic leadership. In J. G. Hunt & L. L. Larson (Eds.), *Leadership: The cutting edge*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- House, R. J. (1996). Path-goal theory of leadership: Lessons, legacy, and reformulated theory. *Leadership Quarterly*, 7, 323–352.
- House, R. J., Spangler, W. D., & Woycke, J. (1991). Personality and charisma in the U.S. presidency: A psychological theory of leadership effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36, 364–396.
- Ilies, R., Morgeson, F. P., & Nahrgang, J. D. (2005). Authentic leadership and eudaemonic well-being: Understanding leader–follower outcomes. *Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 373–394.
- Judge, T. A., Piccolo, R. F., & Ilies, R. (2004). The forgotten ones? The validity of consideration and initiating structure in leadership research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89, 36–51.
- Judge, T. A., Piccolo, R. F., Ilies, R., & Gerhardt, M. (2002). Personality and leadership: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87, 765–780.
- Judge, T. A., Piccolo, R. F., & Kosalka, T. (2009). The bright and dark sides of leader traits: A review and theoretical extension of the leader trait paradigm. *Leadership Quarterly*, 20, 855–875.
- Karam, E. P., Gardner, W. L., Gullifor, D. P., Tribble, L. L., & Li, M. (2017). Authentic leadership and high-performance human resource practices: Implications for work engagement. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 35, 103–153.
- Kaufman, S. B. (2019). Authenticity under fire: Researchers are calling into question authenticity as a scientifically viable concept. *Scientific American*, June 14. Retrieved from [https://blogs.scientificamerican.com/beautiful-minds/authenticity-under-fire/?utm\\_source=newsletter&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=weekly-review&utm\\_content=link&utm\\_term=2019-06-19\\_top-stories](https://blogs.scientificamerican.com/beautiful-minds/authenticity-under-fire/?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=weekly-review&utm_content=link&utm_term=2019-06-19_top-stories)
- Keller, T. (1999). Images of the familiar: Individual difference and implicit leadership theories. *Leadership Quarterly*, 10, 589–607.
- Keller, T. (2003). Parental images as a guide to leadership sensemaking: An attachment perspective on implicit leadership theories. *Leadership Quarterly*, 14, 141–160.
- Kim, M., Beehr, T. A., & Prewett, M. S. (2018). Employee responses to empowering leadership: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 25, 257–276.
- Kim, J., Yammarino, F. J., Dionne, S. D., Eckardt, R., Cheong, M., Tsai, C. Y., ... Park, J. W. (2020). State-of-the-science review of leader-follower dyads research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 31, 101306.
- King, B. J. (2019). The orca's sorrow. *Scientific American*, 320, 30–35.
- Kolb, B., & Whishaw, I. Q. (2009). *Fundamentals of human neuropsychology*. New York, NY: Worth Publishers.
- Krasikova, D. V., & LeBreton, J. M. (2012). Just the two of us: Misalignment of theory and methods in examining dyadic phenomena. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 97, 739–757.
- Le, H., Schmidt, F. L., Harter, J. K., & Lauver, K. J. (2010). The problem of empirical redundancy of constructs in organizational research: An empirical investigation.

*Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 112, 112–125.

- Lee, S., Cheong, M., Kim, M., & Yun, S. (2017). Never too much? The curvilinear relationship between empowering leadership and task performance. *Group & Organization Management*, 42, 11–38.
- Lee, A., Willis, S., & Tian, A. W. (2018). Empowering leadership: A meta-analytic examination of incremental contribution, mediation, and moderation. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 39, 306–325.
- Liden, R. C., Anand, S., & Vidyarthi, P. (2016). Dyadic relationships. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 3, 139–166.
- Liden, R. C., Wayne, S. J., Zhao, H., & Henderson, D. (2008). Servant leadership: Development of a multidimensional measure and multi-level assessment. *Leadership Quarterly*, 19, 161–177.
- Lin, T. T., Cheng, B. S., & Chou, L. F. (2019). Paternalistic leadership: An indigenous concept with global significance. In K. H. Yeh (Ed.), *Asian indigenous psychologies in the global context* (pp. 115–138). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lord, R. G., Day, D. V., Zaccaro, S. J., Avolio, B. J., & Eagly, A. H. (2017). Leadership in applied psychology: Three waves of theory and research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 102, 434–451.
- Lord, R. G., & Maher, K. J. (1993). *Leadership and information processing: Linking perceptions and performance*. Boston, MA: Rutledge.
- Lovelace, J. B., Neely, B. H., Allen, J. B., & Hunter, S. T. (2019). Charismatic, ideological, & pragmatic (CIP) model of leadership: A critical review and agenda for future research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 96–110.
- Lyons, S., & Kuron, L. (2014). Generational differences in the workplace: A review of the evidence and directions for future research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 35, 139–157.
- Maccoby, M. (2004). Why people follow the leader: The power of transference. *Harvard Business Review*, 82, 76–85.
- MacLaren, N. G., Yammarino, F. J., Dionne, S. D., Sayama, H., Mumford, M. D., Connelly, S., ... Ruark, G. A. (2020). Testing the babble hypothesis: Speaking time predicts leader emergence in small groups. *Leadership Quarterly*, 31, 101409.
- Markham, S. E., Markham, I. S., & Smith, J. W. (2015). At the crux of dyadic leadership: Self-other agreement of leaders and direct reports – Analyzing 360-degree feedback. *Leadership Quarterly*, 26, 958–977.
- Marks, M. A., Mathieu, J. E., & Zaccaro, S. J. (2001). A temporally based framework and taxonomy of team processes. *Academy of Management Review*, 26, 356–376.
- Marta, S., Leritz, L. E., & Mumford, M. D. (2005). Leadership skills and the group performance: Situational demands, behavioral requirements, and planning. *Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 97–120.
- Martinko, M. J., Harvey, P., Brees, J. R., & Mackey, J. (2013). A review of abusive supervision research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 34(S1), 120–137.
- Martinko, M. J., Mackey, J. D., Moss, S. E., Harvey, P., McAllister, C. P., & Brees, J. R. (2018). An exploration of the role of subordinate affect in leader evaluations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 103, 738–752.
- Mathieu, J. E., Marks, M. A., & Zaccaro, S. J. (2002). Multi-team systems. In N. Anderson, D. S. Ones, H. K. Sinangil, & C. Viswesvarian (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial, work, and organizational psychology* (Vol. 2) (pp. 289–313). London: Sage.



- McAllister, C., Moss, S., & Martinko, M. J. (2019). Why likable leaders seem more effective. *Harvard Business Review*, October 29. Retrieved from <https://hbr.org/2019/10/why-likable-leaders-seem-more-effective>
- McHugh, K. A., Yammarino, F. J., Dionne, S. D., Serban, A., Sayama, H., & Chatterjee, S. (2016). Collective decision making, leadership, and collective intelligence: Tests with agent-based simulations and a field study. *Leadership Quarterly*, 27, 218–241.
- Mehra, A., Smith, B. R., Dixon, A. L., & Robertson, B. (2006). Distributed leadership in teams: The network of leadership perceptions and team performance. *Leadership Quarterly*, 17, 232–245.
- Meinecke, A. L., Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., & Kauffeld, S. (2017). What happens during annual appraisal interviews? How leader-follower interactions unfold and impact interview outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 102, 1054–1074.
- Mumford, M. D. (Ed.) (2006). *Pathways to outstanding leadership: A comparative analysis of charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic leadership*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum Press.
- Mumford, M. D., Antes, A. L., Caughron, J. J., & Friedrich, T. L. (2008). Charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic leadership: Multi-level influences on emergence and performance. *Leadership Quarterly*, 19, 144–160.
- Mumford, M. D., Dansereau, F., & Yammarino, F. J. (2000). Followers, motivation, and levels of analysis: The case of individualized leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 11, 313–340.
- Mumford, M. D., & Higgs, C. A. (Eds.) (2020). *Leader thinking skills: Capacities for contemporary leadership*. New York, NY: Routledge (Taylor & Francis).
- Neider, L. L., & Schriesheim, C. A. (2011). The authentic leadership inventory (ALI): Development and empirical tests. *Leadership Quarterly*, 22, 1146–1164.
- Neubert, M. J., & Taggar, S. (2004). Pathways to informal leadership: The moderating role of gender on the relationship of individual differences and team member network centrality to informal leadership emergence. *Leadership Quarterly*, 15, 175–194.
- Palanski, M. E., & Yammarino, F. J. (2009). Integrity and leadership: A multi-level conceptual framework. *Leadership Quarterly*, 20, 405–420.
- Pearce, C. L. (2004). The future of leadership: Combining vertical and shared leadership to transform knowledge work. *Academy of Management Executive*, 18, 47–57.
- Pearce, C. L., & Conger, J. A. (2003). *Shared leadership: Reframing the hows and whys of leadership*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pearce, C. L., Manz, C. C., & Sims, H. P. (2008). The roles of vertical and shared leadership in the enactment of executive corruption: Implications for research and practice. *Leadership Quarterly*, 19, 353–359.
- Pearce, C. L., & Sims, H. P. (2002). Vertical versus shared leadership as predictors of the effectiveness of change management teams: An examination of aversive, directive, transactional, transformational, and empowering leader behaviors. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 6, 172–197.
- Pellegrini, E. K., & Scandura, T. A. (2008). Paternalistic leadership: A review and agenda for future research. *Journal of Management*, 34, 566–593.
- Podsakoff, P. M., Bommer, W. H., Podsakoff, N. P., & MacKenzie, S. B. (2006). Relationships 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*, 44, 113–142.
- Potter, C. B. (2019). Men invented 'likability.' Guess who benefits. *The New York Times*, May 4. Retrieved from <https://nyti.ms/2JfRVp3>

- Rajah, R., Song, Z., & Arvey, R. D. (2011). Emotionality and leadership: Taking stock of the past decade of research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 22, 1107–1119.
- Redding, S. G. (1990). *The spirit of Chinese capitalism*. New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter.
- Reis, H. T., & Collins, W. A. (2004). Relationships, human behavior, and psychological science. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 13, 233–237.
- Reis, H. T., Collins, W. A., & Berscheid, E. (2000). The relationship context of human behavior and development. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126, 844–872.
- Sadri, G., Weber, T. J., & Gentry, W. A. (2011). Empathic emotion and leadership performance: An empirical analysis across 38 countries. *Leadership Quarterly*, 22, 818–830.
- Sanders, T. (2005). *The likeability factor*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Secord, P. F., & Backman, C. W. (1974). *Social psychology*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Schriesheim, C. A., Castro, S. L., & Cogliser, C. C. (1999). Leader-member exchange (LMX) research: A comprehensive review of theory, measurement, and data-analytic practices. *Leadership Quarterly*, 10, 63–113.
- Schriesheim, C. A., Cogliser, C. C., & Neider, L. L. (1995). Is it “trustworthy”? A multiple-levels-of-analysis reexamination of an Ohio State leadership study with implications for future research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6, 111–145.
- Serban, A., Yammarino, F. J., Dionne, S. D., Kahai, S. S., Hao, C., McHugh, K. A., ... Peterson, D. (2015). Leadership emergence in face-to-face and virtual teams: A multi-level model with agent-based simulations, quasi-experimental and experimental tests. *Leadership Quarterly*, 26, 402–418.
- Shamir, B., House, R. J., & Arthur, M. B. (1993). The motivational effects of charismatic leadership: A self-concept based theory. *Organizational Science*, 4, 577–594.
- Sharma, P. N., & Kirkman, B. L. (2015). Leveraging leaders: A literature review and future lines of inquiry for empowering leadership research. *Group & Organization Management*, 40, 193–237.
- Silin, R. H. (1976). *Leadership and value: The organization of large-scale Taiwanese enterprises*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Smith, J. A., & Foti, R. J. (1998). A pattern approach to the study of leader emergence. *Leadership Quarterly*, 9, 147–160.
- Spain, S. M., Harms, P., & LeBreton, J. M. (2014). The dark side of personality at work. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 35, 41–60.
- Squire, L., Berg, D., Bloom, F. E., Du Lac, S., Ghosh, A., & Spitzer, N. C. (Eds.). (2012). *Fundamental neuroscience*. Waltham, MA: Academic Press.
- Stogdill, R. M., & Coons, A. E. (Eds.) (1957). *Leader behavior: Its description and measurement*. Columbus, OH: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University.
- Tepper, B. J. (2007). Abusive supervision in work organizations: Review, synthesis, and research agenda. *Journal of Management*, 33, 261–289.
- Tsai, C.-Y., Dionne, S. D., Wang, A.-C., Spain, S. M., Yammarino, F. J., & Cheng, B. S. (2017). Effects of relational schema congruence on leader-member exchange. *Leadership Quarterly*, 28, 268–284.
- Tse, H. H. M., Troth, A. C., Ashkanasy, N. M., & Collins, A. T. (2018). Affect and leader-member exchange in the new millennium: A state-of-art review and guiding framework. *Leadership Quarterly*, 29, 135–149.
- van Dierendonck, D. (2011). Servant leadership: A review and synthesis. *Journal of Management*, 37, 1228–1261.

- van Knippenberg, D. (2011). Embodying who we are: Leader group prototypicality and leadership effectiveness. *Leadership Quarterly*, 22, 1078–1091.
- van Knippenberg, D., & Sitkin, S. B. (2013). A critical assessment of charismatic-transformational leadership research: Back to the drawing board? *Academy of Management Annals*, 7, 1–60.
- Vroom, V. H., & Jago, A. G. (1995). Situation effects and levels of analysis in the study of leader participation. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6, 169–181.
- Vroom, V. H., & Yetton, P. W. (1973). *Leadership and decision making*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Wallis, N. C., Yammarino, F. J., & Feyerherm, A. (2011). Individualized leadership: A qualitative study of senior executive leaders. *Leadership Quarterly*, 22, 182–206.
- Wang, A. C., & Cheng, B. S. (2010). When does benevolent leadership lead to creativity? The moderating role of creative role identity and job autonomy. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 31, 106–121.
- Wang, A. C., Tsai, C. Y., Dionne, S. D., Yammarino, F. J., Spain, S. M., Ling, H. C., Huang, M. P., Chou, L. F., & Cheng, B. S. (2018). Benevolence-dominant, authoritarianism-dominant, and classical paternalistic leadership: Testing their relationships with subordinate performance. *Leadership Quarterly*, 29, 686–697.
- Wayne, S. J., & Ferris, G. R. (1990). Influence tactics, affect, and exchange quality in supervisor-subordinate interactions: A laboratory experiment and field study. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75, 487–499.
- Yammarino, F. J. (2003). Modern data analytic techniques for multisource feedback. *Organizational Research Methods*, 6, 6–14.
- Yammarino, F. J. (2012). Leadership. In V. S. Ramachandran (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of human behavior* (2nd ed., Vol. 2, pp. 517–524). Oxford: Academic Press (Elsevier).
- Yammarino, F. J. (2017). Leadership. In *Reference Module in Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Psychology* (pp. 1–12). Oxford: Elsevier (and Science Direct).
- Yammarino, F. J., & Dansereau, F. (2002). Individualized leadership. *Journal of Leadership and Organization Studies*, 9, 90–99.
- Yammarino, F. J., & Dansereau, F. (2008). Multi-level nature of and multi-level approaches to leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 19, 135–141.
- Yammarino, F. J., & Dansereau, F. (2009). A new kind of OB (organizational behavior). Research in Multi-Level Issues, 8 (*Multi-Level Issues in Organizational Behavior and Leadership*), 13–60.
- Yammarino, F. J., & Dansereau, F. (2011). Multi-level issues in evolutionary theory, organization science, and leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 22, 1042–1057.
- Yammarino, F. J., & Dionne, S. D. (2018). Leadership and levels of analysis: Clarifications and fixes for what's wrong. In R. E. Riggio (Ed.), *What's wrong with leadership? Improving leadership research and practice* (pp. 41–57). New York, NY: Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group).
- Yammarino, F. J., Dionne, S. D., Chun, J. U., & Dansereau, F. (2005). Leadership and levels of analysis: A state-of-the-science review. *Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 879–919.
- Yammarino, F. J., Dionne, S. D., Schriesheim, C. A., & Dansereau, F. (2008). Authentic leadership and positive organizational behavior: A meso, multi-level perspective. *Leadership Quarterly*, 19, 693–707.
- Yammarino, F. J., & Dubinsky, A. J. (1992). Superior-subordinate relationships: A multiple levels of analysis approach. *Human Relations*, 45, 575–600.

- Yammarino, F. J., & Gooty, J. (2017). Multi-level issues and dyads in leadership research. In B. Schyns, R. Hall, & P. Neves (Eds.), *Handbook of methods in leadership research* (pp. 229–255). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Yammarino, F. J., & Gooty, J. (2019). Cross-level models. In S. E. Humphrey & J. M. LeBreton (Eds.), *Handbook of multilevel theory, measurement, and analysis* (pp. 563–585). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Yammarino, F. J., & Mumford, M. D. (2012). Leadership and organizational politics: A multi-level review and framework of pragmatic deals. In G. R. Ferris & D. C. Treadway (Eds.), *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations* (pp. 323–354) (SIOP Frontiers Series). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis/Routledge Publishing.
- Yammarino, F. J., Mumford, M. D., Connelly, M. S., Day, E. A., Gibson, P. C., McIntosh, T., & Mulhearn, T. (2015). Leadership models for team dynamics and cohesion: The Mars Mission. In E. Salas, W. B. Vessey, & A. X. Estrada (Eds.), *Team cohesion: Advances in psychological theory, methods and practice (Research on Managing Groups and Teams)* (Vol. 17, pp. 213–245). Bingley: Emerald Publishing.
- Yammarino, F. J., Mumford, M. D., Connelly, M. S., & Dionne, S. D. (2010). Leadership and team dynamics for dangerous military contexts. *Military Psychology*, 22 (Suppl. 1), S15–S41.
- Yammarino, F. J., Mumford, M. D., Serban, A., & Shirreffs, K. (2013). Assassination and leadership: Traditional approaches and historiometric methods. *Leadership Quarterly*, 24, 822–841.
- Yammarino, F. J., Mumford, M. D., Vessey, W. B., Friedrich, T. L., Ruark, G. A., & Brunner, J. M. (2010a). *Collective leadership measurement for the U.S. Army*. Technical Report, Contract No. W91WAW-09-C-0090. Arlington, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.
- Yammarino, F. J., Mumford, M. D., Vessey, W. B., Friedrich, T. L., Ruark, G. A., & Brunner, J. M. (2010b). *Collective leadership measurement for the U.S. Army: Measures*. Research Note, Contract No. W91WAW-09-C-0090. Arlington, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.
- Yammarino, F. J., Mumford, M. D., Vessey, W. B., Friedrich, T. L., Ruark, G. A., & Brunner, J. M. (2014). *Collective leadership measurement for the U.S. Army*. Study Report 2014-01, Contract No. W91WAW-09-C-0090. Fort Belvoir, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences. Retrieved from [www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA596962](http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA596962)
- Yammarino, F. J., Salas, E., Serban, A., Shirreffs, K., & Shuffler, M. L. (2012). Collectivistic leadership approaches: Putting the “we” in leadership science and practice. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice*, 5, 382–402.
- Yammarino, F. J., Sotak, K. L., & Serban, A. (2020). Charismatic-Ideological-Pragmatic model with shared and collective leadership: A multi-level integration. In S. T. Hunter & J. B. Lovelace (Eds.), *Multiple pathways to success: Extending the charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic approach to leadership* (pp. 116–142). New York, NY: Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group).
- Zaccaro, S. J., Green, J. P., Dubrow, S., & Kolze, M. J. (2018). Leader individual differences, situational parameters, and leadership outcomes: A comprehensive review and integration. *Leadership Quarterly*, 29, 2–43.
- Zhao, H., & Li, C. (2019). A computerized approach to understanding leadership research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 396–416.

Zhu, J., Song, L. J., Zhu, L., & Johnson, R. E. (2019). Visualizing the landscape and evolution of leadership research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 215–232.

---

\*We thank Michael Mumford for many discussions about and helpful comments on this chapter.

---

**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management**  
**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Volume 38, 1–55**  
**Copyright © 2020 by Emerald Publishing Limited**  
**All rights of reproduction in any form reserved**  
**ISSN: 0742-7301/doi:10.1108/S0742-730120200000038003**

## CHAPTER 2

# MINDFULNESS AND RELATIONSHIPS: AN ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Lillian T. Eby, Melissa M. Robertson and David B. Fecteau

### **ABSTRACT**

*Interest in employee mindfulness has increased dramatically in recent years, fueled by several important conceptual articles, numerous studies documenting the benefits of mindfulness for employee outcomes, and the adoption of mindfulness-based practices in many Fortune 500 organizations. Despite this growing interest, the vast majority of research on employee mindfulness has taken an intrapersonal focus, failing to appreciate the ways in which mindfulness may enhance work-related relational processes and outcomes. The authors explore possible associations between mindfulness and relationally oriented workplace phenomena, drawing from interdisciplinary scholarship examining mindfulness in romantic relationships, child–parent relationships, patient–healthcare provider relationships, and student–teacher relationships. A framework is proposed that links mindfulness to three distinct relationally oriented processes, which are expected to have downstream effects on work-related relational outcomes. The authors then*

*take the proposed framework and discuss possible extensions to a variety of unique workplace relationships and discuss critical next steps in advancing the relational science of mindfulness.*

**Keywords:** Mindfulness; work relationships; interpersonal processes; relational outcomes; employee mindfulness; relationship functioning

Mindfulness is characterized by present moment awareness of, and attention to, both internal (e.g., cognitions, bodily sensations) and external (e.g., environmental surroundings, social interactions) stimuli in a manner that does not evoke judgment or evaluation (Brown, Ryan, & Creswell, 2007; Kabat-Zinn, 1990). Through the process of nonevaluative awareness and attention, mindfulness allows an individual to recognize that thoughts, feelings, and experiences are transitory and not reflective of his or her self-worth or identity (Kabat-Zinn, 1990). By taking a more objective stance toward reality, an individual is not reflecting about the past or worrying about the future, but rather experiencing life as it is happening. Shapiro, Carlson, Astin, and Freedman (2006) provide a useful set of axioms to understand mindfulness. These authors note that mindfulness requires intention (i.e., being mindful on purpose and with volition), attention (i.e., observing internal and external experiences in the moment), and attitude (i.e., doing so without evaluation or judgment and instead with patience, compassion, and a nonstriving orientation).

Research on mindfulness originated in clinical psychology as an alternative nonpharmacological intervention (Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction or MBSR) to treat chronic pain (Kabat-Zinn, 1990). MBSR is typically an eight-week group-based intervention that provides mindful meditation instruction and training to cultivate present moment awareness of body sensations, thoughts, and emotions (Kabat-Zinn, 1990). Meta-analysis consistently documents

health and well-being benefits of MBSR and its variants, such as Mindfulness-based Cognitive Therapy or MBCT ([Segal, Williams, & Teasdale, 2002](#)). Mindfulness-based interventions are associated with positive treatment gains for a variety of physical and psychological conditions (e.g., [Khoury et al., 2013](#)). Mindfulness-based training interventions with healthy populations also find positive effects on stress ([Khoury, Sharma, Rush, & Fournier, 2015](#)) and other indicators of well-being such as the experience of positive emotions ([Eberth & Sedlmeier, 2012](#)). Similarly, there is evidence that trait mindfulness is associated with indicators of psychological health, such as higher life satisfaction, lower depression, and less social anxiety (see [Keng, Smoski, & Robins, 2011](#) for a review).

Given the salutary effects of mindfulness for both clinical and healthy populations, interest in mindfulness at work has burgeoned in recent years. A recent Google search of “mindfulness and work” yielded over 104,000,000 hits. These hits include scholarly research, popular press articles discussing the benefits of employee mindfulness, as well guidance on how to design and implement mindfulness-based programs in organizational settings. The evidence base associated with employee mindfulness has also grown dramatically in the past decade. A search of the computerized database PsycInfo finds that between 1990 and 1995, only 18 scholarly works included both of the terms “mindfulness” and “work.” By contrast, between 2010 and 2019, the number of hits increased to 2,077. To date, mindfulness has been applied to the study of employee stress, well-being, and work attitudes (e.g., [Hulsheger et al., 2013](#)), the work–nonwork interface (e.g., [Allen & Kiburz, 2012](#); [Kiburz, Allen, & French, 2017](#)), and negative workplace behaviors ([Liang et al., 2016](#)). There are also numerous studies examining the efficacy of mindfulness-based training interventions on employee outcomes (see [Eby et al., 2019](#) for a review), as well as a recent meta-analysis examining the personal and professional correlates of dispositional mindfulness among employees (e.g., [Mesmer-Magnus, Manapragada, Viswesvaran, & Allen, 2017](#)).



## **PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF CHAPTER**

In this chapter, we discuss mindfulness as a psychological state, dispositional trait, and intervention, and explore possible associations between mindfulness and relationally oriented workplace phenomena. Our decision to focus on the relational outcomes of mindfulness is informed by both historical writing on the topic and research evidence from outside organizational psychology that demonstrates links between mindfulness and relational outcomes. We explore how employee mindfulness may relate to an individual's own perceptions of relational events and experiences that have consequences for the work role, relational partners' perceptions of the relationship, as well as both partners' relational behavior. Throughout the chapter, we collectively refer to these as relational or interpersonal outcomes.

We start by discussing the historical origins of mindfulness, with an emphasis on how Western interpretations tend to de-emphasize the relational aspects of mindfulness. Next, we provide an overview of what we currently know about mindfulness from the perspective of organizational psychology. This includes a brief summary of existing frameworks, research on the benefits of mindfulness for the self, and existing research on benefits of mindfulness for work-related outcomes. Following this discussion, we move beyond research in organizational psychology to explore research linking mindfulness to interpersonal outcomes in other contexts. This includes research on romantic partners, parent–child relationships, healthcare provider–patient relationships, and teacher–student relationships.

Integrating literature outside of organizational psychology with foundational research on mindfulness allows us to develop a conceptual framework that outlines three discrete relationally oriented pathways (cognition, emotion, behavior), as well as more specific relationally oriented sub-processes subsumed within each pathway, that explain how and why mindfulness may affect relational outcomes in the workplace. Our framework also explicates boundary conditions that may affect the extent to which employee mindfulness

affects relational outcomes through these three core relationally oriented processes. With this framework as a backdrop, we then extend our ideas to consider specific types of work-related relational phenomena that remain largely unexplored in relation to mindfulness. This includes leader–subordinate relationships, mentoring, the work–family interface and intergroup relationships. The final section of the chapter outlines what we believe to be important next steps for advancing research on the relational aspects of employee mindfulness.

## **MINDFULNESS: CONCEPTUALIZATIONS, HISTORICAL ORIGINS, AND APPLICATIONS**

Mindfulness is conceptualized in a variety of ways. As a state of consciousness, mindfulness is viewed as a dynamic intra-individual difference variable that changes over time such that a person may be more or less mindful from one moment to the next ([Shapiro et al., 2006](#)). Research demonstrates that mindfulness can be experimentally induced, typically by instructing individuals to anchor their attention to the breath, experience it as it naturally occurs, register and accept feelings as they arise, and then return to the present moment and focus on the breath ([Arch & Craske, 2006](#)). There is also evidence that people vary in their overall tendency to be mindful, suggesting that mindfulness has a dispositional or trait-like quality as well ([Brown & Ryan, 2003](#)). When compared to its state counterpart, dispositional mindfulness represents a more sustained form of receptive attention to experiences and events as they occur, requiring repeated regulation of attention toward the present moment ([Brown & Ryan, 2003](#)). Finally, there is a robust literature on mindfulness as a practice or intervention to improve health and well-being ([Brown et al., 2007](#)). Perhaps not surprisingly, associations exist among state mindfulness, trait mindfulness, and mindfulness interventions. Individuals report greater state mindfulness immediately after participating in mindfulness training

(e.g. [Hülsheger, Alberts, Feinholdt, & Lang, 2013](#); [Hülsheger, Feinholdt, & Nübold, 2015](#)). Mindfulness interventions also yield small to moderate increases in dispositional mindfulness among both healthy and clinical populations ([Quaglia, Braun, Freeman, McDaniel, & Brown, 2016](#)). Finally, there is evidence that state mindfulness is positively associated with dispositional mindfulness ([Hülsheger et al., 2013, 2015](#)).

The scientific application of mindfulness by Western scholars has emphasized the benefits of mindfulness for the self and discussed mindfulness as an intra-individual process. Most Western definitions of mindfulness focus on attention, awareness, and a present moment orientation that centers on *one's own experience* ([Brown & Ryan, 2003](#); [Brown et al., 2007](#); [Shapiro et al., 2006](#)). Likewise, the nonjudgment that characterizes mindfulness typically focuses on one's own thoughts and feelings rather than others ([Quaglia et al., 2016](#)). The ability to both zoom in on situational details (focused attention) and zoom out to gain a larger perspective on one's personal experience ([Brown et al., 2007](#)) is also discussed as enabling one to stand back and simply witness the "drama of our personal narrative or life story" rather than become immersed in it ([Shapiro et al., 2006](#), p. 377). Through the development of an "observing self" ([Kerr, Josyula, & Littenberg, 2011](#), p. 86 emphasis added) comes a shift in perspective where experiences are observed as they come and go, but without judgment or self-referential processing.

Western scholars' description and conceptualization of mindfulness represents a major departure from the original conceptualization of the construct, which comes from traditional Buddhism ([Kabat-Zinn, 1993](#)). Of particular note is the lack of emphasis on the interpersonal or relational aspects of mindfulness ([Wallace, 2001](#)), such as the cultivation of benevolence and loving-kindness or the practice of extending unconditional care, compassion, and concern to oneself and then to an ever-widening circle of others in an openhearted way ([Harvey, 2012](#)). As [Creswell \(2017\)](#) notes, the de-emphasis on the relational aspects of mindfulness is surprising in light of extensive anecdotal accounts

that mindfulness-based training elevates feelings of compassion toward others, can improve close relationships, and reduces feelings of loneliness. However, we do not view the lack of a relational focus in Western interpretations of mindfulness as a fatal conceptual flaw. Instead, we view it as an opportunity to explore the ways in which mindfulness may have an effect on relational outcomes specific to the experience of work, drawing on the fundamental and historical features of mindfulness and building on research from outside organizational psychology. In the present chapter, we follow seminal work by [Kabat-Zinn \(1994\)](#) and conceptualize mindfulness as “paying attention in a particular way; on purpose, in the present moment and non-judgmentally” (p. 4), leaving open the possibility that mindfulness can simultaneously involve a focus on the self and a focus on others. Consistent with [Brown et al. \(2007\)](#), we also acknowledge that mindfulness represents both a dynamic state and a more stable dispositional tendency, and that both can be cultivated vis-à-vis mindfulness-based interventions such as MBSR or MBCT.

## **WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT MINDFULNESS FROM ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY**

To provide context for the proposed framework, it is important to take stock of what we already know about the work-related aspects of mindfulness from the perspective of organizational psychology. This includes several influential conceptual articles as well as empirical research published in applied psychology and management journals.

[Glomb, Duffy, Bono, and Yang \(2011\)](#) published an influential conceptual article on mindfulness at work. In this chapter, they delineated a model of the cognitive and neurobiological processes that underlie mindfulness and serve as potential pathways to enhance work performance and individual well-being. The model proposed by Glomb et al. proposes that the “central outcome of mindfulness (is) improved self-regulation of thoughts, emotions,

behaviors, and physiological reactions” (p. 123). Improved self-regulation is then proposed to affect several secondary processes (e.g., decoupling the self from experiences and emotions, enhanced awareness of physiological regulation, increased self-determination and persistence), which ultimately have positive effects on a wide range of work-related outcomes. Although Glomb et al. discuss some relational outcomes, their proposed model is broad in scope and most outcomes reside within the employee (e.g., improved employee decision-making, reduced stress, increased effort at work).

There are other conceptual reviews of mindfulness at work. [Dane’s \(2011\)](#) contingency framework relates mindfulness specifically to task performance, describing conditions where mindfulness may have both positive and negative effects on performance. [Good et al. \(2016\)](#) provides an integrative review of mindfulness in the workplace, building on earlier work by [Glomb et al. \(2011\)](#). The Good et al. framework links mindfulness to various functional domains, which in turn are purported to affect job performance, work relationships, and personal well-being. The core processes in this framework are the stability, control, and efficiency of attention. These three attentional processes are discussed as having positive downstream effects on cognition, emotion, behavior, and physiology, which the authors argue will in turn affect a wide range of employee outcomes.

In addition to these influential conceptual papers on mindfulness at work, there is a growing body of empirical research examining employee mindfulness. The majority of this research takes an intrapersonal approach, examining the effects of mindfulness on the individual employee’s own outcomes. A smaller, body of literature takes a more relationally oriented approach, investigating the association between mindfulness and outcomes such as organizational citizenship behavior, positive coworker interactions, and counterproductive interpersonal behavior. We provide a high-level overview of empirical research from organizational psychology below, including studies that have examined mindfulness as a state, disposition, or intervention.

## *Benefits of Mindfulness for the Self*

Consistent with the broader clinical literature on the benefits of mindfulness, most of the mindfulness research in organizational psychology has examined stress and strain-related work outcomes, generally finding positive effects. This includes research summarizing the effectiveness of mindfulness-based training ([Allen et al., 2015](#)) and meta-analytic research linking dispositional mindfulness to intrapersonal outcomes, such as psychological health, perceived stress, job satisfaction, and job performance ([Mesmer-Magnus et al., 2017](#)). There is also organizational research linking both dispositional mindfulness ([Allen & Kiburz, 2012](#)) and mindfulness-based training ([Hülshager et al., 2015](#)) to improved sleep outcomes. Other studies document a positive association between mindfulness and positive work attitudes such as job satisfaction (both momentary mindfulness and mindfulness training; [Hülshager et al., 2013](#)) and work engagement (mindfulness training only; [Leroy, Anseel, Dimitrova, & Sels, 2013](#)). Extending the benefits of mindfulness to the work–family interface, Allen et al. found that dispositional mindfulness relates positively to work–family balance ([Allen & Kiburz, 2012](#)) and that mindfulness training can reduce work–family conflict ([Kiburz et al., 2017](#)).

## *Relational Benefits of Mindfulness*

A smaller body of organizational research has begun to examine the association between mindfulness and interpersonal outcomes at work. There is evidence that mindfulness training predicts greater prosocial behavior toward coworkers ([Hafenbrack et al., 2019](#)) and that dispositional mindfulness is associated with perceptions of reciprocity in teams ([Hawkes & Neal, 2019](#)). There have also been a few studies examining mindfulness in relation to negative interpersonal workplace behavior. [Long and Christian \(2015\)](#) found that mindfulness reduced some of the negative effects of injustice on retaliatory behavior toward others, using both a laboratory experiment and field study. In addition, [Liang et al. \(2016\)](#) found

that supervisor mindfulness helped modulate negative supervisory behavior toward lower performing subordinates. Finally, a recent study found that a team's shared belief that their interactions reflect a mindful orientation toward one another (referred to as team mindfulness) can be a valuable resource for reducing relationship conflict and social undermining in team contexts (Yu & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2018).

### *Summary of Research from Organizational Psychology*

Although the literature base is growing, most of what we know from the organizational psychology literature about employee mindfulness is oriented toward intrapersonal outcomes; most notably, the employee's own stress and strain. Research on the work-related relational aspects of mindfulness is much more limited. Moreover, organizational research has not examined how employee mindfulness relates to others' perceptions or behaviors, such as coworkers or family members (i.e., crossover effects). Importantly, empirical research from organizational psychology has not fully capitalized on the broader literature examining relational outcomes of mindfulness, which we believe offers valuable insight.

## **RESEARCH ON THE INTERPERSONAL OUTCOMES OF MINDFULNESS OUTSIDE ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY**

We now review empirical research outside organizational psychology that examines relational outcomes of mindfulness. We start by summarizing research on mindfulness in romantic and parent-child relationships because these are the most well-developed areas of scholarship. Then we discuss the application of mindfulness to relationships in two other organizational contexts: healthcare and education. For each body of scholarship, we discuss mindfulness as a



predictor of one's own relational outcomes (e.g., physician mindfulness as a predictor of self-reported empathy for patients) and mindfulness as a predictor of others' relational outcomes (e.g., parent mindfulness as a predictor of child disclosure to the parent).

## *Mindfulness in Romantic Relationships*

### *Effects of Mindfulness on One's Own Outcomes*

Most of the research examining the effects of mindfulness on romantic relationships has considered effects on relationship satisfaction or quality. This research has generally explored whether people with higher levels of trait mindfulness report higher levels of satisfaction with their romantic relationships. Although this body of research is emerging, initial meta-analytic work suggests a moderate positive association between trait mindfulness and self-reported relationship satisfaction (effect size = 0.28 [0.23, 0.32]; [McGill, Adler-Baeder, & Rodriguez, 2016](#)). These initial promising findings resulted in theoretical work outlining potential mechanisms through which mindfulness may positively affect satisfaction in romantic relationships ([Atkinson, 2013](#); [Karremans, Schellekens, & Kappen, 2017](#); [Kozlowski, 2013](#)). However, empirical research suggests that the association between trait mindfulness and perceptions of the relationship may be more complex than initially assumed. For example, some research has found that only certain dimensions of trait mindfulness are associated with relationship satisfaction (e.g., [Adair, Boulton, & Algoe, 2018](#); [Burpee & Langer, 2005](#); [Khaddouma & Gordon, 2018](#)). Other work has found that the association between trait mindfulness and relationship satisfaction is nonsignificant (e.g., [Harvey, Crowley, & Wosidlo, 2019](#)), is inconsistent across samples ([Kappen, Karremans, Burk, & Buyukcan-Tetik, 2018](#)) or measurement occasions ([Khaddouma & Gordon, 2018](#)), or differs by gender (e.g., [Barnes, Brown, Krusemark, Campbell, & Rogge, 2007](#)).

Relatively less research has examined whether *changes* in mindfulness predict changes in relationship satisfaction. However,



initial findings are encouraging. In a four-week mindfulness-based relationship education intervention targeted at couples expecting their first child, [Gambrel and Piercy \(2015\)](#) found that the intervention significantly improved self-reported relationship satisfaction among men but not women. [Khaddouma, Gordon, and Strand \(2017\)](#) also found that MBSR participants' relationship satisfaction increased over time, and that increases in mindfulness predicted increases in satisfaction. Due to the small sample size, the authors did not examine the moderating role of gender; however, women comprised 80% of the sample.

There is also some evidence that mindfulness may have benefits beyond satisfaction. For example, [Barnes et al. \(2007, Study 2\)](#) found that trait mindfulness predicted increased feelings of love and commitment toward a romantic partner following a conflict discussion. Moreover, women's (but not men's) trait mindfulness predicted increases in their reported respect for their partner, and perceived respect from their partner, following a conflict discussion. Drawing on the proposition that mindfulness may facilitate more satisfying, and in turn more stable, romantic relationships, [Khaddouma and Gordon \(2018\)](#) examined whether trait mindfulness was negatively associated with dating relationship dissolution 90 days later; the hypothesized association was supported for women, but not men.

Some research has suggested that mindfulness is directly associated with less relationship conflict or more adaptive conflict resolution strategies between romantic partners. [Barnes et al. \(2007, Study 2\)](#) found that participants who rated themselves as higher in state mindfulness during a conflict discussion with a partner were rated as having lower levels of verbal aggression, negativity, and conflict during the discussion by an observer. Interestingly, trait mindfulness was unrelated to observer ratings of conflict. In a related study, [Harvey et al. \(2019\)](#) proposed that by facilitating awareness and attention during relational conflict episodes, mindfulness may encourage the selection of more constructive conflict strategies. Supporting this proposition, [Harvey et al. \(2019\)](#) found that men who scored higher in trait mindfulness reported

using more compromising strategies when experiencing conflict with a romantic partner. However, mindfulness was unrelated to women's self-reported compromising. In the only intervention study examining the effect of mindfulness on relationship-related conflict among couples where one partner had lung cancer, [van den Hurk, Schellekens, Molema, Speckens, and van der Drift \(2015\)](#) observed decreases in self-reported burden by caregivers after caregiver participation in MBSR.

### *Effect Mindfulness on Partner Outcomes*

In addition to examining the effects of mindfulness on an individual's own relational outcomes, some research has examined crossover effects to one's romantic partner. Although a few studies have found effects of one partner's trait mindfulness on the other partner's relationship satisfaction (e.g., [Parent et al., 2014](#)), other studies (e.g., [Barnes et al., 2007](#)) have not found crossover effects of mindfulness. However, closer examination of the literature suggests that crossover effects may be specific to certain dimensions of mindfulness (e.g., [Williams & Cano, 2014](#)) or may differ by gender ([Harvey et al., 2019](#)). One study found that employees' state mindfulness was associated with spouses' daily relationship satisfaction; these effects were partially mediated by employees' increased state happiness at home ([Montes-Maroto, Rodriguez-Munoz, Antino, & Gil, 2018](#)). In one of the only studies assessing crossover effects of mindfulness training, [Khaddouma et al. \(2017\)](#) found that increases in MBSR participants' mindfulness were associated with increases in their nonenrolled partners' relationship satisfaction over time.

In addition to relationship quality, research has addressed whether trait mindfulness is associated with other partner outcomes, such as partner-rated support, conflict resolution strategies, and emotion regulation. Two studies have found that people who score higher in aspects of trait mindfulness are perceived to be more responsive by their partners ([Adair et al., 2018](#); [Williams & Cano,](#)

2014). In addition, Williams and Cano (2014) found that chronic pain patients perceived their spouses as responding to their pain with less anger and ignoring when their spouses were higher in trait mindfulness. In terms of conflict resolution approaches, Harvey et al. (2019) did not find evidence that trait mindfulness was related to the partner's report of compromising. However, women who were higher in trait mindfulness were rated as using less dominating conflict resolution strategies by their partners. Finally, Iida and Shapiro (2019) proposed that mindfulness may be associated with better emotion regulation in one's partner. Partially supporting this proposition, the authors found that women's trait levels of some facets of mindfulness were associated with less variation in their male partners' negative moods (i.e., greater mood stability) over a 24-day period. In contrast, men's trait levels of a different facet of mindfulness were associated with less variation in their female partners' negative moods.

## *Parent–Child Relationships*

### *Effects of Mindfulness on One's Own Outcomes*

Early mindfulness scholars conceptualize mindful parenting as an application of mindfulness principles to the parenting context; mindful parents pay attention to their child moment to moment, with nonjudgmental awareness (Kabat-Zinn & Kabat-Zinn, 1997). Drawing from this seminal work, Duncan, Coatsworth, and Greenberg (2009) introduced a conceptual model of mindful parenting that provides an organizing framework for understanding how and why mindful parenting may yield positive relational outcomes. The Duncan et al. model proposes five features of mindful parenting: (a) listening with full attention, (b) nonjudgmental acceptance of self and child, (c) emotional awareness of self and child, (d) self-regulation in the parenting relationship, and (e) compassion for the child.

There is some evidence of beneficial parental outcomes as a result of mindful parenting. Parent, McKee, Rough, and Forehand (2016) found that parents higher in dispositional mindfulness were

more likely to engage in mindful parenting practices. In turn, the use of more mindful parenting practices predicted positive parental behaviors, such as showing greater affection toward the child, communicating clearly with the child, and praising the child. Moreover, parents who used mindful parenting practices were less likely to engage in negative parenting behaviors, such as losing their temper easily and/or yelling at the child. In a pilot study, [Coatsworth, Duncan, Greenberg, and Nix \(2010\)](#) found that parents who participated in a family-focused intervention that incorporated mindful parenting reported improvements in consistently communicating rules, when compared to a passive control group. However, similar gains were found in an active control group delivering a family-focused intervention condition without mindful parenting, indicating that improvements in communicating rules cannot be tied exclusively to mindful parenting. [Coatsworth et al. \(2010\)](#) did not find gains in the mindful parenting-based intervention in other areas of child management (e.g., discipline consistency, providing reasons to the child for parental decisions) compared to the active and passive control groups. Furthermore, no gains in relationship quality as reported by the parent were found in the mindful parenting condition when compared to the passive control group. Notwithstanding these nonsupportive findings, mediation analyses indicated that when compared to the passive control condition, the mindful parenting augmented family-focused intervention led to greater mindful parenting practices, which in turn predicted more consistent discipline as reported by parents.

In a follow-up study using a much larger sample, [Coatsworth et al. \(2015\)](#) again compared a family-focused intervention that incorporated mindful parenting to an active control condition consisting of a family-focused intervention without mindful parenting. These two interventions were also compared to a passive control group. The family-focused mindful parenting intervention demonstrated similar results as [Coatsworth et al. \(2010\)](#); the mindful parenting group showed significant improvements in some outcomes compared to the passive control group. However, comparisons between the family-focused mindful parenting intervention and the

nonmindful parenting family-focused intervention yielded mixed results. Mothers in the mindful parenting intervention actually reported worse self-regulation and lower levels of support and understanding toward their children than mothers in the nonmindful parenting intervention. By contrast, the mindful parenting intervention demonstrated greater efficacy for fathers. In comparison to the family-focused intervention, fathers in the mindful parenting intervention were more aware of their children's emotions, reported that they improved their listening behaviors toward their children, and reported more compassion and acceptance toward their children.

Empirical research has also examined mindful parenting in relation to parenting stress. For example, in a Portuguese sample, [Gouveia, Carona, Canavarro, and Moreira \(2016\)](#) found that parents' dispositional mindfulness was negatively related to stress associated with the parenting role, and this effect was mediated by engagement in mindful parenting practices. Similarly, [Chaplin et al. \(2018\)](#) examined the efficacy of a mindful parenting intervention among a sample of highly stressed mothers. They found that participation in the intervention (versus a parental education control group) was associated with reductions in two of the three types of parenting stress examined: parent life restrictions (e.g., less freedom to do what one wants because of child) and relationship with partner (e.g., arguments with partner about parenting practices). No effects were found for parental stress associated with perceived incompetence and guilt. [Chaplin et al. \(2018\)](#) also found parent-reported improvements in relationship quality with the child following the mindful parenting intervention, compared to the education-only control group. No group differences were found in mothers' self-reported emotional response following a conflict discussion with the child. However, post hoc analyses found that the mindfulness intervention interacted with child gender in predicting outcomes; the mindful parenting intervention documented efficacy in reducing negative parenting behavior and negative parental emotional responses, but only for mothers of girls (not boys).

## *Effects of Mindfulness on Child Outcomes*

Empirical evidence has also documented beneficial outcomes for the child as a result of a parent practicing mindful parenting. Medeiros, [Gouveia, Canavarro, and Moreira \(2016\)](#) found that when both parents (mother and father) were higher in mindful parenting, children reported higher levels of physical, mental, and emotional well-being. Similarly, [Moreira, Gouveia, and Canavarro \(2018\)](#) found that mindful parenting was associated with greater adolescent self-compassion and adolescent well-being. Other child outcomes of mindful parenting include improvements in the perceptions of the family relationship and parent–child communication. [May, Reinka, Tipsord, Felver, and Berkman \(2016\)](#) found that after an eight-week mindful parenting intervention, children whose parents improved their mindfulness the most reported greater improvements in family relations such as trust, warmth, fun, and togetherness. Lippold, Duncan, [Coatsworth, Nix, and Greenberg \(2015\)](#) found that mothers who were higher in mindful parenting reacted less negatively to information that their child disclosed to them, which subsequently predicted mothers' reports that their child voluntarily disclosed more information to them. Additionally, parental participation in a mindfulness-enhanced family intervention was associated with child reports of consistent discipline and more effective parental monitoring ([Coatsworth et al., 2015](#)). However, Coatsworth et al. did not find positive gains in child-reported relationship quality as a result of parental participation in a mindfulness-enhanced family intervention.

## *Mindfulness in Healthcare Settings*

### *Effects of Mindfulness on One's Own Outcomes*

Research in healthcare contexts finds that mindfulness is associated with work-related relational outcomes. An emerging body of research suggests that mindfulness interventions can improve empathy among healthcare professionals. As an illustration, in a sample of graduate healthcare students, [Barbosa et al. \(2013\)](#) found significant



increases in empathy toward patients immediately following an eight-week mindfulness intervention compared to a control group. However, this significant difference was not sustained in a follow-up assessment three weeks later. Likewise, [Bohecker and Horn \(2016\)](#) found that compared to a control group, counselors who received a mindfulness-based intervention significantly increased empathy toward their patients. The finding that mindfulness interventions can increase empathy toward patients has been replicated in samples of nurses and physicians ([Beddoe & Murphy, 2004](#); [Krasner et al., 2009](#)). Finally, there is some evidence that mindfulness may improve other important relational outcomes in healthcare contexts. For example, in a qualitative study, nurses reported that they felt that a mindfulness-based intervention helped improve their communication with fellow healthcare professionals, patients, and patients' families. Furthermore, some nurses reported that they felt the mindfulness-based intervention helped create a positive experience for their patients and also helped them work together more effectively within nursing teams ([Kulka, De Gagne, Mullen, & Robeano, 2018](#)).

### *Effects of Mindfulness on Patient Outcomes*

Research suggests that patients may also report benefits when their healthcare provider is more mindful. A notable benefit for the patient includes improvements in communication between the healthcare professional and the patient. [Beach et al. \(2013\)](#) coded audio recordings of physician–patient interactions and found that patients who were paired with physicians higher in dispositional mindfulness engaged in more attempts to build rapport with their physician. Furthermore, patients paired with physicians that were higher in dispositional mindfulness reported higher communication quality with their physician compared to those paired with physicians that were lower in dispositional mindfulness. Research also documents that a facet of counselor dispositional mindfulness was significantly related to client perceptions of feeling understood by the counselor ([Fulton, 2016](#)).

## *Mindfulness in Educational Settings*

### *Effects of Mindfulness on One's Own Outcomes*

Several authors have theorized that mindfulness can improve teacher–student interactions and relationships. For example, [Roeser, Skinner, Beers, and Jennings \(2012\)](#) suggest that the flexible attention characteristic of mindfulness can enable teachers to respond to students' needs “on the fly.” Through present moment awareness of students, mindful teachers better respond to situations where students lack the maturity or skills to learn, and can adapt their teaching methods accordingly. There is some evidence that teachers who are higher in trait mindfulness report higher-quality relationships with their students. For example, [Becker, Gallagher, and Whitaker \(2017\)](#) found that Head Start classroom teachers' trait mindfulness predicted lower levels of teacher-rated conflict and higher levels of teacher-rated closeness with children in their classrooms. [Jennings \(2015\)](#) found that some dimensions of dispositional mindfulness were associated with teachers' perspective-taking with a challenging student and use of a sensitive and proactive management style when disciplining challenging students as assessed during a semi-structured interview. There is also some evidence that teachers' trait mindfulness is associated with observable differences in how teachers interact with their students. Two studies ([Braun, Roeser, Mashburn, & Skinner, 2019](#); [Jennings, 2015](#)) found that teachers' trait mindfulness predicted observer ratings of teachers' emotional support (i.e., sensitivity to students, respect for student perspectives, and positive classroom climate). In contrast, [Elreda et al. \(2019\)](#) did not find a direct effect of teacher-reported interpersonal mindfulness (mindfulness directed at relationships with students) on observer-rated emotional support. In terms of whether or not mindfulness-based interventions can affect teachers' relationships with students, research results to date are mixed. In support of mindfulness interventions, teachers enrolled in a nine-week mindfulness-based training program used more positive affect- and feeling-related words to describe a challenging student at



post-test, when compared to teachers in a waitlist control group (Taylor et al., 2016). In contrast, Hwang, Goldstein, et al. (2019) did not find changes in teacher-rated closeness or conflict with children following an eight-week teacher mindfulness intervention.

Notwithstanding inconclusive findings regarding relational quality with students, some research indicates that mindfulness interventions can result in improvements in observer ratings of teacher–student interaction. Jennings et al. (2017) found improvements in observer-rated emotional support following mindfulness-based intervention for teachers relative to a waitlist control group; these effects were driven by improvements in classroom climate (i.e., positive and respectful relationships between students and teachers) and teacher sensitivity. Likewise, Hwang, Noh, Medvedev, and Singh (2019) found that observer ratings of teacher talk (i.e., amount of time teachers spent talking in class) declined from baseline to six weeks post-intervention in a mindfulness and self-compassion intervention for primary teachers; declines were not observed in the passive control group. In contrast, observer-rated student talk *increased* in the intervention group; taken together, these findings suggest that the intervention may have contributed to a more engaged classroom environment. Additionally, teachers in the intervention group increased in a variety of indices of positive teaching behaviors relative to the control group, including the greater relative use of indirect talk (i.e., acceptance, praise, and asking questions), and decreased in lecturing and giving directions/commands. Moreover, there were observed increases in criticizing in the control group that were not observed in the intervention group. Importantly, changes in self-reported mindfulness from baseline to post-test predicted teachers' observed positive teaching behaviors (i.e., praising and encouragement of students, acceptance of and capitalization on student ideas).

## *Effects of Mindfulness on Student Outcomes*

Relatively less research has examined whether teacher mindfulness is associated with student perceptions of the teacher–student relationship or student relationally oriented behavior. However, initial studies evaluating the effects of teacher mindfulness interventions have found promising results. [Singh, Lancioni, Winton, Karazsia, and Singh \(2013\)](#) reported declines in children’s maladaptive behavior (e.g., screaming, kicking, biting) and negative peer interactions, as well as increases in compliance with teachers’ requests, following preschool teachers’ participation in mindfulness training. [Hwang, Goldstein, et al. \(2019\)](#) found improvements in students’ sense of relatedness to teachers following an eight-week teacher mindfulness intervention. In a separate study, [Hwang, Noh, et al. \(2019\)](#) found increases in observer-rated student talk (i.e., amount of time in class students spent speaking) six weeks after primary school teachers’ participation in a mindfulness and self-compassion intervention; no changes in student talk were observed in the passive control group. These changes were driven by increases in student responses to teachers and student expressions of their ideas and asking questions in the intervention group. Importantly, teachers’ changes in self-reported mindfulness from baseline to post-test were associated with higher levels of observer-rated student expression of ideas and asking questions. These studies from the student perspective provide further evidence that teacher mindfulness may change the communication-related relational dynamic between student and teacher in positive ways.

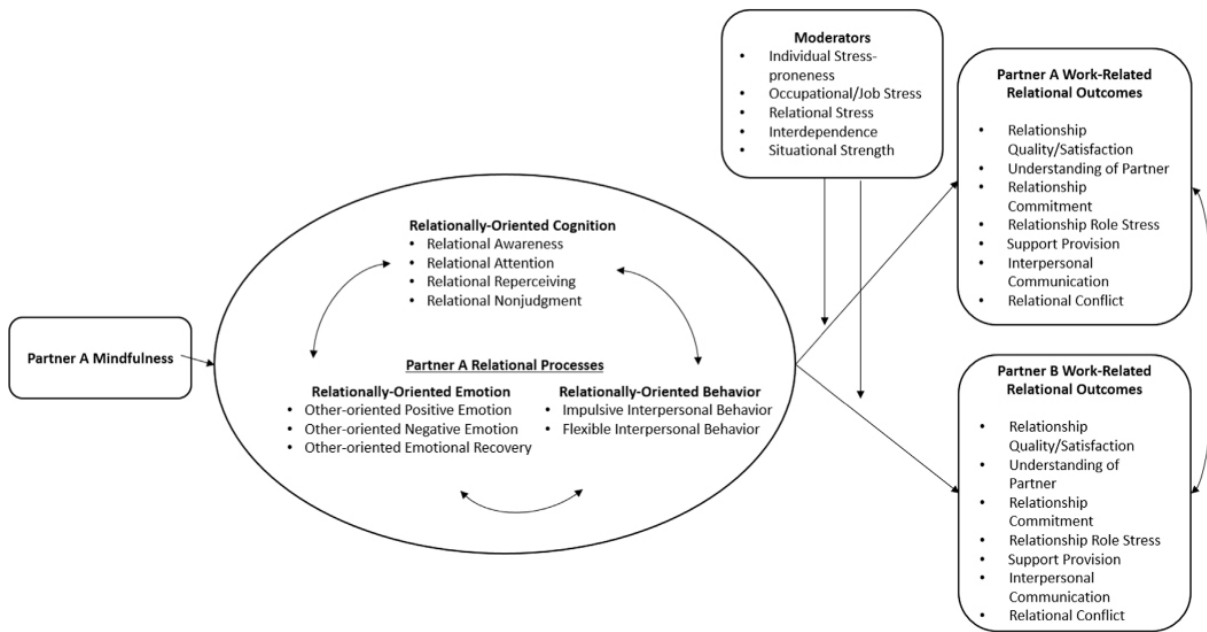
### *Summary and Integration of Research Outside Organizational Psychology*

There is a growing body of research documenting the positive effects of mindfulness on relational outcomes. This includes evidence that mindfulness is related to one’s own relational outcomes and some evidence of crossover effects on relational partners (e.g., romantic partners, students). Numerous relationally oriented outcomes have been linked to mindfulness as a trait, state, and

intervention. These outcomes include how one feels about the relationship and relational partner (e.g., satisfaction, quality, feelings of relatedness, commitment), the amount of relational role stress reported (e.g., parenting stress, conflict), and interpersonal interactions (e.g., support provision, communication). With this research evidence as a backdrop, in the next section we extend research and theory to focus explicitly on the relational features of mindfulness as applied to work-related relational outcomes.

## **A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE MECHANISMS LINKING MINDFULNESS TO WORK-RELATED RELATIONAL PHENOMENA**

A framework for understanding, how, why, and under what conditions employee mindfulness relates to work-related relational outcomes is presented in [Fig. 1](#). Our interdisciplinary review of the literature examining mindfulness and relationships informed the distal outcomes shown in [Fig. 1](#). These outcomes include both Partner A's (the focal mindful person) and Partner B's (the mindful person's partner): (1) perceptions of relationship quality/satisfaction, (2) belief that his/her thoughts, feelings, and perspectives are understood by the relational partner, (3) commitment to the relationship, (4) perceived relationship-related role stress, (5) support provision, (6) interpersonal communication, and (7) relationship conflict.



*Fig. 1.* Proposed Relationally Oriented Mindfulness Framework.

In keeping with the documented effects of mindfulness on one's own and others' relational outcomes, we position Partner A's mindfulness as a distal predictor of Partner A's own work-related relational outcomes as well as Partner B's work-related relational outcomes (see Fig. 1). At the core of the proposed framework are three distinct, yet reciprocally related pathways (relationally oriented cognition, emotion, and behavior) that link Partner A's mindfulness to the outcomes depicted in Fig. 1. The three proposed pathways are based on theory and prior research emphasizing how mindfulness can affect individual cognition, emotion, and behavior. We build on and extend existing conceptual process-oriented frameworks (both within and outside organizational psychology) by contextualizing the pathways to interpersonal relationships. In other words, rather than proposing that general processes of awareness, attention, emotion, behavior, etc. underlie the positive effects of mindfulness across a wide range of work-related outcomes (e.g., task performance, well-being, work attitudes; see Glomb et al., 2011 and Good et al., 2016), we introduce three relationally oriented pathways that are yoked to relational outcomes for the focal

individual (Partner A) and his or her relational partner (Partner B). Our approach is consistent with the construct correspondence theoretical perspective ([Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977](#)), which argues that to best understand phenomena, it is important that the predictors and criteria be at the same level of specificity. In line with this perspective, the proposed framework has the potential to advance theory by providing a more fine-grained account of how and why the proximal *relational* processes associated with mindfulness may influence downstream *relational* outcomes. In the following sections each of these relationally oriented mediating pathways are discussed, drawing from existing research and theory on mindfulness in general, and the relational aspects of mindfulness in particular.

## **PATHWAY 1: COGNITION**

Awareness and attention are discussed as key features of mindfulness ([Brown et al., 2007](#)). This includes being aware of what is actually happening around us (i.e., having our consciousness “radar” turned on, p. 822) and deliberately focusing our conscious awareness for a period of time ([Brown & Ryan, 2003](#)). In an eloquent description of mindfulness, Brown and Ryan note that “... awareness and attention are intertwined, such that attention continually pulls ‘figures’ out of the ‘ground’ of awareness, holding them focally for varying lengths of time” (p. 822). The awareness and attention that characterize mindfulness have also been described as reflecting openness and receptivity ([Martin, 1997](#)); an attunement to savoring experiences in the moment. Research finds that mindfulness is in fact associated with selective attention and conscious perception (e.g., [Jensen, Vangkilde, Frokjaer, & Hasselbalch, 2012](#)), higher internal state awareness ([Brown & Ryan, 2003](#)), and sustained attention ([Chambers, Lo, & Allen, 2008](#)), both in general and in relation to affective cues in one’s environment ([Teper, Segal, & Inzlicht, 2013](#)). Neuroscientific research provides additional evidence by documenting that mindful meditation is

associated with changes in brain activity indicative of attention and awareness (see [Hölzel et al., 2011](#) for a review).

Collectively, the awareness and attention that characterize mindfulness are associated with a unique orientation in perspective: reperceiving<sup>1</sup> ([Shapiro, Rechtschaffen, & de Sousa, 2016](#)). Reperceiving involves a notable shift from being immersed in one's immediate experience to a witnessing of one's experience from a detached or distanced perspective. There is empirical evidence that reperceiving is associated with mindfulness. [Carmody, Baer, Lykins, and Olendzki \(2009\)](#) found a large post-test change ( $d = 1.29$ ) in reperceiving among adults participating in 17 different MBSR training programs. Moreover, several studies have found that the ability to objectively observe moment-to-moment experiences mediates the positive effects of mindfulness training on individual outcomes ([Bieling et al., 2012](#); [Hoge et al., 2015](#)). Reperceiving may also explain why dispositional mindfulness is negatively related to dysfunctional cognitive styles of thinking, such as the tendency to ruminate and catastrophize (for a review, see [Tomlinson, Yousaf, Vitterso, & Jones, 2018](#)). By taking a step back from immersion in one's own experience, mindful individuals are able to see things as they are rather than through cognitive distortions that can contribute to ruminative thought patterns.

Reperceiving may also lessen ego-involvement in cognition. By creating separation between the self (e.g., self-concept, ego) and thoughts, feelings, and experiences, mindfulness can quell the propensity to view experiences in a way that privileges the self over others ([Brown, Ryan, Creswell, & Niemiec, 2008](#)). In a creative experimental study comparing meditation-based mindfulness to two control conditions, researchers found support for this prediction: individuals assigned to the mindfulness condition reported lower self-referential processing than individuals in the control condition ([Golubickis, Tan, Falben, & Macrae, 2016](#)). The authors attributed this finding to reduced egocentrism vis-à-vis the induction of mindfulness. Corroborating research using functional neuroimaging documents that areas of the brain associated with self-referential

processes are affected by mindful mediation (see [Hölzel et al., 2011](#)).

A final cognitive feature of mindfulness is nonjudgmental acceptance. [Shapiro et al. \(2016\)](#) discuss this in terms of the “attitude” (p. 376) one adopts when attending to the stimuli encountered in life. By adopting a nonjudgmental stance when paying attention, mindfulness takes on an “affectionate, compassionate quality ... (characterized by) a sense of open-hearted, friendly presence and interest” ([Kabat-Zinn, 2003](#), p. 145). This nonjudgmental stance means that attending to one’s own experience should be done without evaluation or interpretation, but rather in a manner that fosters acceptance, openness, and self-kindness. Importantly, nonjudgment does not encourage the dismissal of negative thoughts and feelings or the cultivation of only positive ones. Instead, mindfulness orients the individual toward *awareness* of one’s thoughts and feelings regardless of affective tone (positive, negative, neutral), followed by *acceptance* of these experiences as they are, without trying to change, control, or avoid them ([Kang, Gruber, & Gray, 2014](#)). Also important to the nonjudgmental stance that characterizes mindfulness is the capacity to recognize thoughts and feelings, label them as they are experienced, but then let go of the experience ([Shapiro et al., 2016](#)).

### *Extension to Relationships*

Research and theory support the idea that cognitions associated with mindfulness may extend to interpersonal contexts. A central feature of several relationally oriented mindfulness interventions is an application of mindful awareness to one’s relationships. For example, the Cultivating Mindfulness and Resilience in Education (CARE) program is structured to give teachers opportunities to practice gradually extending mindful awareness to their relationships with students, parents, and colleagues ([Jennings, Snowberg, Coccia, & Greenberg, 2011](#)). Likewise, enhancing emotional awareness of one’s child is a core principle of mindful parenting ([Duncan et al.,](#)



2009). In addition, some have argued that mindfulness is associated with greater sensitivity to affective cues in one's environment (Teper et al., 2013), which may affect how attuned one is to others' emotions vis-à-vis enhanced awareness.

Some empirical findings suggest that mindfulness can engender greater awareness of relationships. For example, qualitative work has found that participants reported experiencing greater awareness of relational experiences and relationships with others following participation in MBCT (Bihari & Mullan, 2014). Coatsworth et al. (2015) found that fathers who participated in a mindful parenting intervention reported greater increases in emotional awareness of youth at post-intervention and at one-year follow-up, compared to those in the passive and active control group. Chaplin et al. (2018) also found greater present-centered emotional awareness of children among parents participating in a mindful parenting intervention compared to those in an education-only control group. In the education literature, Jennings et al. (2017) suggested that increases in teacher sensitivity to student needs following a mindfulness intervention may result from improvements in teachers' ability to notice students' needs following mindfulness training.

There is also evidence that mindfulness is associated with greater attention to relationships. Relational attention also is a core aspect of mindful parenting (i.e., listening with full attention; Duncan et al., 2009) and mindful teaching (Roeser et al., 2012). Research has found that participation in mindfulness interventions can increase listening skills among healthcare providers (Amutio-Kareaga, García-Campayo, Delgado, Hermosilla, & Martínez-Taboada, 2017) and parents (Coatsworth et al., 2015), and can improve parents' monitoring of their children's behavior (Coatsworth et al., 2015). Likewise, dispositional mindfulness has been linked to greater relational attention; Beach et al. (2013) found that physicians higher in trait mindfulness spent an average of 5.8 minutes longer with their patients compared to physicians lower in dispositional mindfulness. Indirect support for the idea that mindfulness predicts relational attention also comes from the literature on support in romantic relationships, which finds that some dimensions of trait



mindfulness predict the extent to which people view their romantic partners as responsive and supportive ([Adair et al., 2018](#); [Williams & Cano, 2014](#)). This suggests that, consistent with the proposed framework in [Fig. 1](#), mindfulness may foster greater attention to, and awareness of, one's relational partner.

Mindfulness may also facilitate relational re-perceiving. For example, the mindful parenting literature describes how, over years of interactions with their children, parents tend to create cognitive "defaults" for interpreting their children's behavior, as well as the parent-child relationship ([Duncan et al., 2009](#)). Mindful parenting is purportedly effective because it helps mitigate parents' habitual use of these past cognitive constructions, helping them to instead focus on what is happening in the present moment and develop more realistic expectations for child behavior. Mindful parenting is also associated with changes in how the parent views his or her role in the parenting relationship. This includes less self-blame for the child's behavior and more positive perceptions of one's own parenting practices ([Lippold et al., 2015](#)). Other research has found that that mindfulness engenders a more detached, present-focused, and less ego-involved approach to relationships. For example, [Hertz, Laurent, and Laurent \(2015\)](#) found that individuals higher in trait mindfulness appraised relationship conflict as less threatening following a relationship conflict discussion, suggesting that those who are more mindful may be better able to put relational conflicts into perspective, rather than catastrophizing or ruminating on them. The mindfulness literature also proposes that the reduced ego-involvement associated with re-perceiving may improve relationships with others by shifting the focus to others' needs ([Brown et al., 2008](#)). Supporting this idea, there is evidence that experimentally inducing mindfulness orients one's cognitions away from the self and toward others. Block-Lerner et al. (as reported in [Block-Lerner, Adair, Plumb, Rhatigan, & Orsillo, 2007](#)) found that participants assigned to a mindful awareness exercise wrote more about other people and used less first-person pronouns when describing an emotionally evocative film than those assigned to a positive thinking comparison group.

Also supporting the relationally oriented cognition pathway is evidence that mindfulness is associated with more accepting and less judgmental appraisals of relational partners. For example, research on romantic relationships has found that trait mindfulness is associated with higher levels of partner acceptance (e.g., accepting both positive and negative characteristics of one's partner; [Kappen et al., 2018](#)). In the parenting literature, mindful parenting purportedly helps parents understand normative changes in children's emotions and behavior nonjudgmentally and without overreaction ([Duncan et al., 2009](#)). Consistent with this proposition, [Coatsworth et al. \(2015\)](#) found that participating in a mindful parenting intervention led to improvements in both parental-reported and child-reported acceptance of children when compared to those in a control group. Likewise, in healthcare settings, qualitative research has found that clinicians reported feelings of compassion toward patients following participation in mindfulness training ([Irving et al., 2014](#)).

Using this literature as a backdrop, [Fig. 1](#) depicts a cognitive pathway by which mindfulness affects relational workplace outcomes. This pathway is consistent with the proximal cognitive outcomes of mindfulness just discussed, applied to interpersonal workplace contexts. The relationally oriented cognitive sub-processes depicted in [Fig. 1](#) include: (1) greater awareness of one's partner and relationship (relational awareness), (2) greater attentional focus on one's partner and relationship (relational attention), (3) greater detachment from one's own thoughts and experiences to connect more fully with present moment relational experiences (relational re-perceiving), and (4) greater likelihood of using a nonjudgmental approach when interacting with one's partner and relationship (relational nonjudgment).

## **PATHWAY 2: EMOTION**

Mindfulness is also associated with the experience of emotion in a variety of ways. The ability to experience emotions as they naturally

occur, but then let go of the emotional content, is an important aspect of mindfulness. Research demonstrates this short-circuiting effect by documenting that mindfulness relates to quicker recovery from negative emotions (Brown, Weinstein, & Creswell, 2012), enhanced capacity to let go of negative emotionally laden thoughts when they arise (Frewen, Evans, Maraj, Dozois, & Partridge, 2008), and greater emotional regulation (Iani, Lauriola, Chiesa, & Cafaro, 2019). Mindfulness is also associated with the intentional observation or awareness of emotional experiences, greater acceptance of emotional experiences, and more adaptive processing of emotional information (Farb, Segal, & Anderson, 2012; Goldin & Gross, 2010).

There is also evidence that mindfulness is related to lower levels of negative affect, trait and state unpleasant affect, state-trait anxiety, and emotionally charged rumination (Brown & Ryan, 2003). Emotion-related neurobiological changes are also observed with mindfulness. For example, Treadway and Lazar (2009) found changes in brain activity during mindfulness meditation that are indicative of reduced state and trait anxiety, as well as improved affect regulation. Similarly, trait mindfulness is related to patterns of brain activity in the amygdala and prefrontal cortex associated with less reactivity to emotional stimuli and greater emotional control (Creswell, Way, Eisenberger, & Lieberman, 2007; Way, Creswell, Eisenberger, & Lieberman, 2010). Finally, physiological studies document that meditation training is related to decreased emotional reactivity and quicker recovery after reactivity (see Hölzel et al., 2011).

### *Extension to Relationships*

In addition to its effects on self-focused emotion, some scholars note that the emotional effects of mindfulness may extend to others. The most commonly described other-oriented positive emotion is compassion, which refers to being open to, and moved by, the suffering of others (Neff, 2003). Some mindfulness practices

emphasize the importance of learning self-compassion as the gateway to being able to demonstrate compassion toward others ([Gunaratana, 2011](#)). Interestingly, although there is considerable anecdotal evidence that mindfulness training increases compassion toward others, there is surprisingly little intervention research on the topic ([Creswell, 2017](#)). An exception is a study by Fredrickson and colleagues ([Fredrickson, Cohn, Coffey, Pek, & Finkel, 2008](#)) that examined the efficacy of a mindfulness-related practice, loving kindness meditation, using a waitlist control design with working adults. Loving kindness meditation aims to evoke feelings of warmth and care for both oneself and others through quiet, contemplative meditation. The results indicated that only those in the loving kindness condition demonstrated increases in positive emotions (e.g., joy, gratitude, love, hope) over time. Moreover, there were immediate effects of loving kindness meditation on emotion, sustained effects after the meditation practice ended, and cumulative increases in positive emotions on subsequent days, regardless of whether or not the individual engaged in meditative activity.

Compassion for the child is also a key feature of mindful parenting ([Chaplin et al., 2018](#); [Duncan et al., 2009](#)) and research documents that mindful parenting interventions are associated with increases in both self- and child-reported compassion for the child ([Coatsworth et al., 2015](#)). Furthermore, qualitative research in healthcare settings found that clinicians who participated in a mindfulness intervention reported increased compassion for their patients post-intervention ([Irving et al., 2014](#)). In one of the only studies examining effects at the dyadic level, [Turpin and Chaplin \(2016\)](#) found that mindful parenting can also facilitate shared positive emotions between parent and child. Using an experience sampling methodology, [Montes-Maroto et al. \(2018\)](#) found that employees' state mindfulness at work was positively associated with spouses' daily relationship satisfaction, and that these effects were partially mediated by employees' greater state happiness in the evening. These findings support the mediated model depicted in [Fig. 1](#); employee mindfulness crossed over to affect his or her partner's

outcomes, and this occurred in part through an emotion-based pathway.

In terms of negative other-oriented emotions, research documents that mindfulness is related to lower levels of expressed anger in couples ([Wachs & Cordova, 2007](#)). In explaining this effect, the authors argue that mindfulness allows individuals to reframe the experience of negative emotion and become more comfortable with it, which in turn reduces reactivity toward others when negative thoughts and feelings are present. Additional research finds that mindfulness is associated with less daily relational stress ([Carson, Carson, Gil, & Baucom, 2004](#)) as well as less anxiety and anger-hostility when entering, and following, relational conflict situations ([Barnes et al., 2007](#)). [Carson et al. \(2004\)](#) speculate that reduced negative emotions toward others may be due to psychophysiological changes that promote greater relaxation and self-soothing as well as greater self- and partner acceptance. If so, then this may promote a calmer, less negatively charged initial reaction to relational challenges and also reduce the likelihood that negative emotions will escalate.

As just described by [Carson et al. \(2004\)](#), mindfulness is also purported to improve recovery from negative emotions in interpersonal situations. Supporting this proposition, mindfulness is associated with quicker cortisol recovery after the experience of negative partner behaviors ([Laurent, Hertz, Nelson, & Laurent, 2016](#); [Laurent, Laurent, Nelson, Wright, & Sanchez, 2015](#)), and following a stressful parent-child interaction ([Laurent, Duncan, Lightcap, & Khan, 2017](#)). In addition, [Johns, Allen, and Gordon \(2015\)](#) found that individuals higher in trait mindfulness were more forgiving of their partners after an experience of infidelity, suggesting that mindfulness may facilitate emotional recovery from even severe relational stressors. There is also evidence that experimentally inducing mindfulness helps decouple perceptions of self-worth from the experience of interpersonal rejection ([Heppner & Kernis, 2007](#)), and as a consequence may facilitate recovery from negative interpersonal experiences. Finally, several qualitative evaluations of mindfulness-based training programs for teachers identified

improved ability to both down-regulate initial emotional responses and recover more quickly from emotionally stressful encounters with students (e.g., [Schussler et al., 2019](#); [Sharp & Jennings, 2016](#)) as positive outcomes of mindfulness training.

As illustrated in [Fig. 1](#), emotion comprises the second pathway to understanding how and why mindfulness relates to relational outcomes. In line with the prior discussion, the relationally oriented emotional sub-processes depicted in [Fig. 1](#) include: (1) greater compassion and other positive emotions toward others (other-oriented positive emotion), (2) less negative emotions toward others (other-oriented negative emotion), and (3) faster recovery from negative emotions in interpersonal situations (other-oriented emotional recovery).

### **PATHWAY 3: BEHAVIOR**

A final pathway by which mindfulness may affect interpersonal outcomes is behavioral. The open awareness and present moment focus associated with mindfulness may not only deter habitual thinking (through the cognitive pathway previously discussed), but also reduce the tendency to act without fully considering the consequences. This proposition is supported by research linking dispositional mindfulness to lower impulsivity in general (e.g., [Brown & Ryan, 2003](#); [Peters, Erisman, Upton, Baer, & Roemer, 2011](#)) and research demonstrating the efficacy of mindfulness-based interventions for a variety of disorders characterized by behavioral impulsivity (e.g., [Wanden-Berghe, Sanz-Valero, & Wanden-Berghe, 2011](#)). Corroborating these findings, areas of the brain associated with behavioral self-control are activated through mindfulness training ([Tang, Tang, & Posner, 2013](#)). Furthermore, because mindfulness reduces emotional reactivity ([Arch & Craske, 2010](#); [Creswell et al., 2007](#)), impulsive behavior may be less likely to occur.

By encouraging acting with greater intention ([Shapiro et al., 2006](#)), mindfulness is also thought to encourage more flexible responding, characterized by less reliance on habitual responding



and greater consideration of alternative courses of action, based on the unique demands of a situation (Good et al., 2016). Such response flexibility is cultivated through the greater awareness and more controlled information processing that characterizes mindfulness (Brown et al., 2007; Carmody et al., 2009). By more deeply considering situations as they arise, individuals may be better able to “slow down” and select a behavioral response that is most appropriate for a particular situation before initiating action (Siegel, 2007), as opposed to choosing from well-rehearsed behavioral responses to situations or events.

In support of these ideas, research finds that mindfulness is positively related to greater consideration of alternative behaviors, increased awareness of behavioral routines, and active questioning of the effectiveness of existing routines (Brown & Ryan, 2003). Mindfulness is also associated with better problem-solving in novel (but not routine) situations (Ostafin & Kassman, 2012). When compared to a control group, short-term meditation training (integrated mind-body training) can likewise improve creative performance, assessed by the fluency, flexibility, and originality of ideas generated (Ding, Tang, Deng, Tan, & Posner, 2015). There is also some evidence that mindfulness predicts better performance on the Stroop Test, which measures one’s ability to shift attention from an overlearned, automatic association to a novel and less practiced one (Galla, Hale, Shrestha, Loo, & Smalley, 2012). Finally, there is some evidence that mindfulness is associated with enhanced executive functioning which was interpreted as evidence that mindfulness improves one’s ability to successfully adapt to changing situations and consider alternative solutions when problem-solving (Short, Mazmanian, Oinonen, & Mushquash, 2016).

### *Extension to Relationships*

Building on the research linking mindfulness to behavior, another primary mechanism through which mindfulness is purported to positively affect relationships is by reducing the extent to which



people engage in impulsive interpersonal behaviors, particularly those triggered by emotions. For example, the [Duncan et al. \(2009\)](#) model of mindful parenting proposes that the regulation of emotional reactions in the parenting relationship is a key mechanism through which mindful parenting improves both parent and child outcomes. By enabling parents to pause before reacting, mindful parenting is purported to allow for greater regulation of impulsive or emotionally reactive behavior. Supporting this theoretical path, research documents significant improvements in parental over-reactivity following mindful parenting training ([van der Oord, Bögels, & Peijnenburg, 2012](#)) and less negative reactivity to information that a child chooses to disclose to the parent ([Campbell, Leonard, & Hugh, 2017](#); [Lippold et al., 2015](#)). Qualitative research also indicates that parents who participate in mindful parenting interventions subsequently report less impulsive behavior toward their adolescents, including less yelling and spontaneous reacting to frustrating situations ([Haydicky, Wiener, & Shecter, 2017](#)). In educational contexts, teachers also demonstrate improvements in impulse control after mindfulness training. Qualitative accounts of the mindfulness-based CARE training program for teachers documented improved impulse control (i.e., not reacting rashly in frustrating encounters with students and colleagues; [Schussler et al., 2018](#)). Similar findings exist in the literature on romantic relationships. In a qualitative study, [Pruitt and McCollum \(2010\)](#) found that experienced meditators reported greater ability to not respond impulsively to relational “triggers” (p. 143) that would otherwise lead to negative, habitual responding.

Scholars have also recognized the potential effects of mindfulness on flexible interpersonal behavior ([Burpee & Langer, 2005](#); [Duncan et al., 2009](#)). For example, by enabling parents to pause before reacting, mindful parenting is purported to allow for parenting behavior that is aligned with parenting values and goals ([Duncan et al., 2009](#)). In this way, mindful parenting can result in a more flexible, varied, and purposeful repertoire of parenting behaviors, overcoming the tendency to react to the immediate situation or engage in deeply entrenched behavioral patterns. Similarly, [Brown](#)

and Ryan (2003) discuss how mindfulness should predict more purposeful and attentive behavior toward others, and in turn result in a wider range of more tailored and responsive support provision to relational partners. There is evidence that trait mindfulness is associated with self-reported use of more flexible problem-solving strategies in relational exchanges. This includes greater use of compromising approaches, characterized by a willingness to make concessions and devise solutions that are agreeable to both oneself and a relational partner (Harvey et al., 2019). Compromise also necessitates a flexible approach to responding because each relational problem poses unique challenges that require different courses of action to meet both partner's needs. Interestingly, Harvey et al. found that mindfulness is also associated with less reliance on rigid problem-solving strategies such as dominating or insisting on one's own way.

The behavioral pathway appears in Fig. 1, along with the relationally oriented behavioral sub-processes created by mindfulness. Applying the findings discussed above to interpersonal relations suggests that mindfulness may lead to (1) less impulsive responding to others (impulsive interpersonal behavior) and (2) more flexible responding in interpersonal situations (flexible interpersonal behavior).

## **POTENTIAL MODERATORS**

Fig. 1 also depicts several theoretically informed boundary conditions or moderators, all of which are proposed to change the magnitude of the indirect effect of Partner A's mindfulness on relational outcomes through Partner A's relationally oriented cognition, emotion, and behavior. This includes the moderating effect of individual stress-proneness, occupational/job stress, relationship stress, interdependence, and situational strength. As outlined below, we expect that each of these moderators will affect the mediated positive association between Partner A's mindfulness and the relational outcomes via relational processes. As depicted in Fig. 1,

we propose second-stage moderation of the indirect effect; in other words, we expect that mindfulness will generally lead to increases in Partner A's relationally oriented cognition, emotion, and behavior. However, we suggest that these processes will be particularly important for predicting relational outcomes under the conditions described below.

### *Individual Stress-Proneness*

As noted in the introduction, there is a large body of research documenting the benefits of mindfulness on stress reduction. Trait and state mindfulness, as well as mindfulness-based interventions, can help reduce individual stress in a wide range of contexts (medical procedures, employment, in close relationships), and there is some evidence that the effects of mindfulness are stronger for those experiencing higher levels of stress both situationally (e.g., [Arch & Ayers, 2013](#); [Donald & Atkins, 2016](#)) and chronically ([de Vibe et al., 2015](#); [Krick & Felfe, 2019](#); [Nyklíček & Irmischer, 2017](#)). One explanation that is often provided is that people experiencing stress have not only greater room for improvement vis-à-vis mindfulness, they also are most likely to benefit from the skills learned through mindfulness (e.g., [Ford, 2017](#); [Nyklíček & Irmischer, 2017](#)). For example, mindfulness may be especially important for someone who is high in anxiety, as the processes facilitated by mindfulness (e.g., nonjudgment, re-perceiving) take on enhanced importance for predicting outcomes in the presence of "default" ways of processing associated with anxiety (e.g., rumination, catastrophizing).

The moderating role of individual stress-proneness may manifest in a number of ways in workplace settings. Employees who are more prone to the experience of stress (e.g., higher anxiety, higher neuroticism) or who are more reactive to stressors (e.g., higher anger-hostility) may experience greater relational benefits as a result of mindfulness. Providing some support for this idea, [Ford \(2017\)](#) found an interaction between mindfulness and self-esteem when predicting responses to rejection; random assignment to brief

mindfulness meditation was associated with a reduction in harmful responses to rejection for low self-esteem individuals, but not for high self-esteem individuals. This finding indirectly supports the proposition that mindfulness and its downstream relational processes may be particularly important for predicting relational outcomes among those who experience chronically higher levels of stress, particularly social stress.

### *Occupational / Job Stress*

We also expect that the relational processes mobilized by mindfulness are especially beneficial for employees who work in high-stress occupations (e.g., social work, nursing, teaching) or in high stress jobs requiring considerable human contact (e.g., customer service). Supporting this idea, [Becker et al. \(2017\)](#) found that teachers' job stress moderated the indirect association between teachers' dispositional mindfulness and teacher–student conflict through depressive symptoms; when levels of job stress were higher, the negative indirect effect of mindfulness on conflict through depressive symptoms was stronger. Indirect support also comes from research on the experience of secondary trauma and compassion fatigue as unique occupational hazards among employees in human service occupations. By virtue of intense, sustained, and often emotional charged interactions with clients, human service professionals (e.g., social workers, substance abuse treatment counselors) are prone to experience a host of negative cognitive and emotional reactions (e.g., intrusive thoughts, flashbacks, nightmares) that can reduce interpersonal functioning and perpetuate feelings of depersonalization toward others ([Bride, Radey, & Figley, 2007](#); [Lent & Schwartz, 2012](#)). Trait mindfulness has been linked to less compassion fatigue among counselors (e.g., [Thompson, Amatea, & Thompson, 2014](#)). Based on these findings, Thompson et al. suggest that mindfulness is a potentially important protective factor for those working in human service occupations because it may help mitigate depersonalization by helping

counselors focus on a client's unique needs in the present moment and facilitating a nonjudgmental approach to relating that facilitates the client's receptivity to the support provided. In other words, the effects of mindfulness on relational outcomes through relational processes may be particularly important in stressful occupations because employees working in such contexts are at greater risk for negative relational outcomes (e.g., depersonalization).

### *Relational Stress*

We also suggest that the proposed effects of mindfulness on relational outcomes may be stronger in relational contexts marked by greater episodic or chronic stress. For example, by facilitating the belief that thoughts and reactions are transient mental events that do not necessarily represent reality (i.e., relational reperceiving; [Segal et al., 2002](#)), mindfulness may allow one to distance the self during the experience of social rejection, incivility, negative feedback or other perceived injustices from others. In other words, the indirect effect of mindfulness on relational outcomes may be particularly strong when relationships are under stress. As another example, the nonjudgmental acceptance associated with mindfulness (i.e., relational nonjudgment) may facilitate more positive relational outcomes in stressful relational contexts where one's partner would typically be judged as bad or undesirable. Consider the relationship between subordinate and supervisor; when the supervisor is more mindful, we might expect him or her to make less negative judgments of the subordinate, to experience lower levels of anger at the subordinate, and to react less impulsively when interacting with the subordinate; these behaviors ought to be especially predictive of relational outcomes when there is conflict in the supervisor–subordinate relationship.

Research on mindfulness in romantic relationships and parent–child interactions provides support for the proposed accentuating effect of relational stress depicted in [Fig. 1](#). For example, numerous studies propose that because mindfulness engenders relational

processes such as paying closer attention to one's partner, keeping emotions in check, and demonstrating flexibility when addressing problems, it may be especially important among couples experiencing relationship conflict (e.g., [Barnes et al., 2007](#); [Dixon & Overall, 2018](#)). Likewise, on the basis that mindfulness is purportedly more beneficial in stressful relational contexts, some mindfulness interventions target higher risk families (e.g., parents in recovery for drug abuse; [Dawe & Harnett, 2007](#)), parents who report already being under high stress ([Chaplin et al., 2018](#)), and dyads who are experiencing stressful transitions, such as the transition to parenthood ([Gambrel & Piercy, 2015](#)). Collectively, this literature suggests that the skills and processes engendered by mindfulness should be especially predictive of relational outcomes when relationships are under stress.

Additional research suggests that mindfulness is particularly important when faced with relational conflict. For example, [Long and Christian \(2015\)](#) found that inducing a more mindful state reduced the likelihood of retaliatory behavior toward others in response to perceived injustice, presumably because mindfulness reduced the tendency to interpret behavior as a threat to the self. In another set of studies also focusing on organizational relationships, [Yu and Zellmer-Bruhn \(2018\)](#) found that *team mindfulness* (i.e., a shared belief that interpersonal interactions within the team are characterized by awareness and attention to present events, and by nonjudgmental interpretation of team experiences) weakened the positive association between team task conflict and relationship conflict, and also reduced the likelihood that team relationship conflict predicted social undermining between team members. The authors attributed this buffering effect of team mindfulness to a greater present-focused attention, less ego-driven reactions to conflict, and reduced emotionality among team members.

## *Interdependence*



We also propose that interdependence strengthens the association between Partner A's mindfulness and relational outcomes. Dependence is defined by the extent to which one partner's outcomes are affected by the other partner's actions (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959; Rusbult & Van Lange, 1996); when both Partner A and Partner B are affected by one another's actions, the relationship is *interdependent*. According to Rusbult's investment model of commitment (Rusbult, 1980), dependence is greater in relationships that involve greater resource investment (e.g., greater time, identity, or effort invested), when there are few attractive alternatives to the relationship (e.g., a mentor cannot be easily replaced because s/he has access to specific resources needed by the protégé), and when relationships involve more benefits than costs (e.g., a supervisor's relationship with the highest performing employee in a work group). In addition, interdependence can also occur at the situation or task level (i.e., individual outcomes are more dependent on others' actions in some situations or tasks).

We expect that the effects of mindfulness on relationship outcomes will be strengthened when relationships or situations are more interdependent. In these contexts, Partner A should have more *opportunity* to apply mindfulness to the relationship because more interdependent relationships or situations involve greater time and effort investment. In addition, Partner A should be more *motivated* to apply mindfulness to the relationship because the relational outcomes of interest ought to be especially salient in more interdependent relationships or situations. Finally, Partner B is likely to be more *aware* of Partner A's mindfulness and associated relational processes when the relationship or situation is more interdependent because people tend to be more attuned to those who can affect their outcomes. As depicted in Fig. 1, these features of interdependence should strengthen the effects of mindfulness on relational outcomes through Partner A's relationally oriented cognition, emotion, and behavior.



## *Situational Strength*

A final proposed moderating factor is the strength of the work-related relational situation. Strong situations provide external cues for how to behave and therefore constrain behavioral options; in contrast, weak situations are characterized by few external pressures regarding desirable behavior ([Meyer, Dalal, & Hermida, 2010](#)). We expect the positive relational effects of mindfulness to be relatively stronger in weak situations compared to strong situations. In interdependence terms, weak situations should be more *diagnostic* (i.e., give Partner B greater insight into Partner A's characteristics; [Kelley et al., 2003](#)) because Partner A has latitude regarding how to behave toward Partner B. For example, an informal mentoring interaction that does not involve a "script" or explicit directions for interaction provides considerable latitude regarding how mentors and protégés should behave. In this weak situation, the mentor's mindfulness should be a stronger predictor of relational outcomes compared to a situation where the interaction is more structured and therefore involves fewer opportunities for the mentor to demonstrate his or her mindfulness and associated relational processes. On the other hand, strong situations in the workplace can restrict the application of mindfulness; for example, if relational situations are highly structured (e.g., following a script while on the phone with a customer) or do not provide opportunity for autonomous relating (e.g., strong expectations that employees work alone and without distraction from others), employees may be constrained in their opportunities to exercise mindfulness in a manner that would facilitate the downstream relational benefits depicted in [Fig. 1](#).

## **EXTENSION OF THE PROPOSED FRAMEWORK**

The framework presented in [Fig. 1](#) could be applied to a variety of different types of relationships in workplace settings and in so doing, be contextualized and extended in various ways. These include the potential for additional relational outcomes beyond those that have

been examined in the broader literature on mindfulness and relationships.

### *Leader–Subordinate Relationships*

There has already been some discussion in the organizational literature of how leader mindfulness may enhance the leader–subordinate relationship and positively affect subordinate outcomes. Much of this work is conceptual and emphasizes how mindfulness may help leaders develop greater compassion for their subordinates (Boyatzis, 2007) and demonstrate greater authenticity in relational functioning (Kinsler, 2014). In one of the few empirical studies to date, Reb, Narayanan, and Chaturvedi (2014) argued that through greater emotional awareness, understanding of others, and enhanced capacity to communicate one's own emotions, the effects of leader mindfulness may crossover and positively affect employees. Although no mediating mechanisms were examined empirically, Reb et al. indeed found positive associations between leader mindfulness and various indicators of employee well-being (e.g., work–life balance, emotional exhaustion) and job performance (e.g., in-role performance, extra-role behavior). These findings suggest that in addition to crossover effects on work-related relational outcomes represented in Fig. 1, it is possible that in the context of leadership, a leader's mindfulness may predict subordinate well-being and job performance.

### *Mentoring Relationships*

Another type of workplace relationship that may benefit from mindfulness is mentoring. Mentoring is a relationship between a more experienced individual (mentor) and a less experienced individual (protégé), where the primary goal is the personal and professional development of the protégé (Kram, 1985). Because mentoring has a broad scope of influence, can be formal or informal, and often exists outside an employee's direct chain of command, it is

distinct from leadership (Eby, Rhodes, & Allen, 2007). The relational processes shown in Fig. 1 seem particularly important in a mentoring context. For example, it seems likely that more mindful mentors would demonstrate greater awareness of and attention to protégés' signaling for both exploration opportunities and support. More mindful mentors may also express fewer negative emotions (e.g., sadness, anger) when discussing problems and providing advice to protégés. Additionally, more mindful mentors may exhibit more positive emotions such as compassion and interest when interacting with protégés. This may be particularly important when providing psychosocial support, which often involves helping protégés deal with the experience of failure, disappointment, and stressors at work. Mentors who are higher in mindfulness may also engage in relationally oriented behaviors that are more tailored to the unique needs of a particular protégé. Tailoring support in this manner may be particularly helpful when mentors provide coaching and counseling support to protégés. Mentors who are more situationally aware and in-tune with their protégés may also be better able to provide developmentally appropriate sponsorship; nominating protégés for opportunities that will be challenging and offer preparation for advancement, while being careful not to set protégés up for failure by offering opportunities that exceed their capabilities.

We further expect that the protégé (Partner B) outcomes affected by mentor (Partner A) mindfulness may extend beyond those shown in Fig. 1. Mentors provide protégés with a wide range of career-related and psychosocial support. In doing so, mentors encourage protégés to explore new opportunities and help them develop of a sense of professional identity (Kram, 1985). In addition, because of their developmental vulnerability, protégés often seek out mentoring support when under stress. Collectively, this suggests that the crossover effects associated with mindful mentoring may include reduced stress, enhanced career-related self-efficacy, stronger professional identity, and greater career resilience. Another unique feature of mentoring is that mentors often serve as role models for protégés (Kram, 1985). This raises some interesting possibilities regarding crossover effects. For example, social learning theory

([Bandura, 1971](#)) supports the possibility that over time and with repeated interactions, more mindful mentors may cultivate more relational nonjudgment, quicker emotional recovery, less interpersonal impulsivity and more relational flexibility in *their protégés* by modeling such behaviors. Or perhaps this crossover effect only occurs when the protégé reports strong identification with, or role modeling by, his or her mentor.

### *The Work–Family Interface*

Scholars have recently examined the relevance of mindfulness to the work–family interface, and have found that dispositional mindfulness relates positively to work–family balance ([Allen & Kiburz, 2012](#)) and that mindfulness training can reduce work–family conflict ([Kiburz et al., 2017](#)). However, research has not examined how mindfulness may contribute to relational outcomes relevant to the work–family interface. Given the proposed effects of mindfulness on relational attention and awareness, it seems likely that more mindful supervisors and family members will be more likely to recognize an employee’s work–family conflict, and in turn provide more support to that employee. Consistent with [Fig. 1](#), we might expect higher levels of family–supportive supervisor behaviors or general family support as a result of supervisor and family member mindfulness, respectively. In turn, we would expect lower levels of employee work–family conflict ([French, Dumani, Allen, & Shockley, 2018](#)). In addition to higher levels of support overall, we would expect mindfulness to engender more helpful or tailored social support for reducing work–family conflict. Through greater relational awareness and attention to a partner’s needs, nonjudgment of the partner’s needs, less ego-involvement as a result of re-perceiving, and more flexible interpersonal behavior, role-related partners may provide support in a way that is uniquely responsive to the needs of the recipient. For example, a more mindful spouse may notice that what his or her partner needs the most is greater help with housework after work, and may target his or her support efforts at housework.

This more responsive support may in turn relate to lower levels of work–family conflict for the partner.

Work–family crossover occurs when one partner’s experiences at work (or home) affect the other partner ([Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Wethington, 1989](#)). For example, an employee’s job stress may spill over into the family domain and in turn result in his or her spouse’s lower relationship satisfaction. Mindfulness may be an effective way of reducing negative crossover because more mindful employees are likely to experience lower levels of negative emotions overall, greater recovery from negative emotions, and greater detachment from negative thoughts and feelings that are elicited in work-related relational situations. As a result, more mindful employees may elicit less negative crossover in the home domain. This is consistent with [Montes-Maroto et al. \(2018\)](#) finding that daily employee mindfulness at work was associated with higher levels of spouse relationship satisfaction in the evening, and that this association was partially mediated by employees’ higher levels of state happiness in the evening. The potential for crossover effects indicates that mindfulness can have positive effects not only on work relationships, but also indirectly on nonwork relationships. Similarly, mindfulness may be an effective way to reduce negative crossover from family to work; for example, mindfulness may not only reduce negative emotions resulting from marital conflict, but may reduce the likelihood of marital conflict in general. As a result, mindful employees may be less likely to bring negative feelings from the family domain into the work domain where they can negatively influence their interactions with work colleagues. Thus, mindfulness applied to one’s personal relationships may also have positive consequences for work relationships.

### *Intergroup Relationships*

Mindfulness may also improve intergroup relations and in so doing, affect relational outcomes beyond those shown in [Fig. 1](#). Inter-group bias has been conceptualized as an overlearned cultural association

that can be unconsciously and automatically activated when interacting with someone who is different from oneself ([Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000](#)). In fact, some scholars argue that intergroup biases are both a necessary and inescapable results of the categorization process ([Bargh, 1989](#)). However, several of the mediating pathways shown in [Fig. 1](#) suggest that mindfulness could help short-circuit this automatic tendency to view others in stereotypical (and often negative) ways. Greater relational attention and awareness may help individuals recognize and identify when assumptions are made based on group membership, and relational nonjudgment may provide some safeguards on the tendency to view others who are different from oneself as inferior ([Kang et al., 2014](#)). Relational re-perceiving may also be important by allowing an individual to distance ego from the interpretation of a situation or relational event, thereby reducing potential social threat ([Shaprio et al., 2016](#)), particularly when interacting with someone different from oneself. Likewise, when coupled with greater positive and less negative other-oriented emotion, the behavioral self-control associated with mindfulness may reduce the likelihood of discriminatory behaviors aimed at out-group members.

Indirect support for this possibility includes evidence that mindfulness creates resistance to priming effects in nonrelational contexts by placing greater attentional focus on the here and now ([Radel, Sarrazin, Legrain, & Bobabce, 2009](#)). Building on this work, [Kang et al. \(2014\)](#) argue that mindfulness may reduce priming effects that would otherwise trigger prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior. For example, seeing a coworker in a wheelchair can prime a belief that s/he is less capable than others due to stereotypes associated with disabilities. However, with greater mindfulness, an individual may be more attentive to and aware of such a prime, and as a result engage in more controlled processing that decouples the prime (e.g., the wheelchair) from the person (e.g., the coworker). Indirect support exists; mindfulness-based training can decrease racial bias in educational contexts, both immediately after training and at a one-week follow-up ([Lillis & Hayes, 2007](#)). As another example, inducing mindfulness in children



can reduce discrimination against disabled individuals ([Langer, Bashner, & Chanowitz, 1985](#)), presumably by reducing automatic inference processing.

## **IMPORTANT NEXT STEPS FOR ADVANCING RESEARCH ON EMPLOYEE MINDFULNESS**

In this section, we offer specific suggestions for advancing our understanding of the work-related relational aspects of mindfulness. This includes consideration of how the three proposed pathway operate collectively, the role that the sub-processes play in transmitting the influence of Partner A's mindfulness on both partner's outcomes, and conceptual considerations that warrant close attention.

### *Unique, Additive, and Multiplicative Effects Cognition, Emotion, and Behavior*

Although we view construct correspondence a theoretical strength of our proposed framework, the proposed associations in [Fig. 1](#) await empirical inquiry. An important first step for research is considering the extent to which the relationally oriented cognition, emotion, and behavior pathways are uniquely predictive of work-related relational outcomes. In addition to using simultaneous estimation techniques such as structural equation modeling to help answer this question, methods such as relative weights analysis ([Johnson, 2000](#)) may be especially valuable in disentangling the relational pathways by which mindfulness operates. By decomposing the variance accounted for in specific relational outcomes, relative weights analysis would allow us to uncover not only which relational processes uniquely predict Partner A and Partner B relational outcomes, but also identify similarities and differences in the relative importance of cognition, emotion, and behavior as predictors of these outcomes. For instance, we may find that Partner A's relationally oriented cognition



(e.g., being aware of and paying attention in a relational exchange) is particularly important in predicting Partner B's relational perceptions, such as evaluating the relationship as high quality and feeling understood. The results of such investigations would allow for both refinements of, and potential extensions to, the framework shown in [Fig. 1](#). We also need to consider associations among relationally oriented cognition, emotion, and behavior. It is possible that cognition, emotion, and/or behavior interact to predict greater gains in relational outcomes than simple additive effects. As an illustration, if Partner A engages in both relationally oriented behaviors *and* more relationally oriented emotions toward Partner B, this may engender particularly strong and positive behavioral outcomes from Partner B (e.g., providing maximal support in return to Partner A, greatly reducing the likelihood of relational conflict with Partner A). Or perhaps higher relationally oriented cognition can substitute for lower levels of relationally oriented emotion, particularly for outcomes that are not emotionally laden, such as support provision and partner understanding.

### *Starting Points and Cyclical Patterns*

It is also important to understand exactly how relationally oriented cognition, emotion, and behavior relate to one another. Existing conceptual and theoretical frameworks often place primary emphasis on the cognitive aspects of mindfulness. For example, [Brown and Ryan \(2003\)](#) identify open or receptive awareness and attention as the core characteristics of mindfulness. Drawing from [Kabat-Zinn \(1994\)](#), [Shapiro et al. \(2006\)](#) note that paying attention in a particular manner, deliberately, and nonjudgmentally captures the essence of mindfulness. Applications of mindfulness to the workplace also note the strong cognitive orientation of mindfulness. For example, [Dane \(2011\)](#) argues that the attentional aspects of mindfulness are responsible for its effect on task performance. [Good and colleagues \(2016\)](#) also note that the stability, control, and efficiency of attention are the proximal and immediate outcomes of

mindfulness, which have downstream effects on cognition, emotion, behavior, and physiology. Given the purportedly critical role of cognition in understanding mindfulness, it seems likely that relationally oriented cognition may set in motion the emotional and behavioral processes depicted in [Fig. 1](#). If so, then understanding if emotion and behavior are simultaneously affected, or whether a more discrete sequential causal chain emerges (e.g., emotion first, followed by behavior), would help advance the relational science of mindfulness. Recursive or cyclical associations may also exist. For instance, greater relational awareness and attention may be initially necessary to motivate relationally oriented emotion and behavior, but once set in motion, these reactions may further strengthen relational cognition via-a-vis greater awareness of and attention to the partner, as well as a less judgmental stance toward the partner. As [Hölzel et al. \(2011\)](#) note, existing conceptual work on mindfulness has failed to delineate how sub-processes such as attention, awareness, emotional reactivity, and re-perceiving relate to one another. They argue that although attention is likely to be a prerequisite for all other mechanisms of action, once set in motion, cognitive, emotional, and behavioral mechanisms mutually facilitate each other and create an upward spiral process consistent with broaden-and-build theory ([Fredrickson, 2004](#)). [Hülshager, Walkowiak, and Thommes \(2018\)](#) found indirect support for this idea by documenting a mindfulness “gain spiral” (p. 263), whereby momentary mindfulness and psychological recovery were mutually reinforcing and reciprocally related over time. The Hülshager et al study (2018) underscores how ecological momentary assessment (EMA) methods may be particularly valuable for understanding the dynamic and complex associations among cognition, emotion, and behavior by modeling within-person variability over time. Another possibility is coupling EMA techniques with wearable sensors ([Chaffin et al., 2017](#)) that can detect physiological changes in emotional state (e.g., arousal, physiological recovery) as well as relational behavior (e.g., recording verbal activity, detecting co-location), as some of these processes depicted in [Fig. 1](#) may be challenging for momentary survey-based assessment.

## *Better Understanding of Cognitive, Emotional, and Behavioral Sub-processes*

Extending these ideas, we also acknowledge that research is needed examining the specific sub-processes residing in each of the three relationally oriented processes depicted in [Fig. 1](#). Similar to what we outline above, it is important to determine which specific sub-processes are most important *within each mechanism* (e.g., the relative importance of other-oriented positive emotion, other-oriented negative emotion, and emotional recovery in predicting relational outcomes), as well as *across mechanisms* (e.g., whether relational nonjudgment matters more than flexible interpersonal behavior in predicting relational outcomes). It also seems important to consider potential interactions among the sub-processes depicted in [Fig. 1](#), as well as identify similarities and differences in the most important predictors of both partners' relational outcomes.

With regard to the sub-processes in [Fig. 1](#), a more comprehensive understanding of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral sub-processes may be obtained by focusing on discrete interactions between relational partners. This is potentially important because as [Baumeister, Vohs, and Funder \(2007\)](#) persuasively argue, focusing on actual behavior is both conceptually and methodologically closer to many psychological phenomena of interest. We believe that this is particularly true when the interest is relational phenomena and agree with [Lehmann-Willenbrock and Allen \(2018\)](#) that examining interactions as they unfold over time provides a richer and more temporally contextualized perspective on the "what, when, and how" (p. 326) of interpersonal behavior.

One strategy that may prove particularly useful in understanding the relational sub-processes shown in [Fig. 1](#) is micro-behavioral coding. This technique involves videotaping relational interactions and using conversational speech units or turn-taking as the unit of analysis (e.g., [Sillars & Overall, 2017](#)). Each speaking turn is recorded by raters using a coding manual that captures specific features of conversational turns. In addition to capturing the specific content of verbal behavior, micro-behavioral coding can be used to

capture nonverbal (e.g., facial expressions, head nodding, eye contact, posture) and paraverbal (e.g., emotional tone, volume, interruptions) behaviors which may be particularly important in understanding the relational processes emerging from mindfulness. For example, nonverbal and paraverbal coding could be used to assess sub-processes such as relational attention (e.g., eye contact), relational nonjudgment (e.g., facial expressions such as a smirking and eye rolling), and impulsive interpersonal behavior (e.g., interrupting), all of which may be difficult to assess in other ways. Data obtained in this manner can then be analyzed using lag sequential analysis ([Bakeman & Quera, 2011](#)) which determines if the probability of a particular sequence of coded behavioral data (e.g., verbal, paraverbal, nonverbal behavior) occurs above chance. This data collection and analytic approach could be used to help uncover patterns of recursive association and specific sub-processes that are likely to precede and follow other sub-processes.

### *Conceptual Considerations*

In addition to the need for research on the relationally oriented sub-processes shown in [Fig. 1](#), more work is needed to understand whether the proposed associations hold for mindfulness as a trait, state, and intervention, across different conceptualizations and measures of mindfulness, and whether the relational effects of mindfulness may be domain-specific.

### *Differences in Mindfulness as a State, Trait, and Intervention*

As noted above, mindfulness can be considered a trait, psychological state, or a practice that can be modified through intervention. Considering whether Partner A's mindfulness is operating as a state, trait, or practice-based intervention has implications for predictions, research design, and measurement. For example, our framework

predicts that employees who are higher in trait mindfulness are more likely to *habitually* engage in the relational cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes outlined, which in turn affect their own and their partner's relational outcomes over the long term. This type of prediction would be best suited for a longitudinal design that includes trait measures of mindfulness. At the state level, our framework predicts that employees who are in a mindful state will experience the relational cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes outlined, which in turn will affect relational outcomes on a short-term or even momentary basis; this prediction necessitates measurement of mindfulness at the state level with very short intervals between measurements of mindfulness, processes, and outcomes. As an intervention, the framework predicts that changes induced via a mindfulness-based intervention will result in changes to the proposed relational mediators, and in turn will result in changes to the proposed outcomes. Empirically examining this process requires researchers to collect data both pre- and post-intervention, ideally with a control group of some sort.

In addition to implications for design, it is possible that the associations in the proposed framework are not isomorphic across state, trait, and practice-based mindfulness intervention. It may be, for example, that the relational processes shown in [Fig. 1](#) are more likely to operate at the trait level or after extended practice via an intervention because the process of learning mindfulness for the first time is cognitively and emotionally taxing. Evidence from a study of MBSR participants suggests that post-training practice is important to consider. [Goldberg, Knoopel, Davidson, and Flook \(2020\)](#) found that greater weekly post-training practice time was associated with higher practice quality, which in turn predicted greater improvements in both mindfulness and psychological symptoms post-training. Another piece of evidence is the finding that employees who reported engaging in behavioral self-monitoring (i.e., goal setting and monitoring behavior post-training) following participation in a brief mindfulness-based intervention to reduce work-family conflict reported greater reductions in both work interference with family

and family interference with work when compared to participants who did report behavioral self-monitoring ([Kiburz et al., 2017](#)).

### *Conceptualization and Measurement of Mindfulness*

There is also disagreement regarding the conceptualization of mindfulness that is important to consider. For example, [Brown and Ryan \(2003\)](#) influential research on mindfulness conceptualizes and operationalizes mindfulness as attention and awareness of present moment experience. In contrast, [Baer, Smith, Hopkins, Krietemeyer, and Toney \(2006\)](#) propose a five-factor model of mindfulness; still other measures propose alternative structures of mindfulness (e.g., [Lau et al., 2006](#)). Scholars have raised a number of concerns with existing self-report measures of mindfulness, including overly narrow conceptualizations, the use of items that indicate mindlessness rather than mindfulness, and the potential for measurement nonequivalence between meditators and nonmeditators (e.g., [Davidson & Kaszniak, 2015](#); [Grossman, et al., 2011](#); [Van Dam et al., 2018](#)). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to draw conclusions about the “correct” conceptualization and measurement of mindfulness. Our point here is that how one conceptualizes and measures mindfulness may affect research findings. For example, it may be that the process outlined in [Fig. 1](#) is largely driven by one or several dimensions of mindfulness acting in concert, or may hold for some measures of mindfulness but not for others.

### *General Versus Relational Mindfulness*

In addition to issues of conceptualization and measurement, there are other fundamental conceptual questions. One consideration that is gaining some traction is whether or not the relational benefits of mindfulness may be strengthened when Partner A’s mindfulness is contextualized to relationships generally, or his or her relationship with Partner B specifically. Recent work ([Pratscher, Rose, Markovitz,](#)



& Bettencourt, 2018; Van Doesum, Van Lange, & Van Lange, 2013) has suggested that the application of mindfulness to the relational context can have effects on outcomes above and beyond general trait mindfulness. Of particular relevance to the proposed framework, this work finds that relationally oriented mindfulness is uniquely associated with interpersonal outcomes such as relationship quality, whereas traditional trait mindfulness is uniquely associated with intrapersonal outcomes such as depression and anxiety (Pratscher et al., 2018). This raises the possibility that specifically targeting relationally oriented mindfulness may be a more effective strategy for enhancing relationships at work than cultivating mindfulness more generally. For example, rather than having mentors participate in a traditional breath-focused meditation program, a relationally oriented mindfulness program may encourage mentors to purposefully orient their nonjudgmental awareness and attention to the protégé.

It is also important to understand the process through which mindfulness training cultivates attention and awareness beyond the self. As noted above, although mindfulness has historically incorporated relational aspects (e.g., loving-kindness meditation), the way mindfulness is currently cultivated in Western contexts tends to focus on the individual and his or her intrapersonal experience (e.g., attending to one's breath). The extent to which standard mindfulness inductions lead to these relational aspects of mindfulness is an empirical question; it may be that relational benefits emerge over time with standard mindfulness practice (e.g., as one becomes more practiced in nonjudgmental awareness of one's own thoughts and feelings, this gradually becomes extended to others), or more targeted relational training may be required (e.g., incorporating loving-kindness meditations). There may also be important unexamined moderators; for example, those who are more oriented toward others (e.g., higher in prosocial orientation or relational self-construal) may be more likely to extend mindfulness to others regardless of the relational content of mindfulness training.



## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

There is no doubt that the topic of employee mindfulness has burgeoned in recent years and we see no evidence of its abatement. Building on this momentum, our goal was to introduce the reader to the relational aspects of mindfulness, expose organizational scholars to interdisciplinary research linking mindfulness as a dispositional trait, state, and practice-based intervention to relational outcomes in nonwork contexts, and develop a theoretically informed framework to guide empirical research on the interpersonal outcomes of mindfulness. In doing so, the proposed framework calls attention to the various ways that mindfulness may facilitate relationally oriented cognition, emotion, and behavior, which in turn may affect important work-related relational outcomes for the mindful employee and his or her relational partners. With this line of inquiry in the nascent stages, we hope that the ideas presented in this chapter inspire organizational scholars to test, refine, and extend the ideas presented in this chapter.

## NOTE

1. Reperceiving is similar to other terms used to describe the process of stepping back from immediate experience (decentering), gaining distance (defusing or distancing), and undoing automatic cognitive processes (deautomization). See Carmody et al. (2009) and Shapiro et al. (2006) for further discussion of these related constructs.

## REFERENCES

- Adair, K. C., Boulton, A. J., & Algoe, S. B. (2018). The effect of mindfulness on relationship satisfaction via perceived responsiveness: Findings from a dyadic study of heterosexual romantic partners. *Mindfulness*, 9, 597–609. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-017-0801-3>
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1977). Attitude-behavior relations: A theoretical analysis and review of empirical research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 84, 888–918. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.84.5.888>
- Allen, T. D., Eby, L. T., Conley, K. M., Williamson, R. L., Mancini, V. S., & Mitchell, M. E. (2015). What do we really know about the effects of mindfulness-based training in

- the workplace? *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 8, 652–661. doi:10.1017/iop.2015.95
- Allen, T. D., & Kiburz, K. M. (2012). Trait mindfulness and work-family balance among working parents: The mediating effects of vitality and sleep quality. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80, 372–379. doi:10.4016/j.jvb.2011.09.002
- Amutio-Kareaga, A., García-Campayo, J., Delgado, L. C., Hermosilla, D., & Martínez-Taboada, C. (2017). Improving communication between physicians and their patients through mindfulness and compassion-based strategies: A narrative review. *Journal of Clinical Medicine*, 6, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.3390/jcm6030033>
- Arch, J. J., & Ayers, C. R. (2013). Which treatment worked better for whom? Moderators of group cognitive behavioral therapy versus adapted mindfulness based stress reduction for anxiety disorders. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 51, 434–442. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2013.04.004>
- Arch, J. J., & Craske, M. G. (2006). Mechanisms of mindfulness: Emotion regulation following a focused breathing induction. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 44, 1849–1858. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2005.12.007>
- Arch, J. J., & Craske, M. G. (2010). Laboratory stressors in clinically anxious and non-anxious individuals: The moderating role of mindfulness. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 48, 495–505. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2010.02.005>
- Atkinson, B. J. (2013). Mindfulness training and the cultivation of secure, satisfying couple relationships. *Couple and Family Psychology: Research and Practice*, 2, 73–94. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cfp0000002>
- Baer, R. A., Smith, G. T., Hopkins, J., Krietemeyer, J., & Toney, L. (2006). Using self-report assessment methods to explore facets of mindfulness. *Assessment*, 13, 27–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191105283504>
- Bakeman, R., & Quera, V. (2011). *Sequential analysis and observational methods for the behavioral sciences*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bandura, A. (1971). Psychotherapy based upon modeling principles. *Handbook of psychotherapy and behavior change* (pp. 653–708). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Barbosa, P., Raymond, G., Zlotnick, C., Wilk, J., Toomey, R., III, & Mitchel, J., III. (2013). Mindfulness-based stress reduction training is associated with greater empathy and reduced anxiety for graduate healthcare students. *Education for Health: Change in Learning & Practice*, 26, 9–14. <https://doi.org/10.4103/1357-6283.112794>
- Bargh, J. A. (1989). Conditional automaticity: Varieties of automatic influence in social perception and cognition. In J. S. Uleman & J. A. Bargh (Eds.), *Unintended thought* (pp. 3–51). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Barnes, S., Brown, K. W., Krusemark, E., Campbell, W. K., & Rogge, R. D. (2007). The role of mindfulness in romantic relationship satisfaction and responses to relationship stress. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 33, 482–500. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1752-0606.2007.00033.x>
- Baumeister, R. F., Vohs, K. D., & Funder, D. C. (2007). Psychology as the science of self-reports and finger movements: Whatever happened to actual behavior? *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 2, 396–403. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-6916.2007.00051.x>
- Beach, M. C., Roter, D., Korthuis, P. T., Epstein, R. M., Sharp, V., Ratanawongsa, N., ... Saha, S. (2013). A multicenter study of physician mindfulness and health care quality. *Annals of Family Medicine*, 11, 421–428. <https://doi.org/10.1370/afm.1507>

- Becker, B. D., Gallagher, K. C., & Whitaker, R. C. (2017). Teachers' dispositional mindfulness and the quality of their relationships with children in Head Start classrooms. *Journal of School Psychology, 65*, 40–53. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2017.06.004>
- Beddoe, A. E., & Murphy, S. O. (2004). Does mindfulness decrease stress and foster empathy among nursing students? *Journal of Nursing Education, 43*, 305–312. <https://doi.org/10.3928/01484834-20040701-07>
- Bieling, P. J., Hawley, L. L., Bloch, R. T., Corcoran, K. M., Levitan, R. D., Young, L. T., ... Segal, Z. V. (2012). Treatment-specific changes in decentering following mindfulness-based cognitive therapy versus antidepressant medication or placebo for prevention of depressive relapse. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 80*, 365–372. doi:10.1037/a0027483
- Bihari, J. L. N., & Mullan, E. G. (2014). Relating mindfully: A qualitative exploration of changes in relationships through mindfulness-based cognitive therapy. *Mindfulness, 5*, 46–59. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-012-0146-x>
- Block-Lerner, J., Adair, C., Plumb, J. C., Rhatigan, D. L., & Orsillo, S. M. (2007). The case for mindfulness-based approaches in the cultivation of empathy: Does nonjudgmental, present-moment awareness increase capacity for perspective-taking and empathic concern? *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 33*, 501–516. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1752-0606.2007.00034.x>
- Bohecker, L., & Horn, E. D. (2016). Increasing students' empathy and counseling self-efficacy through a mindfulness experiential small group. *Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 41*, 312–333. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01933922.2016.1232322>
- Bolger, N., DeLongis, A., Kessler, R. C., & Wethington, E. (1989). The contagion of stress across multiple roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 51*, 175–183. <https://doi.org/10.2307/352378>
- Boyatzis, R. E. (2007). Building and maintaining better leadership through mindfulness. In J. Reb & P. W. B. Atkins (Eds.), *Mindfulness in organizations: Foundations, research, and applications* (pp. 239–255). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Braun, S. S., Roeser, R. W., Mashburn, A. J., & Skinner, E. (2019). Middle school teachers' mindfulness, occupational health and well-being, and the quality of teacher-student interactions. *Mindfulness, 10*, 245–255. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-0968-2>
- Bride, B., Radey, M., & Figley, C. R. (2007). Measuring compassion fatigue. *Clinical Social Work Journal, 35*, 155–163. doi:10.1007/s10615-007-0091-7
- Brown, K. W., & Ryan, R. M. (2003). The benefits of being present: Mindfulness and its role in psychological wellbeing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*, 822–848. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.84.4.822
- Brown, K. W., Ryan, R. M., & Creswell, J. D. (2007). Mindfulness: Theoretical foundations and evidence for its salutary effects. *Psychological Inquiry, 18*, 211–237. doi:10.1080/10478400701598298
- Brown, K. W., Ryan, R. M., Creswell, J. D., & Niemiec, C. P. (2008). Beyond me: Mindful responses to social threat. In H. A. Wayment & J. J. Bauer (Eds.), *Transcending self-interest: Psychological explorations of the quiet ego* (pp. 75–84). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Brown, K. W., Weinstein, N., & Creswell, J. D. (2012). Trait mindfulness modulates neuroendocrine and affective responses to social evaluative threat. *Psychoneuroendocrinology, 37*, 2037–2041. doi:10.1016/j.psyneuen.2012.04.003
- Burpee, L. C., & Langer, E. J. (2005). Mindfulness and marital satisfaction. *Journal of Adult Development, 12*, 43–51. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10804-005-1281-6>

- Campbell, K. T., Leonard, J. W., & Hugh, D. (2017). The mediating effects of stress on the relationship between mindfulness and parental responsiveness. *Couple and Family Psychology: Research and Practice*, 6(1), 48–59. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cfp0000075>
- Carmody, J., Baer, R. A., Lykins, E. L. B., & Olendzki, N. (2009). An empirical study of the mechanisms of mindfulness in a mindfulness-based stress reduction program. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 65, 613–625. doi:10.1002/jclp.20579
- Carson, J. W., Carson, K. M., Gil, K. M., & Baucom, D. H. (2004). Mindfulness-based relationship enhancement. *Behavior Therapy*, 35, 471–494. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0005-7894\(04\)80028-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0005-7894(04)80028-5)
- Chaffin, D., Heidl, R., Hollenbeck, J. R., Howe, M., Yu, A., Voorhees, C., & Calantone, R. (2017). The promise and perils of wearable sensors in organizational research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 20, 3–31. doi:10.1177/1094428115617004
- Chambers, R., Lo, B. C. Y., & Allen, N. B. (2008). The impact of intensive mindfulness training on attentional control, cognitive style, and affect. *Cognitive Therapy Research*, 32, 303–322. doi:10.1007/s10608-007-9119-0
- Chaplin, T. M., Turpyn, C. C., Fischer, S., Martelli, A. M., Ross, C. E., Leichtweis, R. N., ... Sinha, R. (2018). Parenting-focused mindfulness intervention reduces stress and improves parenting in highly stressed mothers of adolescents. *Mindfulness*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-1026-9>
- Coatsworth, J. D., Duncan, L. G., Greenberg, M. T., & Nix, R. L. (2010). Changing parent's mindfulness, child management skills and relationship quality with their youth: Results from a randomized pilot intervention trial. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 19, 203–217. doi:10.1007/s10826-009-9304-8
- Coatsworth, J. D., Duncan, L. G., Nix, R. L., Greenberg, M. T., Gayles, J. G., Bamberger, K. T., ... Demi, M. A. (2015). Integrating mindfulness with parent training: Effects of the mindfulness-enhanced strengthening families program. *Developmental Psychology*, 51, 26–35. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0038212>
- Creswell, J. D. (2017). Mindfulness interventions. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 68, 491–516. doi:10.1146/annurev-psych-042716-051139
- Creswell, J. D., Way, B. M., Eisenberger, N. I., & Lieberman, M. D. (2007). Neural correlates of dispositional mindfulness during affect labeling. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 69, 560–565. doi:10.1097/PSY.0b013e3180f6171f
- Dane, E. (2011). Paying attention to mindfulness and its effects on task performance in the workplace. *Journal of Management*, 37, 997–1018. doi:10.1177/01492063130367948
- Davidson, R. J., & Kaszniak, A. W. (2015). Conceptual and methodological issues in research on mindfulness and meditation. *The American Psychologist*, 70, 581–592. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039512>
- Dawe, S., & Harnett, P. (2007). Reducing potential for child abuse among methadone-maintained parents: Results from a randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 32, 381–390. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2006.10.003>
- de Vibe, M., Solhaug, I., Tyssen, R., Friberg, O., Rosenvinge, J. H., Sørli, T., ... Bjørndal, A. (2015). Does personality moderate the effects of mindfulness training for medical and psychology students? *Mindfulness*, 6, 281–289. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-013-0258-y>
- Ding, X., Tang, Y., Deng, Y., Tan, R., & Posner, M. I. (2015). Mood and personality predict improvement in creativity due to meditation training. *Learning and Individual Differences*, 37, 217–221. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.lindif.2014.11.019>

- Dixon, H. C., & Overall, N. C. (2018). Regulating fears of rejection: Dispositional mindfulness attenuates the links between daily conflict, rejection fears, and destructive relationship behaviors. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 35, 159–179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407516678486>
- Donald, J. N., & Atkins, P. W. B. (2016). Mindfulness and coping with stress: Do levels of perceived stress matter? *Mindfulness*, 7, 1423–1436. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-016-0584-y>
- Duncan, L. G., Coatsworth, J. D., & Greenberg, M. T. (2009). A model of mindful parenting: Implications for parent-child relationships and prevention research. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 12, 255–270. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10567-009-0046-3>
- Eberth, J., & Sedlmeier, P. (2012). The effects of mindfulness meditation: A meta-analysis. *Mindfulness*, 3, 174–189. doi:10.1007/s12671-012-0101-x
- Eby, L. T., Allen, T. D., Conley, K. M., Williamson, R. L., Henderson, T. G., & Mancini, V. S. (2019). Mindfulness-based training interventions for employees: A qualitative review of the literature. *Human Resource Management Review*, 29, 156–178. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.hrhr.2017.03.004>
- Eby, L. T., Rhodes, J., & Allen, T. D. (2007). Definition and evolution of mentoring. In T. D. Allen & L. T. Eby (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of mentoring* (pp. 1–20). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Elreda, L. E., Jennings, P. A., DeMauro, A. A., Mischenko, P. P., & Brown, J. L. (2019). Protective effects of interpersonal mindfulness for teachers' emotional supportiveness in the classroom. *Mindfulness*, 10, 537–546. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-0996-y>
- Farb, N. A. S., Segal, Z. V., & Anderson, A. K. (2012). The mindful brain and emotion regulation in mood disorders. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 57, 70–77. <http://doi.org/10.1177/070674371205700203>
- Ford, M. B. (2017). A nuanced view of the benefits of mindfulness: Self-esteem as a moderator of the effects of mindfulness on responses to social rejection. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 36, 739–767. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2017.36.9.739>
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2004). The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B (Biological Sciences)*, 359, 1367–1378. doi:10.1098/rstb.2004.1512
- Fredrickson, B., L., Cohn, M. A., Coffey, K. A., Pek, J., & Finkel, S. M. (2008). Open hearts build lives: Positive emotions, induced through loving-kindness meditation, build consequential personal resources. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 1045–1062. doi:10.1037/a0013262
- French, K., Dumani, S., Allen, T., & Shockley, K. (2018). A meta-analysis of work-family conflict and social support. *Psychological Bulletin*, 144, 284–314. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000120>
- Frewen, P. A., Evans, E. M., Maraj, N., Dozois, D. J. A., & Partridge, K. (2008). Letting go: Mindfulness and negative automatic thinking. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 32, 758–774. doi:10.1007/s10618-007-9142-1
- Fulton, C. L. (2016). Mindfulness, self-compassion, and counselor characteristics and session variables. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 38(4), 360–374. <https://doi.org/10.17744/mehc.38.4.06>
- Galla, B. M., Hale, T. S., Shrestha, A., Loo, S. K., & Smalley, S. L. (2012). The disciplined mind: Associations between the Kentucky Inventory of Mindfulness Skills and



- attention control. *Mindfulness*, 3, 95–103. doi:10.1007/s12671-001-0083-0
- Gambrel, L. E., & Piercy, F. P. (2015). Mindfulness-based relationship education for couples expecting their first child-Part 1: A randomized mixed-methods program evaluation. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 1, 5–24. <http://dx.doi/10.1111/jmft.12066>
- Glomb, T. M., Duffy, M. K., Bono, J. E., & Yang, T. (2011). Mindfulness at work. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 30, 115–157. doi:10.1108/S0742-7301(2011)0000030005
- Goldberg, S. B., Knoopel, C., Davidson, R. J., & Flook, L. (2020). Does practice quality mediate the relationship between practice time and outcome in mindfulness-based stress reduction? *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 67, 115–122. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cou0000369>
- Goldin, P., & Gross, J. (2010). Effect of mindfulness meditation training on the neural bases of emotion regulation in social anxiety disorder. *Emotion*, 10, 83–91.
- Golubickis, M., Tan, L. B. G., Falben, J. K., & Macrae, C. N. (2016). The observing self: Diminishing egocentrism through brief mindfulness meditation. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 46, 521–527. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2186>
- Good, D. J., Lyddy, C. J., Glomb, T. M., Bono, J. E., Brown, K. W., Duffy, M. K., ... Lazar, S. W. (2016). Contemplating mindfulness at work: An integrative review. *Journal of Management*, 42, 114–142. doi:10.1177/0149206315617003
- Gouveia, M. J., Carona, C., Canavarro, M. C., & Moreira, H. (2016). Self-compassion and dispositional mindfulness are associated with parenting styles and parenting stress: The mediating role of mindful parenting. *Mindfulness*, 7, 700–712. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-016-0507-y>
- Grossman, P. (2011). Defining mindfulness by how poorly I think I pay attention during everyday awareness and other intractable problems for psychology's (re)invention of mindfulness: Comment on Brown et al. (2011). *Psychological Assessment*, 23, 1034–1040. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022713>
- Gunaratana, B. H. (2011). *Mindfulness in plain English*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Hafenbrack, A. C., Cameron, L. D., Spreitzer, G. M., Zhang, C., Noval, L. J., & Shaffakat, S. (2019). Helping people by being in the present: Mindfulness increases prosocial behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*. Advance online publication. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2019.08.005>
- Harvey, P. (2012). *An introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, history and practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harvey, J., Crowley, J., & Wozidlo, A. (2019). Mindfulness, conflict strategy use, and relational satisfaction: A dyadic investigation. *Mindfulness*, 10, 749–758. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-1040-y>
- Hawkes, A. J., & Neal, C. M. (2019). Mindfulness beyond wellbeing: Emotion regulation and team-member exchange within the workplace. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 72, 20–30. doi:10.1111/ajpy.12255
- Haydicky, J., Wiener, J., & Shecter, C. (2017). Mechanisms of action in concurrent parent-child mindfulness training: A qualitative exploration. *Mindfulness*, 8, 1018–1035. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-017-0678-1>
- Heppner, W. L., & Kernis, M. H. (2007). "Quiet ego" functioning: The complementary roles of mindfulness, authenticity, and secure high-esteem. *Psychological Inquiry*, 18, 248–251. doi:10.1080/10478400701598330
- Hertz, R. M., Laurent, H. K., & Laurent, S. M. (2015). Attachment mediates effects of trait mindfulness on stress responses to conflict. *Mindfulness*, 6, 483–489.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-014-0281-7>

- Hoge, E. A., Bui, E., Goetter, E., Robinaugh, D. J., Ojserkis, R. A., Fresco, D. M., & Simon, N. M. (2015). Change in decentering mediates improvement in anxiety in mindfulness-based stress reduction for generalized anxiety disorder. *Cognitive Therapy Research*, 39, 228–235. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s1060>
- Hölzel, B. K., Lazar, S. W., Gard, T., Shuman-Oliver, Z., Vago, D. R., & Ott, U. (2011). How does mindfulness meditation work? Proposing mechanisms of action from a conceptual and neural perspective. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6, 537–539. doi:10.1177/1745691611419671
- Hülshager, U. R., Alberts, H. J. E. M., Feinholdt, A., & Lang, J. W. B. (2013). Benefits of mindfulness at work: The role of mindfulness in emotion regulation, emotional exhaustion, and job satisfaction. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 98, 310–333. doi:10.1037/a0031313
- Hülshager, U. R., Feinholdt, A., & Nübold, A. (2015). A low-dose mindfulness intervention and recovery from work: Effects on psychological detachment, sleep quality, and sleep duration. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 88, 464–489. doi:10.1111/joop.12115
- Hülshager, U. R., Walkowiak, A., & Thommes, M. S. (2018). How can mindfulness be promoted? Workload and recovery experiences as antecedents of daily fluctuations in mindfulness. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 91, 261–284. doi:10.1111/joop.12206
- Hwang, Y. S., Goldstein, H., Medvedev, O. N., Singh, N. N., Noh, J. E., & Hand, K. (2019). Mindfulness-based intervention for educators: Effects of a school-based cluster randomized controlled study. *Mindfulness*, 10, 1417–1436. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-019-01147-1>
- Hwang, Y. S., Noh, J. E., Medvedev, O. N., & Singh, N. N. (2019). Effects of a mindfulness-based program for teachers on teacher wellbeing and person-centered teaching practices. *Mindfulness*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-019-01236-1>
- Iani, L., Lauriola, M., Chiesa, A., & Cafaro, V. (2019). Associations between mindfulness and emotion regulation: The key role of describing and nonreactivity. *Mindfulness*, 10, 366–375. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s1267>
- Iida, M., & Shapiro, A. (2019). Mindfulness and daily negative mood variation in romantic relationships. *Mindfulness*, 10, 933–942. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-1056-3>
- Irving, J. A., Park-Saltzman, J., Fitzpatrick, M., Dobkin, P. L., Chen, A., & Hutchinson, T. (2014). Experiences of health care professionals enrolled in mindfulness-based medical practice: A grounded theory model. *Mindfulness*, 5, 60–71. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-012-0147-9>
- Jennings, P. A. (2015). Early childhood teachers' well-being, mindfulness, and self-compassion in relation to classroom quality and attitudes towards challenging students. *Mindfulness*, 6, 732–743. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-014-0312-4>
- Jennings, P. A., Brown, J. L., Frank, J. L., Doyle, S. L., Oh, Y., Davis, R. T., ... Greenberg, M. T. (2017). Impacts of the CARE for teachers program on teachers' social and emotional competence and classroom interactions. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 109, 1010–1028. <https://doi.org/10.1037/edu0000187>
- Jennings, P. A., Snowberg, K. E., Coccia, M. A., & Greenberg, M. T. (2011). Improving classroom learning environments by Cultivating Awareness and Resilience in



- Education (CARE): Results of two pilot studies. *Journal of Classroom Interaction*, 46, 37–48.
- Jensen, C. G., Vangkilde, S., Frokjaer, V., & Hasselbalch, S. G. (2012). Mindfulness training affects attention-or is it attentional effort? *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 141, 106.123. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024931>
- Johns, K. N., Allen, E. S., & Gordon, K. C. (2015). The relationship between mindfulness and forgiveness of infidelity. *Mindfulness*, 6, 1462–1471. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-015-0427-2>
- Johnson, J. W. (2000). A heuristic method for estimating the relative weight of predictor variables in multiple regression. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 35, 1–19. [http://doi.org/10.1207/S15327906MBR3501\\_1](http://doi.org/10.1207/S15327906MBR3501_1)
- Kabat-Zinn, J. (1990). *Full catastrophe living: Using the wisdom of your body and mind to face stress, pain and illness*. New York, NY: Delacorte Press.
- Kabat-Zinn, J. (1993). Mindfulness meditation: Health benefits of an ancient Buddhist practice. In D. Goleman & J. Garlin (Eds.), *Mind/body medicine*. Yonkers, NY: Consumer Reports Books.
- Kabat-Zinn, J. (1994). *Wherever you go, there you are: Mindfulness in everyday life*. New York, NY: Hyperion.
- Kabat-Zinn, J. (2003). Mindfulness-based interventions in context: Past, present, and future. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, 10, 114–156. doi:10.1093/clipsy.bpg016
- Kabat-Zinn, M., & Kabat-Zinn, J. (1997). *Everyday blessings: The inner work of mindful parenting*. New York, NY: Hyperion.
- Kang, Y., Gruber, J., & Gray, J. R. (2014). Mindfulness: Deautomatization of cognitive and emotional life. In A. Ie, C. T. Ngnoumen, & E. J. Langer (Eds.), *The Wiley handbook of mindfulness* (5th ed., pp. 168–185). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kappen, G., Karremans, J. C., Burk, W. J., & Buyukcan-Tetik, A. (2018). On the association between mindfulness and romantic relationship satisfaction: The role of partner acceptance. *Mindfulness*, 9, 1543–1556. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-0902-7>
- Karremans, J. C., Schellekens, M. P. J., & Kappen, G. (2017). Bridging the sciences of mindfulness and romantic relationships: A theoretical model and research agenda. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 21, 29–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868315615450>
- Kawakami, K., Dovidio, J. F., Moll, J., Hermsen, S., & Russin, A. (2000). Just say no (to stereotyping): Effects of training in the negation of stereotypic associations on stereotype activation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 26–32. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.78.5.871
- Kelley, H. H., Holmes, J. G., Kerr, N. L., Reis, H. T., Rusbult, C. E., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (2003). *An atlas of interpersonal situations*. Cambridge University Press
- Keng, S., Smoski, M. J., & Robins, C. J. (2011). Effects of mindfulness on psychological health: A review of empirical studies. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 31, 1041–1056. doi:10.1016/j.cpr.21011.04.006
- Kerr, C., E., Josyula, K., & Littenberg, R. (2011). Developing an observing attitude: An analysis of mediation diaries in an MBSR clinical trial. *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*, 18, 80–93. doi:10.1002/cpp.700
- Khaddouma, A., & Gordon, K. C. (2018). Mindfulness and young adult dating relationship stability: A longitudinal path analysis. *Mindfulness*, 9, 1529–1542. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-0901-8>

- Khaddouma, A., Gordon, K. C., & Strand, E. B. (2017). Mindful mates: A pilot study of the relational effects of mindfulness-based stress reduction on participants and their partners. *Family Process, 56*, 636–651. <https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12226>
- Khoury, B., Lecomte, T., Fortin, G., Masse, M., Therien, P., Bouchard, V., ... Hofmann, S. G. (2013). Mindfulness-based therapy: A comprehensive meta-analysis. *Clinical Psychology Review, 33*, 763–771. doi:10.1016/j.cpr.2013.05.005
- Khoury, B., Sharma, M., Rush, S. E., & Fournier, C. (2015). Mindfulness-based stress reduction for healthy individuals: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research, 78*, 519–528. doi:10.1016/j.jpsychores.2015.03.009
- Kiburz, K. M., Allen, T. D., & French, K. A. (2017). Work-family conflict and mindfulness: Investigating the effectiveness of a brief training intervention. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 38*, 1016–1037. doi:10.1002/job.2181
- Kinsler, L. (2014). Born to be me...who am I again? The development of authentic leadership using evidence-based leadership coaching and mindfulness. *International Coaching Psychology Review, 9*, 92–105.
- Kozlowski, A. (2013). Mindful mating: Exploring the connection between mindfulness and relationship satisfaction. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy, 28*, 92–104. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681994.2012.748889>
- Kram, K. E. (1985). *Mentoring at work: Developmental relationships in organizational life*. Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman.
- Krasner, M. S., Epstein, R. M., Beckman, H., Suchman, A. L., Chapman, B., Mooney, C. J., & Quill, T. E. (2009). Association of an educational program in mindful communication with burnout, empathy, and attitudes among primary care physicians. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 302*(12), 1284–1293. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2009.1384>
- Krick, A., & Felfe, J. (2019). Who benefits from mindfulness? The moderating role of personality and social norms for the effectiveness on psychological and physiological outcomes among police officers. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ocp0000159>
- Kulka, J. M., De Gagne, J. C., Mullen, C. K., & Robeano, K. (2018). Mindfulness-based stress reduction for newly graduated registered nurses. *Creative Nursing, 24*, 243–250. <https://doi.org/10.1891/1078-4535.24.4.243>
- Langer, E. J., Bashner, R. S., & Chanowitz, B. (1985). Decreasing prejudice by increasing discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49*, 113–120. <http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.49.1.113>
- Lau, M. A., Bishop, S. R., Segal, Z. V., Buis, T., Anderson, N. D., Carlson, L., ... Devins, G. (2006). The Toronto Mindfulness scale: Development and validation. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 62*, 1445–1467. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.20326>
- Laurent, H. K., Duncan, L. G., Lightcap, A., & Khan, F. (2017). Mindful parenting predicts mothers' and infants' hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal activity during a dyadic stressor. *Developmental Psychology, 53*, 417–424. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000258>
- Laurent, H. K., Hertz, R., Nelson, B., & Laurent, S. M. (2016). Mindfulness during romantic conflict moderates the impact of negative partner behaviors on cortisol responses. *Hormones and Behavior, 79*, 45–51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yhbeh.2016.01.005>
- Laurent, H. K., Laurent, S. M., Nelson, B., Wright, D. B., & Sanchez, M. A. D. (2015). Dispositional Mindfulness moderates the effect of a brief mindfulness induction on physiological stress responses. *Mindfulness, 6*, 1192–1200. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-014-0377-0>

- Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., & Allen, J. A. (2018). Modeling temporal interaction dynamics in organizational settings. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 33*, 325–344. doi:10.1007/s10869-017-9506-9
- Lent, J., & Schwartz, R. (2012). The impact of work setting, demographic characteristics, and personality factors related to burnout among professional counselors. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 34*, 355–372.
- Leroy, H., Anseel, F., Dimitrova, N. G., & Sels, L. (2013). Mindfulness, authentic functioning, and work engagement: A growth modeling approach. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 82*, 238–247. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2013.01.012>
- Liang, L. H., Lian, H., Brown, D. J., Ferris, D. L., Hanig, S., & Keeping, L. M. (2016). Why are abusive supervisors abusive? A dual-system self-control model. *Academy of Management Journal, 59*, 1385–1406. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2014.0651>
- Lillis, J. & Hayes, S. C. (2007). Applying acceptance, mindfulness, and values to the reduction of prejudice: A pilot study. *Behavior Modification, 31*, 389–411. doi:10.1177/0145445506298413
- Lippold, M. A., Duncan, L. G., Coatsworth, J. D., Nix, R. L., & Greenberg, M. T. (2015). Understanding how mindful parenting may be linked to mother-adolescent communication. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 44*, 1663–1673. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0325-x>
- Long, E. C., & Christian, M. S. (2015). Mindfulness buffers retaliatory responses to injustice: A regulatory approach. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 100*, 1409–1422. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl.10000019>
- Martin, J. R. (1997). Mindfulness: A proposed common factor. *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration, 7*, 291–312. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JOPI.0000010885.18025.bc>
- May, L. M., Reinka, M. A., Tipsord, J. M., Felver, J. C., & Berkman, E. T. (2016). Parenting an early adolescent: A pilot study examining neural and relationship quality changes of a mindfulness intervention. *Mindfulness, 7*, 1203–1213. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-016-0563-3>
- McGill, J., Adler-Baeder, F., & Rodriguez, P. (2016). Mindfully in love: A meta-analysis of the association between mindfulness and relationship satisfaction. *Journal of Human Sciences and Extension, 4*, 89–101.
- Medeiros, C., Gouveia, M. J., Canavarro, M. C., Moreira, H. (2016). The indirect effect of the mindful parenting of mothers and fathers on the child's perceived well-being through the child's attachment to parents. *Mindfulness, 7*, 916–927. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-016-0530-z>
- Mesmer-Magnus, J., Manapragada, A., Viswesvaran, C., & Allen, J. W. (2017). Trait mindfulness at work: A meta-analysis of the personal and professional correlates of trait mindfulness. *Human Performance, 30*, 79–98. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08959285.2017.1307842>
- Meyer, R. D., Dalal, R. S., & Hermida, R. (2010). A review and synthesis of situational strength in the organizational sciences. *Journal of Management, 36*, 121–140. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206309349309>
- Montes-Maroto, G., Rodriguez-Munoz, A., Antino, M., & Gil, F. (2018). Mindfulness beyond the individual: Spillover and crossover effects in working couples. *Mindfulness, 9*, 1258–1267. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-017-0868-x>
- Moreira, H., Gouveia, M. J., & Canavarro, M. C. (2018). Is mindful parenting associated with adolescents' well-being in early and middle/late adolescence? The mediating role of adolescents' attachment representations, self-compassion and mindfulness. *Journal*

*of Youth and Adolescence*, 47, 1771–1788. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0808-7>

- Neff, K. D. (2003). The development and validation of a scale to measure self-compassion. *Self and Identity*, 2, 223–250. doi:10.1080/15298860390209035
- Nyklíček, I., & Irrmischer, M. (2017). For whom does mindfulness-based stress reduction work? Moderating effects of personality. *Mindfulness*, 8, 1106–1116. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-017-0687-0>
- Ostafin, B. D., & Kassman, K. T. (2012). Stepping out of history: Mindfulness improves insight problem solving. *Consciousness and Cognition*, 21, 1031–1036. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.concog.2012.02.014>
- Parent, J., Clifton, J., Forehand, R., Golub, A., Reid, M., & Pichler, E. R. (2014). Parental mindfulness and dyadic relationship quality in low-income cohabiting black stepfamilies: Associations with parenting experienced by adolescents. *Couple & Family Psychology*, 3, 67–82. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cfp0000020>
- Parent, J., McKee, L. G., Rough, J. N., & Forehand, R. (2016). The association of parent mindfulness with parenting and youth psychopathology across three developmental stages. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 44, 191–202. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-015-9978-x>
- Peters, J. R., Erisman, S. M., Upton, B. T., Baer, R. A., & Roemer, L. (2011). A preliminary investigation of the relationship between dispositional mindfulness and impulsivity. *Mindfulness*, 2, 28–235. doi:10.1007/s12671-011-0065-2
- Pratscher, S. D., Rose, A. J., Markovitz, L., & Bettencourt, A. (2018). Interpersonal mindfulness: Investigating mindfulness in interpersonal interactions, co-rumination, and friendship quality. *Mindfulness*, 9, 1206–1215. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-017-0859-y>
- Pruitt, I. T., & McCollum, E. E. (2010). Voices of experienced meditators: The impact of meditation practice on intimate relationships. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 32, 135–154. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10591-009-9112-8>
- Quaglia, J. T., Braun, S. E., Freeman, S. P., McDaniel, M. A., & Brown, K. W. (2016). Meta-analytic evidence for effects of mindfulness training on dimensions of self-reported dispositional mindfulness. *Psychological Assessment*, 28, 803–818. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pas0000268>
- Radel, R., Sarrazin, P., Legrain, P., & Bobabce, L. (2009). Subliminal priming of motivational orientation in educational settings: Effect on academic performance moderated by mindfulness. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 43, 695–698. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2009.02.011>
- Reb, J., Narayanan, J., & Chaturvedi, S. (2014). Leading mindfully: Two studies on the influence of supervisor trait mindfulness on employee well-being and performance. *Mindfulness*, 5, 36–45. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12671-012-0144-z>
- Roeser, R. W., Skinner, E., Beers, J., & Jennings, P. A. (2012). Mindfulness training and teachers' professional development: An emerging area of research and practice. *Child Development Perspectives*, 6, 167–173. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2012.00238.x>
- Rusbult, C. E. (1980). Commitment and satisfaction in romantic associations: A test of the investment model. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 16, 172–186. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-1031\(80\)90007-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-1031(80)90007-4)
- Rusbult, C. E., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (1996). Interdependence processes. In *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (pp. 564–596). New York: Guilford Press.

- Schussler, D. L., Greenberg, M., DeWeese, A., Rasheed, D., DeMauro, A., Jennings, P. A., & Brown, J. (2018). Stress and release: Case studies of teacher resilience following a mindfulness-based intervention. *American Journal of Education*, 125(1), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1086/699808>
- Schussler, D. L., DeWeese, A., Rasheed, D., DeMauro, A. A., Doyle, S. L., Brown, J. L., ... Jennings, P. A. (2019). The relationship between adopting mindfulness practice and reperceiving: A qualitative investigation of care for teachers. Advance online publication. *Mindfulness*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-019-01228-1>
- Segal, Z. V., Williams, J. M. G., & Teasdale, J. D. (2002). *Mindfulness-based cognitive therapy for depression: A new approach to relapse prevention*. New York, NY: Guilford.
- Shapiro, S. L., Carlson, L. E., Astin, J. A., & Freedman, B. (2006). Mechanisms of mindfulness. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 62, 373–386. doi:10.1002/jclp.20237
- Shapiro, S., Rechtschaffen, D., & de Sousa, S. (2016). Mindfulness training for teachers. In K. A. Schonert-Reichl & R.W. Roeser (Eds.), *Handbook of mindfulness in education* (pp. 83–97). New York, NY: Springer.
- Sharp, J. E., & Jennings, P. A. (2016). Strengthening teacher presence through mindfulness: What educators say about the Cultivating Awareness and Resilience in Education (CARE) program. *Mindfulness*, 7, 209–218. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-015-0474-8>
- Short, M. M., Mazmanian, D., Oinonen, K., & Mushquash, C. J. (2016). Executive function and self-regulation mediate dispositional mindfulness and well-being. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 93, 97–103. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2015.08.007>
- Siegel, D. J. (2007). *The mindful brain: Reflection and attunement in the cultivation of well-being*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Sillars, A. L., & Overall, N. C. (2017). Coding observed interaction. In C. A. VanLear & D. J. Canary (Eds.), *Researching interactive communication behavior: A sourcebook of methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Singh, N. N., Lancioni, G. E., Winton, A. S. W., Karazsia, B. T., & Singh, J. (2013). Mindfulness training for teachers changes the behavior of their preschool students. *Research in Human Development*, 10, 211–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2013.818484>
- Tang, Y., Tang, R., & Posner, M. I. (2013). Brief meditation training induces smoking reduction. *PNAS*, 110, 13971–13975. [www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.1311887110](http://www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.1311887110)
- Taylor, C., Harrison, J., Haimovitz, K., Oberle, E., Thomson, K., Schonert-Reichl, K., & Roeser, R. W. (2016). Examining ways that a mindfulness-based intervention reduces stress in public school teachers: A mixed-methods study. *Mindfulness*, 7, 115–129. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-015-0425-4>
- Teper, R., Segal, Z. V., & Inzlicht, M. (2013). Inside the mindful mind: How mindfulness enhances emotion regulation through improvements in executive control. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 22, 449–454. doi:10.1177/0963721413495869
- Thibaut, J. W., & Kelley, H. H. (1959). *The social psychology of groups*. New York: John Wiley.
- Thompson, I. A., Amatea, E. S., & Thompson, E. S. (2014). Personal and contextual predictors of mental health counselors' compassion fatigue and burnout. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 36, 58–77. <https://doi.org/10.17744/mehc.36.1.p61m73373m4617r3>



- Tomlinson, E. R., Yousaf, O., Vitterso, A. D., & Jones, L. (2018). Dispositional mindfulness and psychological health: A systematic review. *Mindfulness*, 9, 23–43. doi:10.1107/s12671-017-0762-6
- Treadway, M. T. & Lazar, S. W. (2009). The neurobiology of mindfulness. In F. Didonna (Ed.), *Clinical handbook of mindfulness* (pp. 45–57). New York, NY: Springer.
- Turpyn, C. C., & Chaplin, T. M. (2016). Mindful parenting and parents' emotion expression: Effects on adolescent risk behaviors. *Mindfulness*, 7, 246–254. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-015-0440-5>
- Van Dam, N. T., van Vugt, M. K., Vago, D. R., Schmalzl, L., Saron, C. D., Olendzki, A., ... Meyer, D. E. (2018). Mind the hype: A critical evaluation and prescriptive agenda for research on mindfulness and meditation. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 13, 36–61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617709589>
- van den Hurk, D. G. M., Schellekens, M. P. J., Molema, J., Speckens, A. E. M., & van der Drift, M. A. (2015). Mindfulness-based stress reduction for lung cancer patients and their partners: Results of a mixed methods pilot study. *Palliative Medicine*, 29, 652–660. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269216315572720>
- van der Oord, S., Bögels, S. M., & Peijnenburg, D. (2012). The effectiveness of mindfulness training for children with ADHD and mindful parenting for their parents. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 21, 139–147. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-011-9457-0>
- Van Doesum, N. J., Van Lange, D. A. W., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (2013). Social mindfulness: Skill and will to navigate the social world. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 105, 86–103. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0032540>
- Wachs, K., & Cordova, J. V. (2007). Mindful relating: Exploring mindfulness and emotion repertoires in intimate relationships. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 33, 464–481. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1752-0606.2007.00032.x>
- Wallace, B. A. (2001). Intersubjectivity in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 8, 209–230.
- Wanden-Berghe, R., Sanz-Valero, J., & Wanden-Berghe, C. (2011). The application of mindfulness to eating disorders treatment: A systematic review. *Eating Disorders*, 19, 34–48. doi:10.1080/10640266.2011.533604
- Way, B. M., Creswell, J. D., Eisenberger, N. I., & Lieberman, M. D. (2010). Dispositional mindfulness and depressive symptomology: Correlations with limbic and self-referential neural activity during rest. *Emotion*, 10, 12–24. doi:10.1037/a0018312
- Williams, A. M., & Cano, A. (2014). Spousal mindfulness and social support in couples with chronic pain. *The Clinical Journal of Pain*, 30, 528–535. <https://doi.org/10.1097/AJP.0000000000000009>
- Yu, L., & Zellmer-Bruhn, M. (2018). Introducing team mindfulness and considering its safeguard role against conflict transformation and social undermining. *Academy of Management Journal*, 61, 324–347. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2016.0094>

## CHAPTER 3

# DYADS OF POLITICS AND THE POLITICS OF DYADS: IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADER DEVELOPMENT

Wayne A. Hochwarter, Ilias Kapoutsis, Samantha L. Jordan, Abdul Karim Khan and Mayowa Babalola

### **ABSTRACT**

*Persistent change has placed considerable pressure on organizations to keep up or fade into obscurity. Firms that remain viable, or even thrive, are staffed with decision-makers who capably steer organizations toward opportunities and away from threats. Accordingly, leadership development has never been more critical. In this chapter, the authors propose that leader development is an inherently dyadic process initiated to communicate formal and informal expectations. The authors focus on the informal component, in the form of organizational politics, as an element of leadership that is critical to employee and company success. The authors advocate that superiors represent the most salient information source for leader development, especially as it relates to political dynamics embedded in work systems. The authors discuss research associated with our conceptualization of dyadic political leader development (DPLD). Specifically, the authors develop DPLD by*



*exploring its conceptual underpinnings as they relate to sensemaking, identity, and social learning theories. Once established, the authors provide a refined discussion of the construct, illustrating its scholarly mechanisms that better explain leader development processes and outcomes. The authors then expand research in the areas of political skill, political will, political knowledge, and political phronesis by embedding our conceptualization of DPLD into a political leadership model. The authors conclude by discussing methodological issues and avenues of future research stemming from the development of DPLD.*

**Keywords:** Political dyads; leadership; leadership development; information salience; modelling

Complexity embedded in the external context of organizations has increased exponentially in recent years, leading to rapid and dynamic change within (and across) firms ([Kangas, Kujala, Lönnqvist, Heikkinen, & Laihonon, 2019](#)). The capacity to anticipate fluctuations and better adapt post-transformation represents a precursor of continuance ([Ulrich & Yeung, 2019](#)). As first-line agents responsible for perceiving changes and developing actions to minimize threat (or maximize return), leaders must manage the interplay between turbulence and the capabilities of the impacted organization to survive ([Kaiser, Hogan, & Craig, 2008](#)).

Despite increased practical ([DeRue, Spreitzer, Flanagan, & Allen, 2013](#)) and scholarly consideration ([Bennett, Verwey, & van der Merwe, 2016](#)), the process of developing leaders to flourish in often chaotic settings remains ill-defined and perplexing ([Ancona, 2011](#)). There appears to be, however, agreement regarding the aptitudes needed to succeed. For example, considerable research affirms that leaders adept in turbulent settings often possess a higher tolerance for uncertainty ([Guo, Gonzales, & Dilley, 2016](#)), greater learning

orientation (DeRue & Ashford, 2010), and increased sensemaking effectiveness (Klarin & Sharmelly, 2019).

Scholars recognize other individual difference characteristics, including mindfulness (Yeo, Gold, & Marquardt, 2015) and the ability to improvise (Hu, Gu, Wu, & Lado, 2018) as functional in rapidly changing environments. Often, programs that develop these skills have leader efficacy as the overarching objective (Reichard, Walker, Putter, Middleton, & Johnson, 2017). Other programmatic approaches assess “if” training is present rather than “what” skills are targeted for development. As an example, to gauge development activity, studies have asked *whether* there is “... a steady focus on developing leaders at all levels,” without specific reference to *what* skill developments are occurring (Dalakoura, 2010, p. 62).

Despite the accumulated evidence, questions regarding the effectiveness of leader development programs are widespread in both practice and science (Avolio, Reichard, Hannah, Walumbwa, & Chan, 2009). What remains is a less than complete picture from which to guide research and improve leader effectiveness in an area recognized in its growing stage of development (Hammond, Clapp-Smith, & Palanski, 2017). For example, research has focused on documenting the effectiveness of formal training (Collins & Holton, 2004), often at the expense of informal development. Bell (1977) described informal learning as “planned learning which occurs in a setting or situation without a formal workshop, lesson plan, instructor or examination” (p. 280). Failing to consider informal development is problematic because accumulated skills in these settings are individualized, leading to immediate use in situations regarded as proximal (Becker & Bish, 2017). Because these skills are germane to everyday functioning, they are acutely valuable when the pace and impact of change elicit attention (Russ-Eft, Watkins, Marsick, Jacobs, & McLean, 2014).

Moreover, research has not explored how observing leader political behaviors affects the development of influence tactics when placed in roles of higher authority. Given the importance of managing people in contexts where self-focused behavior is expected (and often rewarded), this lack of emphasis is unexpected.

For example, [Mintzberg \(1983\)](#) described politics in organizations as “individual or group behavior that is informal, ostensibly parochial, typically divisive, and above all, in the technical sense, illegitimate – sanctioned neither by formal authority, accepted ideology, nor certified expertise” (p. 172). Similarly, [Ferris et al. \(1996\)](#) conceptualized politics as “behavior not formally sanctioned by the organization which produces conflict and disharmony in the work environment by pitting individuals and/or groups against one another, or against the organization” (p. 234).

Ostensibly, politics are a *cultural* element of work contexts ([LePine, Podsakoff, & LePine, 2005](#)), often without consideration of the source. Scale items include items such as “People in this organization attempt to build themselves up by tearing others down” ([Kacmar & Carlson, 1997](#)) and “In this organization, people spend too much time sucking up to those who can help them” ([Hochwarter, Kacmar, Perrewé, & Johnson, 2003](#)). Additionally, [Hochwarter, Kacmar, Treadway, and Watson \(2003\)](#) used a 100-point scale ranging from “no politics exist” (0) to “great levels of politics exist” (100) when examining perceptions of police officers. Although scholars have discussed the existence of “pockets of politics” ([Treadway, Adams, & Goodman, 2005](#)) and differentiating politics across levels ([Byrne, Kacmar, Stoner, & Hochwarter, 2005](#)), the immediate work context, which is often nebulously construed, remains the emphasis of research.

Failing to consider leader political development at the dyadic level is problematic for several reasons. First, leaders represent the most proximal source of information for subordinates ([Kacmar, Whitman, & Harris, 2013](#)). [Rosen, Harris, and Kacmar \(2011\)](#) argued that the supervisor represents a readily available source of information sought by subordinates when uncertainties arise. Supervisors also represent an inimitable source of resources that are difficult and sometimes impossible to obtain elsewhere ([Emerson, 1962](#)). [Farmer and Aguinis \(2005\)](#) maintained that subordinates are often dependent on resource-controlling supervisors to achieve goals and satisfy wants. [Kimura \(2013\)](#) recognized immediate supervisors as a necessary element of one’s network, expected to provide support

and information. As such, supervisors need to understand social norms ([Korte, 2009](#)), especially when developing social networks is required for jobs with increased leadership responsibility ([Lapointe & Vandenberghe, 2018](#)).

For human resources scholarship and practice, the implications for exploring leader political development at the dyadic level are numerous and consequential for employees and companies alike (Fischer, Dietz, & [Antonakis, 2017](#)). [Giber, Carter, and Goldsmith \(2000\)](#) contend that development programs must be evaluated in terms of their direct influence on worker performance. Recently, Finkelstein, Costanza, and Goodwin (2018) argued, “Leaders must be able to navigate the sometimes-choppy political waters of the organization and the external environments in which it is situated” (p. 8). [Doldor \(2017\)](#) reasoned that successful leaders are capable of both displaying and navigating politics proficiently. Similarly, success in managing politics (i.e., own and others) is required for leaders to achieve personal and organizational success ([Ammeter, Douglas, Gardner, Hochwarter, & Ferris, 2002](#)). Lastly, successful leadership development programs cultivate strategic thinking by exposing individuals to the nuances of organizational life, including the idiosyncrasies of politics ([Norzailan, Yusof, & Othman, 2016](#)).

To address the issues noted above, we present and expand upon the concept of dyadic political leader development (DPLD). We define DPLD as social advancement in preparation for future leadership roles, where development consists of several key characteristics: the learning (a) is originating from interactions with one’s directing supervisor, (b) is focused on understanding social behavior that is idiosyncratic, spontaneously occurring, and bereft of documented guidelines, (c) is driven by leader cues regarding social interactions, (d) is interactional or observational, and (e) supports threat-reduction and opportunity achieving objectives.

These characteristics are discussed in greater detail below, emphasizing established theory underscoring each feature. Admittedly, the absolute number of elements and voluminous amounts of dedicated cross-disciplinary research does not allow for an exhaustive review. Instead, our purpose is to introduce the

construct's rudiments and establish preliminary logic for their inclusion. Subsequent empirical and conceptual scrutiny will determine the acceptability of the initially presented tenets. This chapter continues as follows. We extend our discussion by describing the theoretical rudiments of our conceptualization of DPLD. Following this, we incorporate DPLD into an augmented political model of leadership ([Ammeter et al., 2002](#)), which includes political skill, political will, political knowledge, and political phronesis as fundamental characteristics of leader success. Lastly, we acknowledge two methodological issues deserving future consideration when the predictive merit of the construct and model are evaluated: (1) viewing DPLD through the lens of event-system theory (EST) ([Hochwarter et al., 2020](#)) and (2) the influence of endogeneity on interpretations of leadership dynamics ([Antonakis, Bastardo, & Rönkkö, 2019](#)).

## **THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF DPLD**

Before we establish what DPLD "is," it is necessary to discuss what it "is not." Although corroborating empirical delineation between DPLD and like variables is beyond the scope of this review, establishing a preliminary level of discriminant validity is required before moving forward ([Campbell & Fiske, 1959](#)). Accordingly, we argue that features specific to DPLD make it distinct from learning undertaken in other dyadic work relationships.

As brief examples, its emphasis on nurturing political acumen distinguishes DPLD from leader–member exchange, which focuses on establishing differentiated roles ([Dienesch & Liden, 1986](#)). Similarly, perceived supervisor support theory argues that liking for leaders is enhanced when subordinate contributions and well-being are recognized ([Eisenberger, Stinglhamber, Vandenberghe, Sucharski, & Rhoades, 2002](#)). Although we cannot rule out the influence of supervisor liking on learning efficacy ([Scully, Kirkpatrick, & Locke, 1995](#)), it is not a precondition for DPLD. Furthermore, socialization "... is the result of the interaction of formal

organizational tactics and individual employee proactive behavior” (Payne, Culbertson, Boswell, & Barger, 2008, p. 466) initiated to enhance worker–organization fit (Wang, Zhan, McCune, & Truxillo, 2011). DPLD, conversely, is not institutionalized, nor does it intend to establish norms of conduct similarly expected among all employees.

Lastly, mentoring represents a company-sanctioned activity that pairs a junior employee (i.e., protégé) with a more experienced individual (i.e., mentor) (Eby & Robertson, 2020) who need not be an immediate supervisor (e.g., co-worker, peer). In situations where leaders serve as a mentor, formal development is the focus (e.g., evaluating performance, delegating tasks) rather than an emphasis on psychosocial support (Ragins & Kram, 2007). Conversely, DPLD considers the supervisor’s effect on informal leader growth, principally focusing on perceptions, interpretations, and responses evoked in political contexts.

In this chapter, we embedded several theories (i.e., identity, sensemaking, and social learning) conspicuously within the DPLD conceptualization. As a backdrop, we discuss the foundation of each before clarifying their role in DPLD. Ostensibly, these discussions are brief, and we advise reviewing summaries of each if a more comprehensive understanding is warranted (Hogg, 2018; Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2015; Vough, Caza, & Maitlis, 2020).

## **IDENTITY THEORY**

Identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) argues that individuals categorize their social relationships to determine belongingness into the many groups available to them (e.g., gender, nationality, civic group, work setting). Critical components of identity theory include self-categorization (e.g., cognitively classifying oneself in ways deemed appropriate) (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and social comparison (e.g., evaluating established membership in in-groups more favorably than out-groups) (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019). Ashforth and Mael (1989) recognize the benefits of identity development, which include creating order in social environments by



helping actors define others and enabling an individual to position oneself in settings that augment feelings of worth, value, and meaning.

Leader identity, which represents a subset of one's overall identity, emphasizes the relationship between perceptions of the self, associations with others, and how membership in chosen contexts influence how individuals define and assimilate into leadership roles (Clapp-Smith, Hammond, Lester, & Palanski, 2019). Specifically, scholars (e.g., Epitropaki, Kark, Mainemelis, & Lord, 2017) contend that leader identity embraces followership schemas, encounters, and imminent demonstrations of oneself in subordinated roles. Identifying oneself as "a leader" is beneficial because it advances competence by encouraging immersion, promoting practice, and facilitating opportunity-seeking behavior in the new role (Day, Harrison, & Halpin, 2009). According to Day and Harrison (2007), "identity is important for leaders because it grounds them in understanding who they are, their major goals and objectives and their personal strengths and limitations" (p. 366).

## **SENSEMAKING THEORY**

Sensemaking refers to the process individuals undertake to understand occurrences and matters that are considered ill-defined, unclear, or puzzling (Schildt, Mantere, & Cornelissen, 2020). "Equivocality reduction" is essential to this process as it acknowledges that sensemaking has both discovery and invention underpinnings. Accordingly, insights that clarify one's social reality are propagated through the give and take of reference and fabrication (Brown, Colville, & Pye, 2015) – an intertwining process that includes acknowledging an external cue, interpreting it for meaning and influence and responding as deemed appropriate (Maitlis & Christianson, 2014). Initially, sensemaking research focused on reactions to crises or other formidable unexpected events (Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2010). More recently, foundations of sensemaking have surfaced in several scholarly domains including



contract violation ([Diehl & Coyle-Shapiro, 2019](#)), entrepreneurship ([Ganzin, Islam, & Suddaby, 2020](#)), and work–life dynamics ([Crawford, Thompson, & Ashforth, 2019](#)).

Leader behavior and politics overlap in that each is fundamentally unstable. For example, leadership represents “an interactive system of dynamic, unpredictable agents that interact with each other in complex feedback networks” ([Avolio, Walumbwa, & Weber, 2009](#), p. 430). Given that politics is unspoken and often separated from formal rules for engagement, it reflects a significant source of cross-level unpredictability ([Franke & Foerstl, 2018](#)). Supervisors serve an uncertainty-reducing role in political contexts because they attract subordinate attention ([Jordan, Hochwarter, Ferris, & Ejaz, 2018](#)). However, before serving in that capacity, new leaders are faced with their own procedural and social ambiguities requiring attention ([Thiel, Bagdasarov, Harkrider, Johnson, & Mumford, 2012](#)).

## **SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY**

Social learning theory (SLT) maintains that knowledge and skills develop by scrutinizing and replicating the behaviors of others ([Bandura, 1963](#)). Discussed using terms such as *imitation* ([Bandura, 1965](#)), *vicarious learning* ([Manz & Sims, 1981](#)), and *knowledge transfer* ([Myers & DeRue, 2017](#)), SLT results from observing an external stimulus rather than actual engagement in a behavior ([Bandura, 1977](#)). Furthermore, cues considered salient cause learners to apportion more cognitive resources toward understanding because of the potential for explanatory nuances to emerge ([Connelly, Certo, Ireland, & Reutzel, 2011](#)). Lastly, prominent cues are more vividly presented, are given higher priority, and elicit self-relevant feedback ([Fiske & Taylor, 1991](#)).

[Sims and Manz \(1982\)](#) argued that “modeling regularly occurs within an organizational environment, and leaders have substantial opportunities to influence employee behavior through modeling” (p. 56). Subsequent discussions have described leaders as a critical source of social learning by displaying behaviors often emulated by

those seeking affirmation and accrual of desired and expected rewards ([Walumbwa, Hartnell, & Misati, 2017](#)). Accordingly, credible leaders represent role models, whose actions reflect appropriate guidelines for future achievement ([Weiss, 1977](#)). Recent discussions, however, view SLT as a rationalization for destructive behaviors. For example, [Schyns and Schilling \(2013\)](#) contend that followers often model negative supervisor behaviors (e.g., intimidation and defiance). Finally, studies argue that leader abusive behavior “trickles down” through organizations, as it is modeled and deemed appropriate by junior employees ([Mawritz, Mayer, Hoobler, Wayne, & Marinova, 2012](#)).

When managing political contexts is the focus, there are implications for recognizing that SLT helps explain both constructive and harmful modeling behaviors. In recent years, scholars have ardently promoted a more comprehensive conceptualization of politics that embraces positive and negative manifestations ([Frieder, Ma, & Hochwarter, 2016](#)). Even though political acuity is a “lived experience” ([Buchanan & Badham, 1999](#)) and reinforced by observing others’ successes and failures ([Hochwarter, Ferris, Laird, Treadway, & Gallagher, 2010](#)), minimal research has examined the modeling of politics between leaders and their subordinates, nor how political effectiveness is inherited between dyads.

## **CHARACTERISTICS OF DPLD**

Elements of DPLD discussed now develop the legitimacy of the construct while supplementing the explanatory potential of identity, sensemaking, and social learning theories. As noted, DPLD has rudiments borrowed from several theoretical frameworks associated with learning and effective management in contexts where the rules are often informal, immersed with uncertainty, fraught with egoistic behaviors (e.g., survivalist, self-serving), and dynamic. Accordingly, it is implausible to explain DPLD with one theoretical element. Thus, our discussion is both foundational and purposely concise.

## *Originating from Interactions with One's Directing Supervisor*

Leader development programs often are taught in classroom settings with trained instructors as teachers ([Miscenko, Guenter, & Day, 2017](#)). These settings possess limited face validity and are frequently viewed with disdain by program participants ([Kirchner, 2018](#)). As an example, the moniker “death-by-PowerPoint” illustrates the contempt held for leader development activities conducted in classroom settings ([Harrison, 2019](#)). Moreover, instructors often communicate “best practices” from external benchmarks, experienced leaders, or best-selling books to guide subsequent leader approaches. Although potentially informative, transferring knowledge from manufactured to real-world domains is problematic, especially when instructors are unacquainted with realities unique to the environments faced by learners at work. Practically speaking, the situation specificity and transitional nature of political climates ([Blickle, Schütte, & Wihler, 2018](#)) position the topic as a distinct reality that leadership instructors are ill-equipped to discuss.

[Day and Harrison \(2007\)](#) maintain that leader development is successful only to the extent that meaning exists through an augmented sense of identity ([Epitropaki et al., 2017](#)). In support, [Avolio and Gardner \(2005\)](#) argue

Self-awareness is not a destination point, but rather an emerging process where one continually comes to understand his or her unique talents, strengths, a sense of purpose, core values, beliefs, and desires. It can include having a fundamental awareness of one's knowledge, experience, and capabilities. (p. 324)

Because leader emergence is an inherently interactive process, tapping into the construction of both intra- and inter-individual identities ([DeRue & Ashford, 2010](#)), it is incumbent to consider the influence of socio-political realities, including informal power dynamics ([Krackhardt, 1990](#)). To date, leader development programs have instead opted for prescriptive approaches, by “focusing on competency creation and tending to be context-free, disregarding

the social, organizational and political settings in which LDPs are embedded” (Gagnon & Collinson, 2014, p. 649).

As stated, leader identity exists when relational knowledge, both tacit (intuitive developed through social engagement; Tsoukas & Vladimirou, 2001) and explicit (e.g., rational and objective; Kim & Yun, 2015), is gathered from well-informed sources. Because immediate supervisors communicate expectations and informal procedures, they possess a considerable influence on how subordinates adapt to fluctuating environments before immersion into forthcoming roles (Tepper, Mitchell, Haggard, Kwan, & Park, 2015). Indeed, socially constructed knowledge from supervisors facilitates leader identity because it prepares subordinates to more-rapidly assume positions of increased responsibility and social influence (Day & Dragoni, 2015).

### *Focused on Understanding Social Behavior that is Idiosyncratic, Spontaneously Occurring, and Bereft of Documented Guidelines*

Most elements of politics in organizations are individualized, driven by participant perceptions, attitudes, emotions, and motivations (Nguyen et al., 2018). For example, Hochwarter, Witt, and Kacmar (2000) report that workers experiencing high levels of politics may “have relied on idiosyncratic preferences for getting the work done and promoting their careers” (p. 475). Moreover, significant research views politics perceptions (Landells & Albrecht, 2017) from a phenomenological perspective (Tetlock, 1985). Accurately, social cues are inferred through subjective filters to establish a level of “objective reality” that guides subsequent reactions to others’ politicking (Breux, Munyon, Hochwarter, & Ferris, 2009). Because thoughts and responses are highly dependent on the evolving nature of political contexts, they are malleable over time and across situations (McFarland, Van Iddekinge, & Ployhart, 2012). As a result, leaders facing these “moving targets” are challenged to develop

approaches to manage politically driven exchanges without understanding associated nuances.

The context of leadership, in general, is correspondingly unpredictable, as changes in rules, expectations, and motivations often occur without counsel or forewarning ([Uhl-Bien, Marion, & McKelvey, 2007](#)). As expected, formal training programs are not able to capture the often-nebulous elements of work that effective leaders learn to navigate successfully. Moreover, leadership effectiveness is dependent on building a network of relationships that occurs organically over time and with the support of situational cues ([Cullen, Palus, Chrobot-Mason, & Appaneal, 2012](#)). In support, [Uhl-Bien et al. \(2007\)](#) argued that leadership roles "... reflect a dynamic relationship between the bureaucratic, administrative functions of the organization and the emergent, informal dynamics of complex adaptive systems" (p. 298).

Sensemaking represents a communal process that creates rational mechanisms for leaders to manage uncertainty ([Ganzin et al., 2020](#)). Because it is social, development requires a series of experiential exchanges to arrive at an observed reality ([Maitlis, 2005](#)). Cognitive learning theories indicate that knowledge is augmented when accrued through experiences in new and challenging contexts. Moreover, motivation-based approaches contend that individuals are more apt to exert effort toward development when faced with challenging experiences that teach skills assumed required for upcoming tasks ([Kanfer & Ackerman, 1989](#)). Moreover, experiences, rather than formal training, are better equipped to help individuals learn from failures resulting from engagement with non-routine events ([Ucbasaran, Shepherd, Lockett, & Lyon, 2013](#)).

[DeRue and Wellman \(2009\)](#) document the importance of supervisor knowledge on the interpretation of subordinate experiential learning activities. This finding is consistent with research affirming supervisors' influence on motivation, including the transfer of knowledge during on-the-job learning ([Colquitt, LePine, & Noe, 2000](#)). Similarly, supervisor engagement in informal development for transitioning leaders is critical because leaders are uniquely aware of what training "specifics" should be emphasized to

benefit learners (Dragonì, Park, Soltis, & Forte-Trammell, 2014). Accordingly, learners are engaged in feedback-seeking since they recognize the importance of amassing skills that are necessary for future growth and success (Ashford & DeRue, 2012). Lastly, supervisor involvement in informal development provides a safeguard, allowing learners to take risks while simultaneously ensuring that they remain wedded to established training goals (Schürmann & Beausaert, 2016).

### *Driven by Leader Cues Regarding Social Interactions*

Research documents the importance of leader cues as precursors to subordinate modeling (Dust, Resick, Margolis, Mawritz, & Greenbaum, 2018). Sims and Manz (1982) argue that “The behavior of organizational leaders is especially likely to serve as a cue to lower-level employees” (p. 58). Also, individuals are particularly attentive to leadership cues, focusing equally on (verbal and non-verbal) signals that address uncertainty-evoked knowledge gaps (Reh, Van Quaquebeke, & Giessner, 2017). Heightened consideration occurs because subordinates see leaders as conduits to appropriate supervisor behavior through formal (e.g., compensation) and informal (e.g., criticism/praise) feedback processes (Magee & Galinsky, 2008).

Regarding leader development protocols, supervisors facilitate subordinates’ interpretations of critical activities and guide the ascription of meaning through organizationally prescribed programs (e.g., official communication) and unsanctioned exchanges (e.g., dyadic coaching, extemporaneous-occurring responses to events) (Smircich & Morgan, 1982). Similarly, Gerpott, Lehmann-Willenbrock, Voelpel, and van Vugt (2019) noted that leader cues represent an immediate source of learning, especially for subordinates who are positioning themselves for higher status positions. Lastly, Connelly et al. (2011) argued that leader cues offer subordinates prescriptions for desired behavior resulting in proactive, rather than passive, approaches to work engagement.



In terms of underpinnings, leader cues contribute to subordinate modeling by offering guidelines to follow, modify, or disregard (Ashford, 1993). In this regard, SLT and sensemaking approaches work collaboratively to mold political tendencies when leader responsibilities commence. Recently, Xu, Quin, Dust, and DiRenzo (2019) established that leaders “can transmit signals either implicitly through social learning processes (Bandura, 1986) or explicitly through sensemaking processes (Weick, 1993)” (p. 442), allowing subordinates opportunities to extract information in inherently uncertain social contexts. Ostensibly, observation is critical because it is both informative and (most-frequently) harmless to the witness. For example, vicarious learning processes allow observers to connect behaviors and subsequent consequences without incurring direct injury or sanction (Xiao, Dong, & Zhu, 2019).

Emphasizing the influence of cues from one relevant source has implications for our conceptualization of DPLD as well as across disciplines. We view cues and events similarly in that each is observational and offers signals to perceive, interpret, and react to when developing personal behavioral schemes (Barker, Power, Heap, Puurtinen, & Sosis, 2019). Accordingly, doing so allows for insights to be gleaned by isolating (political) activities to gauge their unique influences in terms of salience and strength (Morgeson, Mitchell, & Liu, 2015). Moreover, appreciating how the “process” of leadership development unfolds is possible by considering event cycles (Morgeson & Hofmann, 1999), which occur when an episode provides a reference frame for future exchanges affecting leaders, supporters, dyads, and groups (Eberly, Johnson, Hernandez, & Avolio, 2013). We expand upon the theoretical and methodological implications of this approach in later sections of this chapter.

### *Interactional or Observational*

DPLD results from specific social exchanges between a leader and subordinate, as well as the subordinate’s observations of leader behavior outside of the dyad (He, Fehr, Yam, Long, & Hao, 2017).



Presumably, leaders incorporate a range of tactics for each target as dictated by characteristics of the actors, contexts, and intentions (Gao, Janssen, & Shi, 2011). From the subordinate's perspective, insight into managing political contexts accumulates after witnessing a collection of leader actions, many of which directed toward others (Chen & Hung-Baesecke, 2014). Alternatively, relying on one leader event (e.g., compliment/disapproval), directed at one target (i.e., subordinate/peer/external agent), and containing one unmistakable tone (e.g., positive, neutral, negative) offers only a snapshot of engagement in political contexts.

Accordingly, leader behavioral strategies are fortified with information gathered vicariously (Bandura, 1977), as well as from other indirect sources (Bandura, 1977). Across disciplines, this amalgam contains cues related to how "I am treated" as well as "how I see others being treated" (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). Rationality exchange principles contend that followers not only pay attention to direct interactions with leaders to determine the benefits and costs of engagement in subsequent behaviors, but they also examine how leaders handle interactions with others (e.g., co-workers/peers) (He et al., 2017).

Discussions recognize the potential for leaders to approach interactions with close dyadic partners differently than others (Pichler et al., 2019). Coupled with the innate complexity embedded in exchange activity, the reliance on multiple frames of reference included in DPLD (i.e., self and others), increases the potential for conflicting cues to surface and tax cognitive resources (Pillaud, Cavazza, & Butera, 2013). Cue inconsistency affects attentional focus and ambivalence, especially when wide discrepancies are observed (Liang, Lin, Zhang, & Su, 2018). Individuals can seek additional information when conflicting contextual cues muddle meaning. However, Weick (1995) contends that resolving equivocality compels individuals to engage in exhaustive information pursuit, which is often discontinued without success.

We provide an alternative view regarding the accumulation of conflicting information. We agree that conflicting cues can be stressful when they directly influence proximal outcomes. For

example, studies report the effects of cue inconsistency with task attributes, including overload ([Schnake & Dumler, 1987](#)) and work performance ([Terborg & Miller, 1978](#)). DPLD, conversely, in a prorated learning activity that builds on successive cues and developmental opportunities. In support, [Baldwin \(1985\)](#) contends that

“the most salient and consistent cues in the total stimulus collage usually have the greatest influence on a person’s choice of labels, though people can learn to neglect confounding or misleading cues if they have had prior social learning experience for making such discriminations” (p. 274).

Hence, the foundations of DPLD are explicitly evolutionary, providing an expanding base for subsequent interpretations.

Accordingly, developing modeling approaches from multiple frames of reference is posited to improve sensemaking, principally, when events are observed while actively occurring ([Maitlis, 2005](#)). In support, sensemaking is “focused on and by extracted cues” ([Weick, 1995](#), p. 49), and manifests when actors confront and interpret a progression of events rather than a unitary phenomenon. Aguinas and Glavas (2019) argued that accumulating information from multiple sensemaking levels of analysis facilitates meaningfulness. Lastly, observing discrepant events elicits explanation ([Louis, 1980](#)) as anomalies activate sensemaking processes stultified by a flow of consistent cues ([Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005](#)).

In sum, scholars argue that recognizing, interpreting, and using social cues is needed to manage the complexities presented to individuals in political contexts ([Rosen & Hochwarter, 2014](#)). We further maintain that observing multiple leader exchanges, across levels and presumably wide-ranging in tone and motivation, enhances DPLD in dynamic ways by providing observers a *range* of behaviors to consider for later utilization ([Mayson & Barrett, 2017](#)). Moreover, sensemaking is enhanced when both favorable and unfavorable cues from political landscapes are considered ([Dutton, Ashford, Lawrence, & Miner-Rubino, 2002](#)). As such, sensemaking’s influences on DPLD are augmented when direct exchange cues ([Gephart, Topal, & Zhan, 2010](#)) work collaboratively with

observations of others to establish foundations for modeling appropriate leader political behaviors ([Maitlis & Christianson, 2014](#)).

## *Supports Threat-reduction and Opportunity Achieving Objectives*

Since its introduction in organizational research over 100 years ago ([Hilton, 1914](#)), work politics has been conceptualized as a menacing component of organizational life. [Barrett \(1918\)](#) described organizations as establishments "... honeycombed with pull, preference, and politics" (p. 61). Business writers advocated for the importance of successful engagement (or at least an understanding) in politics as a vehicle for maintaining company standing. When advising scholars for careers in academe, [Holliday \(1918\)](#) noted, "Good work won't get you anything. Play politics, office politics all the while." (p. 102).

More contemporary discussions continue to view politics through threat and opportunity lenses ([Ferris & Hochwarter, 2011](#)). Specifically, scholars posit that politics trigger harmful consequences by depleting resources (Treadway, [Ferris, et al., 2005](#)). Others argue that ambiguity-generating properties of politics threaten work attitudes and well-being ([Hochwarter & Thompson, 2010](#)). Conversely, [Eldor \(2017\)](#) maintained that politics trigger a level of proactivity that increases resource accrual through knowledge sharing. [Landells and Albrecht \(2017\)](#) described politics as a strategic imperative for completing work tasks, while [de Moraes and Teixeira \(2017\)](#) found that engaged public service employees viewed politics as an opportunity for advancement. At this point, science has shifted attention from "*if* politics is good or bad" to "identifying the person and context factors that predict *when* positive or negative manifestations will surface" ([Maslyn, Farmer, & Bettenhausen, 2017](#)).

Each discrete political signal carries the potential to be viewed with contempt or approval ([Hochwarter, 2012](#)). Accordingly, studies have examined factors that foretell the tone with which these cues are interpreted ([Hall, Franczak, Ma, Herrera, & Hochwarter, 2017](#)).

Much of this research has emphasized the direct influence of supervisor interactions ([Rosen et al., 2011](#)). For example, employees receiving high levels of feedback from supervisors reported the lowest levels of politics ([Dahling, Gabriel, & MacGowan, 2017](#)). Moreover, Kane-Frieder, Hochwarter, Hampton, and Ferris (2014) affirmed that high levels of perceived politics predicted positive levels of satisfaction, engagement, and extra-role behavior when leaders offered political support. As conceptualized, supervisor political support reflected approaches to “shape subordinate’s perceptions of the political environment through influence behavior of their own” (p. 30). Importantly, these factors surfaced after affect and organizational levels of perceived organizational support (POS) were considered (Eisenberger, Armeli, Rexwinkel, Lynch, & Rhoades, 2001).

In this regard, supervisors serve a filtering role when threat/opportunities signals occur, which influences appraisals by subordinates ([Fournier, Moskowitz, & Zuroff, 2002](#)). [Rachman \(1990\)](#) noted that employees are more attentive to leader behaviors when cues elicit fear because prescriptions for appropriate responding often are vague or absent ([Kish-Gephart, Detert, Treviño, & Edmondson, 2009](#)). In support, [Lebel \(2016\)](#) found that subordinate voice levels increased (decreased) in contexts fraught with contextual threats when experiencing high (low) levels of supervisor openness. These results support research documenting the relationship between information-sharing and threat categorization ([Vuori & Huy, 2016](#)).

[Lebel \(2017\)](#) argued that leaders represent a protective mechanism for subordinates for several reasons. First, leaders can model behaviors that demonstrate approaches to minimize harm when faced with a threat, such as feedback-seeking or proactive problem solving ([Lazarus, 1991](#)). Second, leaders can direct subordinates toward positive outcomes when uncertainty questions which approach leads to the most constructive (or least destructive) outcome ([Schweiger & DeNisi, 1991](#)). Third, leaders assist by increasing subordinate efficacy perceptions of threat management ([Ellen, Kiewitz, Garcia, & Hochwarter, 2019](#)). Prior research identified

leader-developed self-efficacy as a resource that is useful for helping subordinates cope with unanticipated external threats ([DiRenzo, Linnehan, Shao, & Rosenberg, 2010](#)).

Establishing the theoretical underpinnings for a construct is needed before scholars assume that it warrants subsequent research attention. Equally important, though, is to identify where it can potentially extend established relationships benefitting from its inclusion. To this end, we describe how DPLD fits within a framework of leadership development that focuses on processes cast as *characteristically political*. Above, we advocate for a relationship between DPLD and forthcoming leader effectiveness. Much like virtually all disciplines, though, successful leadership development is not quite that simple. As an example, [Maurer and London \(2018\)](#) describe leader development as a series of progressing and everchanging roles, in which proficiencies evolve as prior roles are replaced by those one expects to engage in the future ([Georgakakis, Heyden, Oehmichen, & Ekanayake, 2019](#)). Below, we present a preliminary model that addresses critical issues in multiple areas of leadership and politics that the inclusion of DPLD can address.

## **THE ROLE OF DPLD IN EFFECTIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOR**

Leadership transition within the hierarchy occurs regularly in modern organizations ([Lam, Lee, Taylor, & Zhao, 2018](#)). Top management professionals often appoint new leaders to respond to environmental challenges and improve decision making, efficiency, and work processes ([Kalmanovich-Cohen, Pearsall, & Christian, 2018](#)). Regardless of the cause underlying leadership transitions, when leaders take charge of their new role, they often bring new goals, knowledge, skills, and behavior that may conflict with those of other stakeholders. For example, when team members assess the traits (e.g., proactive personality) of the newly appointed leader as different to those of the teams or they evaluate the traits of the

previous leader more positively, reaction from team members spirals up, uncertainty grows, and goal achievement becomes more challenging (Lam et al., 2018). Harvey, Wheeler, Halbesleben, and Buckley (2010) attributed these disruptive effects to changes in team power structure and differential access to sensitive information and decision making. Thus, organizations need to prepare leaders to adopt identities that reflect their new role and surroundings, and better prepare them to navigate the social intricacies of the workplace.

Regardless of leaders' previous experience, even within the same organization, any change in their status and role requires them to learn the ropes and assimilate into the team/organizational culture (Yang, Hu, Baranik, & Lin, 2013). Hence, learning about the social dynamics in the workplace should not be restricted to new joiners but open to any employee in preparation for leadership roles (Thomas & Lankau, 2009). Although formal training is a vital learning medium, demystifying the political landscape and learning to manage power dynamics will require individuals to search informally for instructions on how to acquire, expend, and replenish power to influence others at work to achieve both personal, professional, and organizational objectives.

Although we know that organizational politics are a primary learning priority in leadership development, we still know very little about how these repeated dyadic interactions relate to effect political leader behavior (Yammarino & Mumford, 2012). In the next section, we discuss the implications of DPLD on political skill and political will, as well as the effect of acquired political skill on political knowledge and political phronesis. Finally, we end our discussion by linking political knowledge and phronesis with effective leader political behavior, discussing the implications of ability and motivation on such relationships, and the nature of successful behavior for future DPLD.

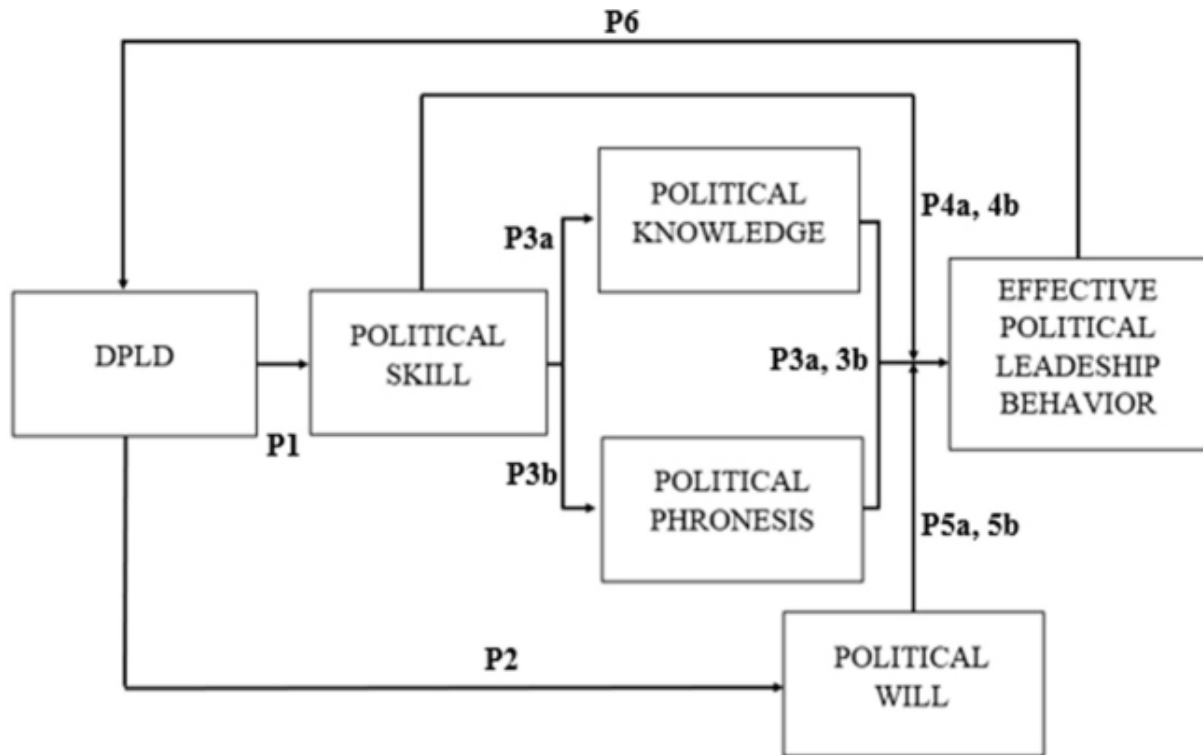


## *Implications of DPLD on Intermediate Leader Effectiveness Linkages*

Leader political experiences are idiosyncratic and spontaneously occurring ([Hochwarter et al., 2020](#)). Despite elicited uncertainty, organizations expect leaders to bring about change amidst demanding and fluid environments. Because political behavior typically is unsanctioned ([Ferris & Treadway, 2012](#)), it often is unclear what behavioral choices are most appropriate in different situations. For this reason, effective leader political development must incorporate strategic learning experiences and unique opportunities for vicarious observation and shared knowledge transfer ([Norzailan et al., 2016](#)). It is through such secondhand observation and applied learning that social and political capabilities are developed and the nuances of organizational politics better understood ([Ferris, Perrewé, Anthony, & Gilmore, 2000](#)).

Our model of effective leader political behavior ([Fig. 1](#)) explains DPLD's influential role in both processes and outcomes. Briefly, we contend that leader political effectiveness is highly dependent on both observations and interactions engaged in during the development process. At this stage, leaders are more adept at reading external signals and building and utilizing their political acumen resources. By establishing these competencies early in the process, leaders can better monitor themselves, others, and the interplay between people and work settings that are increasingly dynamic.





*Fig. 1.* A Framework for Understanding How DPLD Develops Effective Leaders Within Organizations.

Thus, we begin by discussing DPLD's prominent role in the development of political skill, advocating that political skill's development is limited without knowledge accumulated before enacting leadership behaviors. We further contend that political skill prompts the development of tangible political resources, in the form of political knowledge (Bolander, Saturnino, Hughes, & Ferris, 2015) and phronesis (Halverson, 2004). Relative to other better-established variables in the model, phronesis (i.e., practical wisdom; Broadhead & Gregson, 2018) has received minimal attention in organizational research. We continue by arguing that these resources foster effective political leader behavior, and their effects augment when delivered with political skill and coupled with political will. We see the accumulation of DPLD as habitual, and perhaps more instrumental after immersion in one's formal leadership role. Accordingly, the dynamic nature of DPLD then creates and catalogs

cues signaling effectiveness. Propositions for these specific relationships follow below.

Political skill is a socio-political competency that can be sufficiently acquired through socialization and mentoring, making it a transferable resource between current and potential leaders (Ferris et al., 2005). Defined as “the ability to effectively understand others at work, and to use such knowledge to influence others to act in ways that enhance one’s personal and/or organizational objectives” (Ahearn, Ferris, Hochwarter, Douglas, & Ammeter, 2004, p. 311), political skill facilitates the protection and acquisition of social resources amidst political ambiguity. Additionally, political skill provides potential leaders with the ability to influence, persuade, and control entities within social-political environments (Wei, Chiang, & Wu, 2012).

According to Ferris et al. (2005), political skill contains four functional dimensions: social astuteness, interpersonal influence, networking ability, and apparent sincerity. *Social astuteness* provides potential leaders with interpersonal sharpness, and the ability to promptly notice social cues and their social standing relative to others (Kapoutsis, 2016). This ability enables potential leaders to understand the motives and behavioral patterns of stakeholders within any context (Wihler, Blickle, Ellen, Hochwarter, & Ferris, 2017). *Interpersonal influence*, when used in combination with social astuteness, equips leaders with the ability to gain leverage and communicate in compelling ways. Defined as the ability to exert subtle social influence over others convincingly, interpersonal influence provides politically skilled leaders the perception of unassuming influence style, regardless of the target, social positioning, or true influence intentions (Perrewé et al., 2004).

*Networking ability* reflects a capacity to secure an advantageous social network position, providing those high in political skill proximity with powerful others, and the ability to maintain contacts and coalesce when needed to augment political capital (Kapoutsis, 2016). Using networking ability, potential leaders can dynamically decode hierarchical power structures, identifying structural holes (i.e., spaces between social entities) and bridging gaps within the

social network ([Fang, Chi, Chen, & Baron, 2015](#)). Lastly, politically skilled individuals possess *apparent sincerity*. That is, those high in political skill create a positive and perceivably authentic, sincere, and genuine self-image, appearing innocuous and benevolent to their counterparts regardless of real intention ([Ferris, Treadway, Brouer, & Munyon, 2012](#)). Given that perceived intentionality matters more than true intentions for inspiring change, it is “apparent” sincerity that provides a means to exert power and influence over designated targets ([Harris, Kacmar, Zivnуска, & Shaw, 2007](#)).

In the wake of a “trigger” or “event,” situational considerations become vital for successful social navigation. DPLD provides potential leaders with opportunities for developing their political skill by exposing them to a range of political stimuli, each possessing event and organizational characteristics that are inimitable and requiring event-specific appraisal systems and behavioral responses ([Hochwarter et al., 2020](#)). Given the role of leaders inherently requires a reconciliation of opposing interests through the development of group consensus ([Lampaki & Papadakis, 2018](#)), each political skill dimension is pivotal for navigating political endeavors.

Taking stock from DPLD experiences, situational exposure is necessary for leader development ([Avolio, 2005](#)). With each new experience, potential leaders acquire a better understanding of social situations and motivational dynamics, which allows them to differentiate sources of information and target motives across a myriad of politically ambiguous circumstances. With repeated exposure through DPLD, potential leaders become better equipped at identifying and selecting situationally appropriate behavioral responses. Additionally, potential leaders become better adept at using their power strategically, obtaining positional centrality within their social network ([Ferris et al., 2007](#)), and providing them with inimitable social and political resources, as well as unique information brokering opportunities ([Pfeffer, 1991](#)).

Indeed, as leaders provide opportunities for political development, they also inadvertently offer potential leaders the circumstances appropriate for developing political skill. Every political situation is distinctive, and exposure to different types of subjective events

offers unique learning opportunities. As such, it is through practice and repeated event-based appraisals that potential leaders develop a better awareness of social situations. It is through trial-and-error that interpersonal influence develops, and through social interaction that networks grow, and perceived sincerity propagated. Thus, DPLD acts as a catalyst for the development of political skill in potential leaders.

*P1. Dyadic political leader development (DPLD) increases learner political skill.*

Political will refers to “the motivation to engage in strategic, goal-directed behavior that advances the personal agenda and objectives of the actor that inherently involves the risk of relational or reputational capital” (Treadway, 2012, p. 533). Kapoutsis, Papalexandris, Treadway, and Bentley (2017) expanded Treadway’s earlier work on political will and provided empirical support for two dimensions of political will: self-serving and benevolent. Although the former reflects a leaders’ motive to engage in political behavior directly benefiting the self, the latter implies a desire for indirect benefits via the investment of political capital toward a group to which the leader identifies (Ellen, Ferris, & Buckley, 2016).

The experiences gained through DPLD not only increase skills necessary for navigating political environments, but they also influence the political *motivations* of learners. Given that supervisor involvement in informal leader development provides a natural safeguard, allowing potential leaders to take risks (Schürmann & Beausaert, 2016), DPLD offers unique opportunities for learning with minimal consequence to learners. Moreover, ongoing sensemaking activities developed during DPLD augments “an actor’s willingness to expend energy in pursuit of political goals” (Treadway, Adams, et al., 2005, p. 231) as a mechanism to acquire socio-political status and political effectiveness (Filstad, 2014).

Furthermore, leadership identity and behavioral motivations largely are dependent on well-informed events and sources (Tsoukas & Vladimirou, 2001). As leaders communicate expectations and

behavioral norms in response to political events, they exert significant influence over learners' current and future motivations and identities (Tepper et al., 2015). Thus, socially constructed experience passed down from supervisors facilitates learner identity, providing subordinates with greater motivation and willingness to assume positions of increased responsibility, social influence, and political maneuvering (Day & Dragoni, 2015). As such, DPLD promotes political will in potential leaders.

*P2. Dyadic political leader development (DPLD) increases learner political will.*

## **POLITICAL SKILL, KNOWLEDGE, AND PHRONESIS FOR EFFECTIVE POLITICAL LEADER BEHAVIOR**

Political skill is a resource-generating competency. As such, political skill provides the social capabilities necessary for the effective utilization and leveraging of other existing resources (Cullen, Gerbasi, & Chrobot-Mason, 2018). Indeed, once a basic level of political skill is acquired through DPLD, each nuanced social experience becomes an opportunity for political knowledge acquisition and the development of experience-driven political phronesis.

Chao, O'Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein, and Gardner (1994) suggested that knowledge about power dynamics, formal and informal relationships, as well as cultural norms, are primary aspects of the socialization context. However, only recently, Granger, Neville, and Turner (2020) described the intricacies of political knowledge, which they defined as "an understanding of the relationship, demands, resources, and preferences of specific influential others at work" (p. 431). In their study, they argued that to assimilate with the organizational culture and influence others to pursue a specific goal, leaders need to gather information about powerful others. Such

knowledge includes potentially sensitive information about (a) preferences, (b) social networks and the quality of relationships between influential others, (c) demands that influence decision-making, and (d) resource availability.

Whereas political knowledge is information-driven, political phronesis is practice-oriented. Aristotle defined phronesis as practical wisdom and rationality (see [Breier & Ralphs, 2009](#)). Phronetic political behavior embodies the practical knowledge acquired from personal or vicarious experience, that leaders use to devise appropriate courses of action in uniquely ambiguous situations ([Nonaka & Toyama, 2007](#)). To exercise politics with phronesis, individuals not only need to enhance their social understanding and competencies but also learn how to judge which political behavior is situationally appropriate under differing situations. In support, [Kapoutsis, Papalexandris, and Thanos \(2019\)](#) recently argued that phronesis allows leaders to

start making prudent decisions that intuitively analyze the different facets of ambiguous situations, proactively evaluate the adequacy of their social capital as well as the consequences of actions and risks in order to employ tactics that are situationally appropriate. (p. 638)

To enable the accumulation of valuable political knowledge and phronesis, leaders will have to possess skills that (a) filter information quickly and effectively, (b) augment their diagnostic capacity, (c) recognize behavioral patterns of others and social networks, and (d) enable the formulation of behavioral alternatives ([Wihler et al., 2017](#)). As such, political skill, developed via DPLD, acts as a mechanism through which subordinates acquire the general and tacit knowledge necessary to endure in political leadership roles.

Rather than merely trying to survive political events, potential leaders high in political skill began to utilize social situations for their benefits, maximizing knowledge transfer and opportunities for practice ([Treadway et al., 2004](#)). Each distinctive interaction is a learning opportunity that equips potential leaders with valuable knowledge regarding the political motives of stakeholders (i.e., others' political will), the political climate at work, the sensitive

information that might influence stakeholders, the location and structural roles of stakeholders in the political network, as well as the influence abilities and core values delineating their behavior. The possession of such knowledge increases the target's power, which is an essential element for leadership success.

Furthermore, political skill promotes effective leadership in several ways. First, political skill accommodates political knowledge and judgment before political behavior. [Granger et al. \(2019\)](#) viewed political skill as a natural antecedent of political knowledge and by [Kapoutsis \(2016\)](#) as an antecedent of political phronesis. Second, political skill ensures that leaders capitalize on opportunities at work through the enactment of effective execution ([Wihler et al., 2017](#)). In this regard, political skill acts as a quality assurance mechanism guaranteeing that the acquired knowledge and phronesis of the leader will be deployed *effectively*.

Overall, repeated social interactions at work provide a rich source of information for those in preparation for leadership positions. Although DPLD offers unique opportunities for acquiring political competencies, political skill allows for the acquisition of new knowledge. It also provides opportunities for the application of learned skills and episodic interaction that can provide valuable experience-driven insight. Such knowledge and phronesis may include information about the long-term consequences of political behavior, the difficulty in replenishing political capital, and the benefits and consequences associated with each political maneuver under different conditions. Indeed, political knowledge and political phronesis provide a behavioral standard for effective political leadership behavior ([Granger et al., 2019](#)).

*P3.* Political skill provides learners increased opportunity to acquire (a) political knowledge and (b) political phronesis, in turn, increasing the effectiveness of their future political leadership behavior.



## *Boundary Conditions Impacting the Effectiveness of Political Leadership Behavior*

For political behavior to be productive, potential leaders need not only have the knowledge and practical experience. Instead, scholars have theorized that leaders also must possess the *ability* and *willingness* to engage in organizational politics (Treadway, Hochwarter, Kacmar, & Ferris et al., 2005). When simultaneously possessed, both political skill and political will predict the *outcomes* of political attempts, beyond what is explained when examining each independently (Treadway, Adams, et al., 2005). Although we previously discussed the implications of DPLD for the acquisition of political skill and political will, we now focus on how such competencies and motivations can directly impact the effectiveness of applied knowledge and experience.

*Political skill.* Political skill is a critical construct within the politics and influence literatures (Treadway, 2012). Without political competency, potential leaders would not be capable of cognitively appraising their situation and gauging behavior appropriately, nor would they be able to exert influence over the motivations and actions of others (Ferris et al., 2005). We now discuss several ways in which political skill, increases the effectiveness of leader political behavior.

First, according to Pfeffer (1981), political skill provides the savviness required to *leverage resources effectively* (e.g., political knowledge and phronesis) and to successfully execute appropriate political behavior. Additionally, political skill provides the social adeptness necessary for the *effective acquisition of other resources*, making it a resource-generating competency (Cullen et al., 2018). Second, once knowledge and phronesis have provided a baseline for what appropriate behavior “looks like,” political skill assists in *effectively managing others’ attributions of intentionality*, ensuring actions are perceived as “other-serving” regardless of true intentions (Ferris et al., 2012). Such disguising of self-serving, opportunistic motivations is the ultimate objective of effective social influence

(Ferris, Hochwarter, Buckley, Harrell-Cook, & Frink, 1999; Jones, 1990).

Third, political skill facilitates the *effective coordination of others* via networking, social positioning, coalition building, and social capital creation (Ferris et al., 2005, 2007). By identifying structural holes and bridging social gaps within their network (Fang et al., 2015), politically skilled employees acquire unique information brokering opportunities that provide them with power and influence over others (Pfeffer, 1991). Lastly, politically skilled individuals employ an extensive repertoire of communication and impression management styles, facilitating *effective adaption and flexibility* (Ferris et al., 2007, 2012; Pfeffer, 1992). Not only do politically skilled learners use more situationally appropriate forms of influence, but such behavioral choices primarily are more operative at eliciting positive responses (Harris et al., 2007).

As such, we theorize that political skill increases the effectiveness of political leadership behavior. Specifically, once political knowledge and phronesis are acquired through the process of DPLD, political knowledge and political phronesis will elicit more effective political leadership behavior under conditions of high political skill. However, when political skill is low, political knowledge and political phronesis will have fewer desirable effects, making political leadership behavior less effective.

*P4. Political skill moderates the relationship between political knowledge and phronesis and effective political leadership behavior such that as learner political skill increases (decreases), the positive relationship between learner (a) political knowledge and (b) political phronesis and learner effective political leadership behavior is stronger (weaker).*

*Political will.* Motivation is described as a force that energizes and gives direction to behavior (Bartol & Martin, 1998). According to scholars (Maher, Gallagher, Rossi, Ferris, & Perrewé, 2018; Treadway, Adams, et al., 2005), political knowledge, phronesis, and skill are insufficient for effective political leadership behavior. Rather, leaders

must also be willing to expend time, energy, and resources in pursuit of political aspirations.

Engaging in political behavior requires much effort, such that learners will only apply what is acquired and learned through DPLD if they are intrinsically motivated to do so. Like other motivations, political will provides employees with a value orientation that guides behavior toward political activities. When employees value and acknowledge the opportunities embedded in political contexts, they will be more willing to utilize physical, social, and political resources toward political endeavors ([Mintzberg, 1983, 1985](#)). When knowledge and phronesis are present, the utilization of resources undoubtedly makes political activities more effective. On the contrary, when learners do not find value in the intricacies of political activity and they do not possess an intrinsic motivation to engage in politics, they will intentionally withhold resources, reducing the successfulness of political attempts. Additionally, they will be less likely to seek political challenges, negating opportunities for future learning ([Deci & Ryan, 1985](#)).

Overall, in order to engage in effective political behaviors, learners must be intrinsically motivated to commit time and resources toward political pursuits. Thus, without motivational drive (i.e., political will), potential leaders would not possess the intrinsic desire to engage in politics at work, nor would they be able to fully capitalize on opportunities to influence others and attain personal, professional, and organizational goals (Yang, [Liu, Wang, & Zhang, 2019](#)). As such, we theorize that political will increases the effectiveness of political leadership behavior such that political knowledge and political phronesis will be more beneficial under conditions of high political will.

*P5. Political will moderates the relationship between political knowledge and phronesis and effective political leadership behavior such that as learner political will increases (decreases), the positive relationship between learner (a) political knowledge and (b) political phronesis and learner effective political leadership behavior is stronger (weaker).*

## *Evolving Nature of DPLD*

Overall, we argued that DPLD is dynamic and, thus, amenable to development across one's career. Hence, "arriving" at effective leader political behavior represents one-stop along an assumed lengthy journey. Rudiments of the DPLD construct advocate for an evolutionary perspective. Scholars contend that sensemaking never really ends (Maitlis & Christianson, 2014), as individuals inherently endeavor, as an ongoing process, to establish an appropriate level of *sensitivity* toward the people and activities that they most frequently engage (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2020). Because sensemaking flows are continuous (Mills, Thurlow, & Mills, 2010), cues continue to affect DPLD. Ongoing self-evaluation (i.e., leader political behavior) significantly influences subsequent social behavior, even when viewed as substandard (Tangney, 1999). Accordingly, this evaluation provides useful sensemaking information which alters schemas and ensuing approaches to behavior.

Moreover, the identity-maintenance element of DPLD is an uncompleted process as roles, opportunities, and expectations change (Nelson & Irwin, 2014). For example, scholars contend that social data, whether threatening or supportive, is used to normalize existing self-conceptions (Maitlis, Vogus, & Lawrence, 2013). Specifically, reflections of the self and participation in social contexts are the outputs that subsequently create the inputs needed to modify one's identity system (i.e., feedback loop) (Burke, 1991).

Finally, social learning represents "an ongoing process that comprises several loops and enhances the effectiveness of the socio-ecological system and its ability to respond to change" (Pahl-Wostl & Hare, 2004, p. 195). Accordingly, DPLD is a learning process that is characteristically experiential, observational, and continuing (Kolb & Fry, 1975). Thus, DPLD changes in response to feedback-generating interpretations of prior events (Yeo & Marquardt, 2015), rather than single or static occurrences (Connaughton, Lawrence, & Ruben, 2003).

Indeed, the process of DPLD is evolutionary in nature, as event-based observations form an expanding basis for subsequent

behavioral responses (Maurer & London, 2018). Given that organizational contexts are forever changing, and political dynamics continuously ambiguous, every politically charged event requires learning to some extent. Noted proficiencies and competencies evolve as prior roles and expectations are replaced with those deemed appropriate in response to each event (Georgakakis et al., 2019). Leader behaviors previously deemed effective are frequently re-evaluated and modified to ensure appropriate future responses in the wake of new political events. As learners acquire increased strategic positioning, social dynamics become increasingly more complex, further facilitating exposure to new social experiences and the development of political skill, will, knowledge, and phronesis (Ferris et al., 2005, 2007).

*P6.* There exists a feedback loop between effective political leadership behavior and DPLD such that signals indicating effectiveness (ineffectiveness) will shape future DPLD activities.

## **METHODOLOGICAL/RESEARCH EXPECTATIONS OF DPLD**

The model and propositions presented provide a glimpse into the potential effects of DPLD in evolving contexts. Insights are generated if these conceptualizations are subjected to scrutiny to confirm, disconfirm, or modify their basic tenets. Additionally, research can offer an additional layer of inspection by empirically testing the relationships purported in this chapter. However, we recommend approaches, conceptually and methodologically, we feel are needed to evaluate our ideas with the most care.

Given that this discussion represents the first focusing solely on DPLD in organizational contexts, opportunities, and challenges abound. Opportunities result from the “blank slate” that unencumbers thought and approaches to research. The “blank slate”

also is a challenge because a foundation from which to expand does not exist (directly). Accordingly, we advocate for systematic and contemplative design approaches that offer a level of explanation warranted at DPLD's embryonic stage. In addition to strategies consistent with principles of scientific inquiry ([Buchanan & Bryman, 2009](#)), we recommend two approaches not frequently included in the vast majority of behavioral research: (1) viewing DPLD as an event-based phenomenon and (2) considering the effects of endogeneity when interpreting DPLD processes.

### *DPLD as an Event-based Phenomenon*

Recently, scholars have placed greater emphasis on discrete workplace occurrences and process-oriented forms when explaining phenomena and research ([Gabriel et al., 2018](#)). This approach contrasts traditional views focusing on enduring work design characteristics (e.g., task variety; [Hackman & Oldham, 1975](#)). Indisputably, this departure is needed, given that "real-world processes and situations unfold dynamically over time" ([Wolfson & Mathieu, 2018](#), p. 1167). Moreover, this approach is warranted because worker attitudes evolve primarily from nontrivial and unique experiences occurring indiscriminately and often without advanced warning ([Wang, Restubog, Shao, Lu, & Van Kleef, 2018](#)).

[Dewey \(1926\)](#) described an event "as a qualitative variation of parts with respect to the whole, which requires duration in which to display itself" (p. 253). Furthermore, [Allport \(1940\)](#) argued that events represent occurrences between distinct entities, which require a time-space relationship. Across scholarly realms, scholars maintain that social structure and personal reality exist, primarily, due to a recurring pattern of relevant events ([Sun, Lin, & Xu, 2015](#)). [Morgeson et al. \(2015\)](#) EST extends discussions by offering a spatial-temporal dynamic view of workplace behavior. Events possess three identifying properties within this structure. First, events are salient, deviate from routine incidents, and are observably discrete. Second, events have a definite beginning and endpoint with time and space



properties. Third, events transpire where actions and situations transect. In recent years the underpinnings of the theory have helped explained several work phenomena including racially traumatic work experiences ([McCluney, Bryant, King, & Ali, 2017](#)), employee job recovery ([Braukmann, Schmitt, Ďuranová, & Ohly, 2018](#)), election effects on work engagement ([Beck & Shen, 2019](#)), and team development ([Matusik, Hollenbeck, Matta, & Oh, 2019](#)).

Adopting EST offers a richer understanding of how DPLD processes are initiated and evolve. For example, leadership is an inherently cross-level phenomenon ([Chen, Kirkman, Kanfer, Allen, & Rosen, 2007](#)), as is the evaluation of political contexts ([Rosen, Kacmar, Harris, Gavin, & Hochwarter, 2017](#)). EST argues that events occur at multiple organizational levels (subordinate, supervisor, person, group, company) capable of wielding influence on each when social factors are considered ([Dalal, Alaybek, & Lievens, 2020](#)). Because DPLD requires information from higher hierarchical levels “trickling-down” to junior leaders for observation, construal, and imitation ([Peng & Wei, 2018](#)), it is a foundationally multi-level process.

Moreover, EST further positions event strength on a continuum of activation and subsequent behavioral change. Events are likely to initiate controlled information processing when novel (i.e., differing significantly from standards/expectations), disruptive (i.e., altering the stability experienced in one’s typical context; [Kahn, Barton, & Fellows, 2003](#)) and critical (i.e., essential to survival, success, or well-being; [Morgeson & De Rue, 2006](#)) ([Crawford et al., 2019](#); [Morgeson et al., 2015](#)). Successful leader transitions require immersion into previously uninhabited contexts which are fraught with unanticipated pressures and evolving demands ([Louis, 1980](#)). The novelty associated with entering a new context occurs when established rules and prescriptions for behavior are deficient ([Manderscheid & Harrower, 2016](#)). Politically induced ambiguities augment the potential for stress and failure exponentially ([Doldor, 2017](#)). Thus, “Grasping cultural and political intricacies will be crucial, as failing to capture nuances could unsettle the new leader and possibly sabotage their efforts” ([Shirey, 2016](#), p. 170). Others



recognize uncertainty, getting tasks done through others, and politics as top challenges for transitioning leaders (Parasher, 2017).

Lastly, viewing DPLD as an event-driven phenomenon addresses several limitations noted in both broader leaderships and more specific leader development content domains. For example, much discussion has centered around the need for research that considers the element of time when describing leader learning and execution (Bluedorn & Jaussi, 2008; Gerpott et al., 2019). Fischer, Dietz, and Antonakis (2017) argue, "Leadership research has given temporality short shrift, although understanding how leadership unfolds over time is integral for theoretical precision and practical relevance" (p. 1727). Specifically, scholars contend that leadership development is temporally and causally structured (Olivares, 2011) and learning based on a series of formative episodes (McDermott, Kidney, & Flood, 2011). Shamir (2011) argued that scholars have failed to identify (and explain) potentially important leadership dynamics by discounting the impact of time. Indeed, an absence of temporal insights has hindered the expansion of leadership development research (Dragoni, Oh, Tesluk, Moore, Van Katwyk, & Hazucha, 2014).

Scholars contend that leader actions occur in time and space (Castillo & Trinh, 2018), at the intersection of "when" and "where" (Rousseau & Fried, 2001). It is at this junction where an *event* is generated (Eberly et al., 2013) leading to cycles that represent "the basic building blocks upon which all larger collective structures are composed" (Morgeson & Hofmann, 1999, p. 252). Viewing DPLD through this lens promotes a richer understanding of within-individual differences over time (Fischer et al., 2017). Moreover, assessing events, or triggers (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, & Walumbwa 2005), will help identify the occasion and contexts where shifts in leader development take place (McClean, Barnes, Courtright, & Johnson, 2019). Practically speaking, purposeful introductions of events into informal leader development can identify when changes (behavioral and attitudinal) occur as well as establish the effectiveness of the inculcated trigger (Seibert, Sargent, Kraimer, & Kiazard, 2017).

Scholars contend that politics can be both chronic and acute (Rosen & Ganster, 2013). Ferris, Russ, and Fandt (1989) acknowledge that dealing successfully with politics is based on how well actors understand unique incidents. Moreover, scholars describe work politics as an adverse event (Maslyn & Fedor, 1998), episode (Pfeffer, 1981), incident (Meisler, Drory, & Vigoda-Gadot, 2019), and a workplace occurrence (Drory & Romm, 1990). Specific signals of politics include being passed over for a promotion (Beugre' & Liverpool, 2006), experiencing an unexpected and unfavorable merit pay appointment (Salimäki & Jämsén 2010), favoritism regarding reward allocations or termination/layoff decisions (Saad & Elshaer, 2017), and unwarranted appraisal scores (Dello Russo, Miraglia, & Borgogni, 2017). Although acute events are highly salient, and presumably more impacting relative to chronic exposure (Rosen & Hochwarter, 2014), research views politics as a "climate-level" phenomenon (Christiansen, Villanova, & Mikulay, 1997; Landells & Albrecht, 2019).

A recent exception is Hochwarter et al. (2020) model, which argues that event-based politics are particularly disconcerting because unexpected time exigencies cause observers to reconcile task and threat cues, often simultaneously. Conversely, behavior in chronically political conditions becomes normative as routines are established to adapt behavior while exhausting fewer cognitive and physical resources to cope. An extension of this model is the assertion that spatial elements of event space affect how discrete political incidents impact behavior. By considering spatial dynamics, opportunities to observe how event-based politics evolve within and across individuals and organization levels are augmented.

### *The Importance of Considering Endogeneity*

A limitation of leadership research receiving increased attention in recent years involves the failure to account for omitted causes, leading to a glut of published endogeneity-plagued studies (Antonakis & House, 2014). This issue is not endemic to leadership

studies alone, however, as endogeneity concerns have implications across the social sciences ([Bliese, Schepker, Essman, & Ployhart, 2020](#); [Liu & Borden, 2019](#)). Endogeneity renders coefficients unexplainable because independent variables have relationships with confounding factors ([Antonakis, Bendahan, Jacquart, & Lalive, 2010](#)). Ostensibly, endogeneity is a more significant concern in field studies because establishing causality requires scholars to attend to extraneous factors potentially impacting independent-dependent variable relationships ([Podsakoff & Podsakoff, 2019](#)). For this principal reason, [Antonakis \(2017\)](#) recommended that leadership studies consider experimental designs to wield more control over modeled independent variables and, thus, establish causality ([Aguinas & Edwards, 2014](#)). Accordingly, controlled experiments have earned the moniker of the “gold standard” for determining causality in leadership research ([Martin, Hughes, Epitropaki, & Thomas, 2020](#)).

Nonetheless, experiments are not always a panacea ([Schmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008](#)). For example, scholars continue to wrestle with the “controllability versus realism” conundrum embedded across disciplines ([Lami & Tavella, 2019](#)). Organizational politics research is no exception, as few studies have studied work politics processes in lab settings ([Hill, Thomas, & Meriac, 2016](#)). Accordingly, survey designs are typically chosen over experimental approaches because politics research emphasizes the “lived experience” ([Buchanan & Badham, 1999](#)). [McFarland et al. \(2012\)](#) argue that contamination may exist if an experiment’s political intervention is considered impractical. It is doubtful that hypothetical studies, which place college students in vignette-like socio-political conditions, are likely to generate much meaningful information ([Lonati, Quiroga, Zehnder, & Antonakis, 2019](#)) because self-reports in these settings are unlikely to translate into real-world behaviors ([Juszkiewicz, Lachowicz-Tabaczek, & Wróbel, 2020](#)).

If positioned as the sole data collection approach, it is unrealistic to reproduce lab contexts that capture real-world power dynamics ([Sedikides, 2020](#); [van Knippenberg & Steensma, 2003](#)), including those related to work politics ([McFarland et al., 2012](#)). In response,

recent discussions outline potential remedies when conducting survey research ([Hult et al., 2018](#)). These discussions argue that experimental designs have considerable value when representing a logical extension of theory and hypotheses and when evaluated in practical domains ([Zhou, Wang, Song, & Wu, 2017](#)). Accordingly, we are confident that DPLD (and broader politics) research will grow if scholars employ (mixed) methods that integrate elements of precision (i.e., endogeneity) and ubiquity (i.e., external generalizability) ([Molina-Azorin, Bergh, Corley, & Ketchen, 2017](#)) to build (substitute) on the strengths (weaknesses) of each approach ([Russell, Maher, Ferris, Jordan, & Hochwarter et al., 2020](#)).

In sum, we agree that failures to consider endogeneity have limited insight across scholarly domains ([Gibbons & Salkever, 2019](#)), including leadership ([Clarkson, Wagstaff, Arthur, & Thelwell, 2020](#)). Fortunately, design and analysis remedies exist ([Oc, Daniels, Diefendorff, Bashshur, & Greguras, 2019](#)). Given this expanding toolbox, we are confident that considerations of alternative explanations ([Sieweke & Santoni, 2020](#)) will be the norm rather than the occasional exception.

## **DISCUSSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

This chapter had three overarching and complementary objectives. First, using rudiments of sensemaking, identity, and social learning theories, we advocated for the DPLD construct as a vehicle to address opportunities in the leadership, politics, and learning domains. Second, we positioned the construct within a model of leadership development to explore its influence on intervening processes. Third, we argued that conventional ways of viewing leader development, and, as it relates to developing political acuity, has inhibited the expansion of knowledge. As a remedy, we recommend embracing recent calls to examine event-level dimensions of organizational phenomenon, DPLD in our case, rather than static characteristics that show few signals of variability ([Hoffman & Lord, 2013](#)). These three objectives allow for the “what”

(i.e., development of the construct), “why” (i.e., its role in exist political leadership networks), and “how” (i.e., methodological best practices) of DPLD to materialize to widen its potential contribution.

However, the emerging state at which leadership development ([Day, Fleenor, Atwater, Sturm, & McKee, 2014](#)) and political behavior training ([Frieder, Ferris, Perrewé, Wihler, & Brooks, 2019](#)) currently exist implies that contributions are often incremental. Accordingly, several considerations, albeit significant, are left for future research. This reality exists in the current chapter, and we acknowledge many unaddressed issues that warrant attention in future undertakings. For example, our inclusion of sensemaking, identity, and social learning as conceptual underpinnings of the DPLD construct required others with considerable explanatory potential to be omitted.

Social information process ([Rus, van Knippenberg, & Wisse, 2010](#)), reasoned action ([Chan & Drasgow, 2001](#)), efficacy ([Hannah, Avolio, Luthans, & Harms, 2008](#)), and experiential learning ([Kolb, 1981](#)) theories deserve consideration as this research evolves. Incorporating exchange theories also will be helpful, especially if trust in dyad partners represents an identified explanatory mechanism ([Lord, Day, Zaccaro, Avolio, & Eagly, 2017](#)). Lastly, if a holistic approach to DPLD is pursued ([Waldman, Ward, & Becker, 2017](#)), neuroscientific approaches have value in explaining within-person changes and cross-level behavioral strategies ([Waldman, Balthazard, & Peterson, 2011](#)).

Moreover, our focus on informal DPLD does not imply the need to eradicate all formal programs. Formal programs have considerable utility in developmental settings ([Day & Liu, 2018](#)). They can supplement DPLD activities by connecting realities gathered in social contexts with established rules, regulations, and norms ([Valcea, Hamdani, Buckley, & Novicevic, 2011](#)). A fruitful avenue of research, therefore, would carefully inspect the interplay between formal leader socialization programs and informal approaches (i.e., DPLD). Formal programs can help leaders better understand the company and legal parameters within which employees operate. Because politics is characteristically competitive, it may trigger aversive

behaviors potentially interpreted as bullying by others (e.g., target, bystanders) ([Naseer, Raja, & Donia, 2016](#)).

Similarly, we promote DPLD as a positive approach to leader preparation throughout this chapter. However, this assumption is balanced by recognizing that adverse outcomes also are plausible when considering person and boundary factors. For example, recent research documents narcissism's adaptive and maladaptive effects on leader emergence and subordinate development ([Williams, Pillai, McCombs, Lowe, & Deptula, 2020](#)). Pairing a subordinate with a leader scoring high on malevolent forms of narcissism can be problematic. For example, the tendency may be to showcase cues that promote one's often fragile self-image rather than an expansive view of workplace realities. Also, if a subordinate is viewed as a threat to supervisors' status, the leader's self-image may position actors as adversaries rather than allies. Lastly, because narcissists are prone to focus on negative experiences ([Hepper, Gramzow, and Sedikides \(2010\)](#)), subordinates may encounter cues that are disproportionately harmful. Subordinate withdrawal (e.g., turnover, limiting engagement) represents a logical reaction if it is assumed that contexts occupied in the future are correspondingly toxic.

Boundary considerations affecting DPLD success are many ([House & Aditya, 1997](#)). It is plausible that differing motivations of dyadic partners lead to incompatibilities. Assumedly, leaders are older and more tenured than those transitioning into supervisor roles. Status characteristics influence commitment, especially when highly incongruent ([Triana, Richard, & Yücel, 2017](#)). Research documenting differences in work values across generations recognizes its effect on employee fit ([Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010](#)). Lastly, [Arsenault \(2004\)](#) reported that generational differences impact leadership development, content, and effectiveness. Arbitrarily teaming dyadic partners without considering possible unique motivations, regardless of their source, is precarious.

## **CONCLUSION**



Unpredictable change has placed considerable pressure on organizations, making leadership development critical. In this chapter, we discuss leader development as an inherently political and informal dyadic process, leading to DPLD. We discuss DPLD by exploring its conceptual underpinnings as related to sensemaking, identity, and social learning theories. Additionally, we incorporate DPLD into an updated model of leadership, which includes political skill, political will, political knowledge, and political phronesis as fundamental characteristics of leader development and success. Lastly, we concluded by discussing methodological issues and avenues in need of future pursuit. We hope our work provides a unique perspective of political leadership development that can be a basis for future research.

## REFERENCES

- Ahearn, K., Ferris, G., Hochwarter, W., Douglas, C., & Ammeter, A. (2004). Leader political skill and team performance. *Journal of Management*, 30, 309–327.
- Allport, F. (1940). An event-system theory of collective action: With illustrations from economic and political phenomena and the production of war. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 11, 417–445.
- Ammeter, A., Douglas, C., Gardner, W., Hochwarter, W., & Ferris, G. (2002). Toward a political theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13, 751–796.
- Ancona, D. (2011). Sense-making: Framing and acting in the unknown. In S. Snook, N. Nohria, & R. Khanna (Eds.), *The handbook for teaching leadership* (pp. 3–19). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Antonakis, J. (2017). On doing better science: From thrill of discovery to policy implications. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 28, 5–21.
- Antonakis, J., Bastardo, N., & Rönkkö, M. (2019). On ignoring the random effects assumption in multilevel models: Review, critique, and recommendations. *Organizational Research Methods*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428119877457>.
- Antonakis, J., Bendahan, S., Jacquart, P., & Lalive, R. (2010). On making causal claims: A review and recommendations. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 21, 1086–1120.
- Antonakis, J., & House, R. (2014). Instrumental leadership: Measurement and extension of transformational–transactional leadership theory. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 25, 746–771.
- Arsenault, P. (2004). Validating generational differences. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 25, 124–141.
- Ashford, S. (1993). The feedback environment: An exploratory study of cue use. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 14, 201–224.



- Ashford, S., & DeRue, D. (2012). Developing as a leader: The power of mindful engagement. *Organizational Dynamics*, 41, 146–154.
- Ashforth, B., & Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of Management Review*, 14, 20–39.
- Avolio, B. (2005). *Leadership in balance: Made/born*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Avolio, B., & Gardner, W. (2005). Authentic leadership development: Getting to the root of positive forms of leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 16, 315–338.
- Avolio, B., Reichard, R., Hannah, S., Walumbwa, F., & Chan, A. (2009). A meta-analytic review of leadership impact research: Experimental and quasi-experimental studies. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 20, 764–784.
- Avolio, B., Walumbwa, F., & Weber, T. (2009). Leadership: Current theories, research, and future directions. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 421–449.
- Baldwin, J. (1985). Social behaviorism on emotions: Mead and modern behaviorism compared. *Symbolic Interaction*, 8, 263–290.
- Bandura, A. (1963). *Social learning and personality development*. New York, NY: Holt.
- Bandura, A. (1965). Influence of models' reinforcement contingencies on the acquisition of imitative responses. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1, 589–595.
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84, 191–215.
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Barker, J., Power, E., Heap, S., Puurtinen, M., & Sosis, R. (2019). Content, cost, and context: A framework for understanding human signaling systems. *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews*, 28, 86–99.
- Barrett, H. (1918). *Modern methods in the office: How to cut corners and save money*. New York, NY: Harper.
- Bartol, K., & Martin, D. (1998). *Management*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Beck, J., & Shen, W. (2019). The effects of US presidential elections on work engagement and job performance. *Applied Psychology*, 68, 547–576.
- Becker, K., & Bish, A. (2017). Management development experiences and expectations: Informal vs formal learning. *Education + Training*, 59, 565–578.
- Bell, C. (1977). Informal learning in organizations. *Personnel Journal*, 56, 280–283.
- Bennett, K., Verwey, A., & van der Merwe, L. (2016). Exploring the notion of a 'capability' for uncertainty and the implications for leader development. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology*, 42, 1–13.
- Beugre', C., & Liverpool, P. (2006). Politics as determinant of fairness perceptions in organizations. In E. Vigoda-Gadot & A. Drory (Eds.), *Handbook of organizational politics* (pp. 122–135). Cheltenham: Elgar.
- Blickle, G., Schütte, N., & Wihler, A. (2018). Political will, work values, and objective career success: A novel approach – The Trait-Reputation-Identity model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 107, 42–56.
- Bliese, P., Schepker, D., Essman, S., & Ployhart, R. (2019). Bridging methodological divides between macro-and micro-research: Endogeneity and methods for panel data. *Journal of Management*. 46, 70–99.
- Bluedorn, A., & Jaussi, K. (2008). Leaders, followers, and time. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 19, 654–668.
- Bolander, W., Saturnino, C., Hughes, D., & Ferris, G. (2015). Social networks within sales organizations: Their development and importance for salesperson performance.

*Journal of Marketing*, 79, 1–16.

- Braukmann, J., Schmitt, A., Ďuranová, L., & Ohly, S. (2018). Identifying ICT-related affective events across life domains and examining their unique relationships with employee recovery. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 33, 529–544.
- Breaux, D., Munyon, T., Hochwarter, W., & Ferris, G. (2009). Politics as a moderator of the accountability-job satisfaction relationship: Evidence across three studies. *Journal of Management*, 35, 307–326.
- Breier, M., & Ralphs, A. (2009). In search of phronesis: Recognizing practical wisdom in the recognition (assessment) of prior learning. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30, 479–493.
- Broadhead, S., & Gregson, M. (2018). *Practical wisdom and democratic education: Phronesis, art and non-traditional students*. Cham: Springer.
- Brown, A., Colville, I., & Pye, A. (2015). Making sense of sensemaking in organization studies. *Organization Studies*, 36, 265–277.
- Buchanan, D., & Badham, R. (1999). Politics and organizational change: The lived experience. *Human Relations*, 52, 609–629.
- Buchanan, D., & Bryman, A. (Eds.). (2009). *The Sage handbook of organizational research methods*. London: Sage.
- Burke, P. (1991). Identity processes and social stress. *American Sociological Review*, 56, 836–849.
- Byrne, Z., Kacmar, C., Stoner, J., & Hochwarter, W. (2005). The relationship between perceptions of politics and depressed mood at work: Unique moderators across three levels. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 10, 330–343.
- Campbell, D., & Fiske, D. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. *Psychological Bulletin*, 56, 81–105.
- Castillo, E., & Trinh, M. (2018). In search of missing time: A review of the study of time in leadership research. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 29, 165–178.
- Chan, K., & Drasgow, F. (2001). Toward a theory of individual differences and leadership: Understanding the motivation to lead. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 481–498.
- Chao, G., O'Leary-Kelly, A., Wolf, S., Klein, H., & Gardner, P. (1994). Organizational socialization: Its content and consequences. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79, 730–743.
- Chen, G., Kirkman, B., Kanfer, R., Allen, D., & Rosen, B. (2007). A multilevel study of leadership, empowerment, and performance in teams. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 331–346.
- Chen, Y., & Hung-Baesecke, C. (2014). Examining the internal aspect of corporate social responsibility (CSR): Leader behavior and employee CSR participation. *Communication Research Reports*, 31, 210–220.
- Christiansen, N., Villanova, P., & Mikulay, S. (1997). Political influence compatibility: Fitting the person to the climate. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 18, 709–730.
- Clapp-Smith, R., Hammond, M., Lester, G., & Palanski, M. (2019). Promoting identity development in leadership education: A multidomain approach to developing the whole leader. *Journal of Management Education*, 43, 10–34.
- Clarkson, B., Wagstaff, C., Arthur, C., & Thelwell, R. (2020). Leadership and the contagion of affective phenomena: A systematic review and mini meta-analysis. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 50, 61–80.
- Collins, D., & Holton, E. (2004). The effectiveness of managerial leadership development programs: A meta-analysis of studies from 1982 to 2001. *Human Resource*

- Development Quarterly*, 15, 217–248.
- Colquitt, J., LePine, J., & Noe, R. (2000). Toward an integrative theory of training motivation: A meta-analytic path analysis of 20 years of research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 85, 678–707.
- Connaughton, S., Lawrence, F., & Ruben, B. (2003). Leadership development as a systematic and multidisciplinary enterprise. *Journal of Education for Business*, 79, 46–51.
- Connelly, B., Certo, S., Ireland, R., & Reutzel, C. (2011). Signaling theory: A review and assessment. *Journal of Management*, 37, 39–67.
- Crawford, W., Thompson, M., & Ashforth, B. (2019). Work-life events theory: Making sense of shock events in dual-earner couples. *Academy of Management Review*, 44, 194–212.
- Cropanzano, R., & Mitchell, M. (2005). Social exchange theory: An interdisciplinary review. *Journal of Management*, 31, 874–900.
- Cullen, K., Gerbasi, A., & Chrobot-Mason, D. (2018). Thriving in central network positions: The role of political skill. *Journal of Management*, 44, 682–706.
- Cullen, K., Palus, C., Chrobot-Mason, D., & Appaneal, C. (2012). Getting to “we”: Collective leadership development. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 5, 428–432.
- Dahling, J., Gabriel, A., & MacGowan, R. (2017). Understanding typologies of feedback environment perceptions: A latent profile investigation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 101, 133–148.
- Dalakoura, A. (2010). Examining the effects of leadership development on firm performance. *Journal of Leadership Studies*, 4, 59–70.
- Dalal, R., Alaybek, B., & Lievens, F. (2020). Within-person job performance variability over short time frames: Theory, empirical research, and practice. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 7, 421–449.
- Day, D., & Dragoni, L. (2015). Leadership development: An outcome-oriented review based on time and levels of analyses. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 2, 133–156.
- Day, D., Fleenor, J., Atwater, L., Sturm, R., & McKee, R. (2014). Advances in leader and leadership development: A review of 25 years of research and theory. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 25, 63–82.
- Day, D., & Harrison, M. (2007). A multilevel, identity-based approach to leadership development. *Human Resource Management Review*, 17, 360–373.
- Day, D., Harrison, M., & Halpin, S. (2009). *An integrative approach to leader development: Connecting adult development, identity, and expertise*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Day, D., & Liu, Z. (2018). What is wrong with leadership development and what might be done with it? In R. Riggio (Ed.), *What’s wrong with leadership? Improving leadership theory, research, and practice*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- de Moraes, R., & Teixeira, A. (2017). When engagement meets politics: Analysis of a Brazilian public institution. *Public Organization Review*, 17, 495–508.
- Deci, E., & Ryan, R. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Dello Russo, S., Miraglia, M., & Borgogni, L. (2017). Reducing organizational politics in performance appraisal: The role of coaching leaders for age-diverse employees. *Human Resource Management*, 56, 769–783.
- DeRue, D., & Ashford, S. (2010). Who will lead and who will follow? A social process of leadership identity construction in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*,

35, 627–647.

- DeRue, D., Spreitzer, G., Flanagan, B., & Allen, B. (2013). Developing adaptive leaders for turbulent times: The Michigan model of leadership. *The European Business Review*, 13, 57–63.
- DeRue, D., & Wellman, N. (2009). Developing leaders via experience: The role of developmental challenge, learning orientation, and feedback availability. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94, 859–875.
- Dewey, J. (1926). The historic background of corporate legal personality. *Yale Law Journal*, 35, 655–673.
- Diehl, M., & Coyle-Shapiro, J. (2019). Psychological contracts through the lens of sensemaking. In Y. Griep & C. Cooper (Eds.), *Handbook of research on the psychological contract at work*. Cheltenham: Elgar.  
<https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788115681>
- Dienesch, R., & Liden, R. (1986). Leader-member exchange model of leadership: A critique and further development. *Academy of Management Review*, 11, 618–634.
- DiRenzo, M., Linnehan, F., Shao, P., & Rosenberg, W. (2010). A moderated mediation model of e-mentoring. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 76, 292–305.
- Doldor, E. (2017). From politically naïve to politically mature: Conceptualizing leaders' political maturation journey. *British Journal of Management*, 28, 666–686.
- Dragoni, L., Oh, I., Tesluk, P., Moore, O., Van Katwyk, P., & Hazucha, J. (2014). Developing leaders' strategic thinking through global work experience: The moderating role of cultural distance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 99, 867–882.
- Dragoni, L., Park, H., Soltis, J., & Forte-Trammell, S. (2014). Show and tell: How supervisors facilitate leader development among transitioning leaders. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 99, 66–86.
- Drory, A., & Romm, T. (1990). The definition of organizational politics: A review. *Human Relations*, 43, 1133–1154.
- Dust, S., Resick, C., Margolis, J., Mawritz, M., & Greenbaum, R. (2018). Ethical leadership and employee success: Examining the roles of psychological empowerment and emotional exhaustion. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 29, 570–583.
- Dutton, J., Ashford, S., Lawrence, K., & Miner-Rubino, K. (2002). Red light, green light: Making sense of the organizational context for issue selling. *Organization Science*, 13, 355–369.
- Eberly, M., Johnson, M., Hernandez, M., & Avolio, B. (2013). An integrative process model of leadership: Examining loci, mechanisms, and event cycles. *American Psychologist*, 68, 427–443.
- Eisenberger, R., Armeli, S., Rexwinkel, B., Lynch, P., & Rhoades, L. (2001). Reciprocation of perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 42–51.
- Eisenberger, R., Stinglhamber, F., Vandenberghe, C., Sucharski, I., & Rhoades, L. (2002). Perceived supervisor support: Contributions to perceived organizational support and employee retention. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87, 565–573.
- Eldor, L. (2017). Looking on the bright side: The positive role of organisational politics in the relationship between employee engagement and performance at work. *Applied Psychology*, 66, 233–259.
- Ellen, B., Ferris, G., & Buckley, M. (2016). Political is the new prosocial: Leaders' support of followers through political behavior. In E. Vigoda-Gadot & A. Drory (Eds.), *Handbook of organizational politics: Looking back and to the future* (pp. 95–112). Cheltenham: Elgar.

- Ellen, B., Kiewitz, C., Garcia, P., & Hochwarter, W. (2019). Dealing with the full-of-self-boss: Interactive effects of supervisor narcissism and subordinate resource management ability on work outcomes. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 157, 847–864.
- Epitropaki, O., Kark, R., Mainemelis, C., & Lord, R. (2017). Leadership and followership identity processes: A multilevel review. *Leadership Quarterly*, 28, 104–129.
- Emerson, R. (1962). Power-dependence relations. *American Sociological Review*, 27, 31–41.
- Fang, R., Chi, L., Chen, M., & Baron, R. (2015). Bringing political skill into social networks: Findings from a field study of entrepreneurs. *Journal of Management Studies*, 52, 175–212.
- Farmer, S., & Aguinis, H. (2005). Accounting for subordinate perceptions of supervisor power: An identity-dependence model. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90, 1069–1083.
- Ferris, G., Frink, D., Galang, M., Zhou, J., Kacmar, K., & Howard, J. (1996). Perceptions of organizational politics: Prediction, stress-related implications, and outcomes. *Human Relations*, 49, 233–266.
- Ferris, G., & Hochwarter, W. (2011). Organizational politics. In S. Zedeck, H. Aguinis, W. Cascio, M. Gelfand, K. Leong, S. Parker, & J. Zhou (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (pp. 435–459). Washington, DC: APA Press.
- Ferris, G., Hochwarter, W., Buckley, M., Harrell-Cook, G., & Frink, D. (1999). Human Resources Management: Some new directions. *Journal of Management*, 25, 385–415.
- Ferris, G., Perrewé, P., Anthony, W., & Gilmore, D. (2000). Political skill at work. *Organizational Dynamics*, 28, 25–37.
- Ferris, G., Russ, G., & Fandt, P. (1989). Politics in organizations. In R. Giacalone & P. Rosenfeld (Eds.), *Impression management in the organization* (pp. 143–170). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ferris, G., & Treadway, D. (2012). Politics in organizations: History, construct specification, and research directions. In G. Ferris & D. Treadway (Eds.), *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations* (pp. 3–26). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ferris, G., Treadway, D., Brouer, R., & Munyon, T. (2012). Political skill in the organizational sciences. In G. Ferris & D. Treadway (Eds.), *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations* (pp. 487–528). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ferris, G., Treadway, D., Kolodinsky, R., Hochwarter, W., Kacmar, C., Douglas, C., & Frink, D. (2005). Development and validation of the political skill inventory. *Journal of Management*, 31, 126–152.
- Ferris, G., Treadway, D., Perrewé, P., Brouer, R., Douglas, C., & Lux, S. (2007). Political skill in organizations. *Journal of Management*, 33, 290–320.
- Filstad, C. (2014). The politics of sensemaking and sensegiving at work. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, 26, 3–21.
- Fischer, T., Dietz, J., & Antonakis, J. (2017). Leadership process models: A review and synthesis. *Journal of Management*, 43, 1726–1753.
- Fiske, S., & Taylor, S. (1991). *Social cognition*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Fournier, M., Moskowitz, D., & Zuroff, D. (2002). Social rank strategies in hierarchical relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 425–433.
- Franke, H., & Foerstl, K. (2018). Fostering integrated research on organizational politics and conflict in teams: A cross-phenomenal review. *European Management Journal*, 36, 593–607.

- Frieder, R., Ferris, G., Perrewé, P., Wihler, A., & Brooks, C. (2019). Extending the metatheoretical framework of social/political influence to leadership: Political skill effects on situational appraisals, responses, and evaluations by others. *Personnel Psychology, 72*, 543–569.
- Frieder, R., Ma, S., & Hochwarter, W. (2016). Creating one's reality: The interaction of politics perceptions and enactment behavior. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 156*, 74–97.
- Gabriel, A., Podsakoff, N., Beal, D., Scott, B., Sonnentag, S., Trougakos, J., & Butts, M. (2018). Experience sampling methods: A discussion of critical trends and considerations for scholarly advancement. *Organizational Research Methods, 22*, 969–1006.
- Gagnon, S., & Collinson, D. (2014). Rethinking global leadership development programmes: The interrelated significance of power, context and identity. *Organization Studies, 5*, 645–670.
- Ganzen, M., Islam, G., & Suddaby, R. (2020). Spirituality and entrepreneurship: The role of magical thinking in future-oriented sensemaking. *Organization Studies, 41*, 77–102.
- Gao, L., Janssen, O., & Shi, K. (2011). Leader trust and employee voice: The moderating role of empowering leader behaviors. *The Leadership Quarterly, 22*, 787–798.
- Gardner, W., Avolio, B., Luthans, F., May, D., & 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.
- Georgakakis, D., Heyden, M., Oehmichen, J., & Ekanayake, U. (2019). Four decades of CEO-TMT interface research: A review inspired by role theory. *The Leadership Quarterly*. doi:0.1016/j.leaqua.2019.101354
- Gephart, R., Topal, C., & Zhan, Z. (2010). Future-oriented sensemaking: Temporalities and institutional legitimation. In T. Hernes & S. Maitlis (Eds.), *Process, sensemaking, and organizing* (pp. 275–312). New York, NY: Oxford.
- Gerpott, F., Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., Voelpel, S., & van Vugt, M. (2019). It's not just what is said, but when it's said: A temporal account of verbal behaviors and emergent leadership in self-managed teams. *Academy of Management Journal, 62*, 717–738.
- Gibbons, B., & Salkever, D. (2019). Working with a severe mental illness: Estimating the causal effects of employment on mental health status and total mental health costs. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research, 46*, 474–487.
- Giber, D., Carter, L., & Goldsmith, M. (2000). *Linkage Inc.'s best practices in leadership development handbook*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Granger, S., Neville, L., & Turner, N. (2019). Political knowledge at work: Conceptualization, measurement, and applications to follower proactivity. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 93*, 431–471.
- Guo, J., Gonzales, R., & Dilley, A. (2016). Creativity and leadership in organizations: A literature review. *Creativity. Theories-Research-Applications, 3*, 127–151.
- Hackman, J., & Oldham, G. (1975). Development of the job diagnostic survey. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 60*, 159–170.
- Hall, A., Franczak, J., Ma, S., Herrera, D., & Hochwarter, W. (2017). Driving away the bad guys: The interactive effects of politics perceptions and work drive across two studies. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies, 24*, 106–120.
- Halverson, R. (2004). Accessing, documenting, and communicating. *American Journal of Education, 111*, 98–121.

- Hammond, M., Clapp-Smith, R., & Palanski, M. (2017). Beyond (just) the workplace: A theory of leader development across multiple domains. *Academy of Management Review*, 42, 481–498.
- Hannah, S., Avolio, B., Luthans, F., & Harms, P. (2008). Leadership efficacy: Review and future directions. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 19, 669–692.
- Harris, K., Kacmar, K., Zivnuska, S., & Shaw, J. (2007). The impact of political skill on impression management effectiveness. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 278–285.
- Harrison, L. (2019). Leadership in learning. *Training & Development*, 46, 24.
- Harvey, J., Wheeler, A., Halbesleben, J., & Buckley, M. (2010). How did you figure that out? Employee learning during socialization. In H. Liao, J. Martocchio, & A. Joshi (Eds.), *Research in personnel and human resources management* (pp. 167–200). Bingley: Emerald.
- He, W., Fehr, R., Yam, K., Long, L., & Hao, P. (2017). Interactional justice, leader-member exchange, and employee performance: Examining the moderating role of justice differentiation. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 38, 537–557.
- Hepper, E., Gramzow, R., & Sedikides, C. (2010). Individual differences in self-enhancement and self-protection strategies: An integrative analysis. *Journal of Personality*, 78, 781–814.
- Hill, S., Thomas, A., & Meriac, J. (2016). Political behaviors, politics perceptions and work outcomes: Moving to an experimental study. In E. Vigoda-Gadot & A. Drory (Eds.), *Handbook of organizational politics* (pp. 369–400). Cheltenham: Elgar.
- Hilton, W. (1914). *Applied psychology: Power of mental imagery*. San Francisco, CA: Applied Psychology Press.
- Hochwarter, W. (2012). Positive politics. In G. Ferris & D. Treadway (Eds.), *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations* (pp. 20–45). New York, NY: APA Press.
- Hochwarter, W., Ferris, G., Laird, M., Treadway, D., & Gallagher, V. (2010). Non-linear politics perceptions – work outcome relationships: A three study, five sample investigation. *Journal of Management*, 36, 740–763.
- Hochwarter, W., Kacmar, K., Perrewé, P., & Johnson, D. (2003). Perceived organizational support as a mediator of the relationship between politics perceptions and work outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 63, 438–465.
- Hochwarter, W., Kacmar, K., Treadway, D., & Watson, T. (2003). It's all relative: The distinction and prediction of political perceptions across levels. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 33, 1995–2016.
- Hochwarter, W., Rosen, C., Jordan, S., Ferris, G., Ejaz, A., & Maher, L. (2020). Perceptions of organizational politics research: Past, present, and future. *Journal of Management*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206319898506>
- Hochwarter, W., & Thompson, K. (2010). The moderating role of optimism on politics-outcomes relationships: A test of competing perspectives. *Human Relations*, 63, 1371–1394.
- Hochwarter, W., Witt, L., & Kacmar, K. (2000). Perceptions of organizational politics as a moderator of the relationship between consciousness and job performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 85, 472–478.
- Hoffman, E., & Lord, R. (2013). A taxonomy of event-level dimensions: Implications for understanding leadership processes, behavior, and performance. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 24, 558–571.



- Hogg, M. (2018). Social identity theory. In P. Burke (Ed.), *Contemporary social psychological theories* (pp. 112–138). Palo Alto, CA: Stanford.
- Holliday, R. (1918). *Walking-stick papers*. New York, NY: Doran.
- House, R., & Aditya, R. (1997). The social scientific study of leadership: Quo vadis? *Journal of Management*, 23, 409–473.
- Hu, L., Gu, J., Wu, J., & Lado, A. (2018). Regulatory focus, environmental turbulence, and entrepreneur improvisation. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 14, 129–148.
- Hult, G., Hair, F., Proksch, D., Sarstedt, M., Pinkwart, A., & Ringle, C. (2018). Addressing endogeneity in international marketing applications of partial least squares structural equation modeling. *Journal of International Marketing*, 26, 1–21.
- Jones, E. (1990). *Interpersonal perception*. New York, NY: W.H. Freeman.
- Jordan, S., Hochwarter, W., Ferris, G., & Ejaz, A. (2018). Work grit as a moderator of politics perceptions. *Career Development International*, 23, 576–594.
- Juszkiewicz, A., Lachowicz-Tabaczek, K., & Wróbel, M. (2020). Self-esteem, gender, and emotional contagion: What predicts people's proneness to "catch" the feelings of others? *Personality and Individual Differences*, 157, 109803.
- Kacmar, K., & Carlson, D. (1997). Further validation of the perceptions of politics scale (POPS): A multiple sample investigation. *Journal of Management*, 23, 627–658.
- Kacmar, K., Whitman, M., & Harris, K. (2013). The lingering impact of abusive supervision. *Journal of Applied Management and Entrepreneurship*, 18, 51–71.
- Kahn, W., Barton, M., & Fellows, S. (2003). Organizational crises and the disturbance of relational systems. *Academy of Management Review*, 38, 377–396.
- Kaiser, R., Hogan, R., & Craig, S. (2008). Leadership and the fate of organizations. *American Psychologist*, 63, 96–110.
- Kalmanovich-Cohen, H., Pearsall, M., & Christian, J. (2018). The effects of leadership change on team escalation of commitment. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 29, 597–608.
- Kanfer, R., & Ackerman, P. (1989). Motivation and cognitive abilities: An integrative/aptitude–treatment interaction approach to skill acquisition. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 74, 657–690.
- Kangas, A., Kujala, J., Lönnqvist, A., Heikkinen, A., & Laihonen, H. (2019). Introduction: Leadership for dealing with complex changes. In A. Kangas, J. Kujala, A. Lönnqvist, A. Heikkinen, H. Laihonen & J. Bethwaite (Eds.), *Leading change in a complex world* (pp. 7–24). Tampere: Tampere.
- Kapoutsis, I. (2016). Playing the political game at work: The roles of politics will, political prudence, and political skill. In E. Vigoda-Gadot & A. Drory (Eds.), *Handbook of organizational politics: Looking back and to the future* (pp. 40–58). Cheltenham: Elgar.
- Kapoutsis, I., Papalexandris, A., & Thanos, I. (2019). Hard, soft or ambidextrous? Which influence style promotes managers' task performance and the role of political skill. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 30, 618–647.
- Kapoutsis, I., Papalexandris, A., Treadway, D., & Bentley, J. (2017). Measuring political will in organizations: Theoretical construct development and empirical validation. *Journal of Management*, 43, 2252–2280.
- Kim, S., & Yun, S. (2015). The effect of coworker knowledge sharing on performance and its boundary conditions: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 100, 575–582.

- Kimura, T. (2013). The moderating effects of political skill and leader–member exchange on the relationship between organizational politics and affective commitment. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 116, 587–599.
- Kirchner, M. (2018). Veteran as leader: The lived experience with US Army leader development. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 29, 67–85.
- Kish-Gephart, J., Detert, J., Treviño, L., & Edmondson, A. (2009). Silenced by fear: The nature, sources, and consequences of fear at work. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 29, 163–193.
- Klarin, A., & Sharmelly, R. (2019). Strategic sensemaking and political connections in unstable institutional contexts. *Journal of Management Inquiry*. doi:10.56492619862635
- Kolb, D. (1981). Experiential learning theory and the learning style inventory: A reply to Freedman and Stumpf. *The Academy of Management Review*, 6, 289–296.
- Kolb, D., & Fry, R. (1975). Toward an applied theory of experiential learning. In C. Cooper (Ed.), *Theories of group process* (pp. 33–58). London: Wiley.
- Korte, R. (2009). How newcomers learn the social norms of an organization: A case study of the socialization of newly hired engineers. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 20, 285–306.
- Krackhardt, D. (1990). Assessing the political landscape: Structure, cognition, and power in organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35, 342–369.
- Lam, W., Lee, C., Taylor, M., & Zhao, H. (2018). Does proactive personality matter in leadership transitions? Effects of proactive personality on new leader identification and responses to new leaders and their change agendas. *Academy of Management Journal*, 61, 245–263.
- Lami, I., & Tavella, E. (2019). On the usefulness of soft OR models in decision making: A comparison of problem structuring methods supported and self-organized workshops. *European Journal of Operational Research*, 275, 1020–1036.
- Lampaki, A., & Papadakis, V. (2018). The impact of organisational politics and trust in the top management team on strategic decision implementation success: A middle-manager's perspective. *European Management Journal*, 36, 627–637.
- Landells, E., & Albrecht, S. (2017). The positives and negatives of organizational politics: A qualitative study. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 32, 41–58.
- Landells, E., & Albrecht, S. (2019). Perceived organizational politics, engagement and stress: The mediating influence of meaningful work. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10, 1612.
- Lapointe, É., & Vandenberghe, C. (2018). Trust in the supervisor and the development of employees' social capital during organizational entry: A conservation of resources approach. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 29, 2503–2523.
- Lazarus, R. (1991). *Emotion and adaptation*. New York, NY: Oxford.
- Lebel, R. (2016). Overcoming the fear factor: How perceptions of supervisor openness lead employees to speak up when fearing external threat. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 135, 10–21.
- Lebel, R. (2017). Moving beyond fight and flight: A contingent model of how the emotional regulation of anger and fear sparks proactivity. *Academy of Management Review*, 42, 190–206.
- LePine, J., Podsakoff, N., & LePine, M. (2005). A meta-analytic test of the challenge stressor–hindrance stressor framework: An explanation for inconsistent relationships

- among stressors and performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48, 764–775.
- Liang, H., Lin, K., Zhang, S., & Su, Y. (2018). The impact of coworkers' safety violations on an individual worker: A social contagion effect within the construction crew. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 15, 773.
- Liu, X., & Borden, V. (2019). Addressing self-selection and endogeneity in higher education research. *Theory and Method in Higher Education Research*, 5, 129–151.
- Lonati, S., Quiroga, B., Zehnder, C., & Antonakis, J. (2018). On doing relevant and rigorous experiments: Review and recommendations. *Journal of Operations Management*, 64, 19–40.
- Lord, R., Day, D., Zaccaro, S., Avolio, B., & Eagly, A. (2017). Leadership in applied psychology: Three waves of theory and research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 102, 434–451.
- Louis, M. (1980). Surprise and sense making: What newcomers experience in entering unfamiliar organizational settings. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2, 226–251.
- Magee, J., & Galinsky, A. (2008). Social hierarchy: The self-reinforcing nature of power and status. *Academy of Management Annals*, 2, 351–398.
- Maher, L., Gallagher, V., Rossi, A., Ferris, G., & Perrewé, P. (2018). Political skill and will as predictors of impression management frequency and style: A three-study investigation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 107, 276–294.
- Maitlis, S. (2005). The social processes of organizational sensemaking. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48, 21–49.
- Maitlis, S., & Christianson, M. (2014). Sensemaking in organizations: Taking stock and moving forward. *Academy of Management Annals*, 8, 57–125.
- Maitlis, S., & Sonenshein, S. (2010). Sensemaking in crisis and change: Inspiration and insights from Weick (1988). *Journal of Management Studies*, 47, 551–580.
- Maitlis, S., Vogus, T., & Lawrence, T. (2013). Sensemaking and emotion in organizations. *Organizational Psychology Review*, 3, 222–247.
- Manderscheid, S., & Harrower, N. (2016). A qualitative study of leader transition and polarities. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 18, 390–408.
- Manz, C., & Sims, H. (1981). Vicarious learning: The influence of modeling on organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Review*, 6, 105–113.
- Martin, R., Hughes, D., Epitropaki, O., & Thomas, G. (2020). In pursuit of causality in leadership training research: A review and pragmatic recommendations. *The Leadership Quarterly*. doi:10.1016/j.leaqua.2019.101375
- Maslyn, J., Farmer, S., & Bettenhausen, K. (2017). When organizational politics matters: The effects of the perceived frequency and distance of experienced politics. *Human Relations*, 70, 1486–1513.
- Maslyn, J., & Fedor, D. (1998). Perceptions of politics: Does measuring different foci matter? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83, 645–653.
- Matusik, J., Hollenbeck, J., Matta, F., & Oh, J. (2019). Dynamic systems theory and dual change score models: Seeing teams through the lens of developmental psychology. *Academy of Management Journal*, 62, 1760–1788.
- Maurer, T., & London, M. (2018). From individual contributor to leader: A role identity shift framework for leader development within innovative organizations. *Journal of Management*, 44, 1426–1452.
- Mawritz, M., Mayer, D., Hoobler, J., Wayne, S., & Marinova, S. (2012). A trickle-down model of abusive supervision. *Personnel Psychology*, 65, 325–357.

- Mayson, S., & Barrett, R. (2017). A new argument using embeddedness and sensemaking to explain small firms' responses to employment regulation. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 27, 189–202.
- McClean, S., Barnes, C., Courtright, S., & Johnson, R. (2019). Resetting the clock on dynamic leader behaviors: A conceptual integration and agenda for future research. *Academy of Management Annals*, 13, 479–508.
- McCluney, C., Bryant, C., King, D., & Ali, A. (2017). Calling in black: A dynamic model of racially traumatic events, resourcing, and safety. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 36, 767–786.
- McDermott, A., Kidney, R., & Flood, P. (2011). Understanding leader development: Learning from leaders. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 32, 358–378.
- McFarland, L., Van Iddekinge, C., & Ployhart, R. (2012). Measurement and methodology in organizational politics research. In G. Ferris & D. Treadway (Eds.), *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations* (pp. 99–129). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Meisler, G., Drory, A., & Vigoda-Gadot, E. (2019). Perceived organizational politics and counterproductive work behavior. *Personnel Review*. doi:10.1108/PR-12-2017-03
- Mills, J., Thurlow, A., & Mills, A. (2010). Making sense of sensemaking: The critical sensemaking approach. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 5, 182–195.
- Mintzberg, H. (1983). *Power in and around organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Mintzberg, H. (1985). The organization as political arena. *Journal of Management Studies*, 22, 133–154.
- Miscenko, D., Guenter, H., & Day, D. (2017). Am I a leader? Examining leader identity development over time. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 28, 605–620.
- Molina-Azorin, J., Bergh, D., Corley, K., & Ketchen, D. (2017). Mixed methods in the organizational sciences: Taking stock and moving forward. *Organizational Research Methods*, 20, 179–192.
- Morgeson, F., & DeRue, D. (2006). Event criticality, urgency, and duration: Understanding how events disrupt teams and influence team leader intervention. *Leadership Quarterly*, 17, 271–287.
- Morgeson, F., & Hofmann, D. (1999). The structure and function of collective constructs: Implications for multilevel research and theory development. *Academy of Management Review*, 24, 249–265.
- Morgeson, F., Mitchell, T., & Liu, D. (2015). Event system theory: An event-oriented approach to the organizational sciences. *Academy of Management Review*, 40, 515–537.
- Myers, C., & DeRue, D. (2017). Agency in vicarious learning at work. In J. Ellingson & R. Noe (Eds.), *Autonomous learning in the workplace* (pp. 15–37). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Naseer, S., Raja, U., & Donia, M. (2016). Effect of perceived politics and perceived support on bullying and emotional exhaustion: The moderating role of Type A personality. *Journal of Psychology*, 150, 606–624.
- Nelson, A., & Irwin, J. (2014). "Defining what we do – all over again": Occupational identity, technological change, and the librarian/Internet-search relationship. *Academy of Management Journal*, 57, 892–928.

- Nguyen, H., Thomson, C., Kaminski, N., Schnapp, L., Madison, J., Glenny, R., & Dixon, A. (2018). Leadership primer for current and aspiring pulmonary, critical care, and sleep medicine academic division chiefs. *Annals of the American Thoracic Society*, 15, 655–661.
- Nonaka, I., Toyama, R., & Hirata, T. (2008). *Managing flow: A process theory of the knowledge-based firm*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Nonaka, I., & Toyama, R. (2007). Strategic management as distributed practical wisdom (phronesis). *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 16, 371–394.
- Norzailan, Z., Yusof, S., & Othman, R. (2016). Developing strategic leadership competencies. *Journal of Advanced Management Science*, 4, 66–71.
- Oc, B., Daniels, M., Diefendorff, J., Bashshur, M., & Greguras, G. (2019). Humility breeds authenticity: How authentic leader humility shapes follower vulnerability and felt authenticity. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*. doi:10.1016/j.obhdp.2019.04.008
- Olivares, O. (2011). The formative capacity of momentous events and leadership development. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 32, 837–853.
- Pahl-Wostl, C., & Hare, M. (2004). Process of social learning in integrated resources management. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 14, 193–206.
- Parasher, P. (2017). Navigating leadership transitions: Helping leaders successfully transition into new roles. *NHRD Network Journal*, 10, 72–80.
- Payne, S., Culbertson, S., Boswell, W., & Barger, E. (2008). Newcomer psychological contracts and employee socialization activities: Does perceived balance in obligations matter? *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 73, 465–472.
- Peng, H., & Wei, F. (2018). Trickle-down effects of perceived leader integrity on employee creativity: A moderated mediation model. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 150, 837–851.
- Perrewé, P., Zellars, K., Ferris, G., Rossi, A., Kacmar, C., & Ralston, D. (2004). Neutralizing job stressors: Political skill as an antidote to the dysfunctional consequences of role conflict. *Academy of Management Journal*, 47, 141–152.
- Pfeffer, J. (1981). *Power in organizations*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.
- Pfeffer, J. (1991). Organization theory and structural perspectives on management. *Journal of Management*, 17, 789–803.
- Pfeffer, J. (1992). *Managing with power: Politics and influence in organizations*. Boston, MA: Harvard Press.
- Pichler, S., Livingston, B., Yu, A., Varma, A., Budhwar, P., & Shukla, A. (2019). Nationality diversity and leader-member exchange at multiple levels of analysis: Test of a cross-level model. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 38, 20–39.
- Pillaud, V., Cavazza, N., & Butera, F. (2013). The social value of being ambivalent: Self-presentational concerns in the expression of attitudinal ambivalence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39, 1139–1151.
- Podsakoff, P., & Podsakoff, N. (2019). Experimental designs in management and leadership research: Strengths, limitations, and recommendations for improving publishability. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 11–33.
- Rachman, S. (1990). *Fear and courage*. New York, NY: Freeman.
- Ragins, B., & Kram, K. (2007). *The handbook of mentoring at work*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Reh, S., Van Quaquebeke, N., & Giessner, S. (2017). The aura of charisma: A review on the embodiment perspective as signaling. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 28, 486–507.

- Reichard, R., Walker, D., Putter, S., Middleton, E., & Johnson, S. (2017). Believing is becoming: The role of leader developmental efficacy in leader self-development. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 24, 137–156.
- Rosen, C., & Ganster, D. (2013). Workplace politics and well-being: An allostatic load perspective. In A. Rossi, J. Meurs, & P. Perrewé (Eds.), *Improving employee health and well-being* (pp. 3–24). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
- Rosen, C., Harris, K., & Kacmar, K. (2011). LMX, context perceptions, and performance: An uncertainty management perspective. *Journal of Management*, 37, 819–838.
- Rosen, C., & Hochwarter, W. (2014). Looking back and falling further behind: The moderating role of rumination on the relationship between organizational politics and employee attitudes, well-being, and performance. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 124, 177–189.
- Rosen, C., Kacmar, K., Harris, K., Gavin, M., & Hochwarter, W. (2017). Workplace politics and performance appraisal: A two-study, multilevel field investigation. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 24, 20–38.
- Rousseau, D., & Fried, Y. (2001). Location, location, location: Contextualizing organizational research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 22, 1–13.
- Rus, D., van Knippenberg, D., & Wisse, B. (2010). Leader self-definition and leader self-serving behavior. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 21, 509–529.
- Russell, Z., Maher, L., Ferris, G., Jordan, S., & Hochwarter, W. (2020). Research methods in organizational politics: Issues, challenges, and opportunities. In E. Stone-Romero & P. Rosopa (Eds.), *Research methods in human resources management*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
- Saad, S., & Elshaer, I. (2017). Organizational politics and validity of layoff decisions: Mediating role of distributive justice of performance appraisal. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 26, 805–828.
- Salimäki, A., & Jämsén, S. (2010). Perceptions of politics and fairness in merit pay. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 25, 229–251.
- Sandberg, J., & Tsoukas, H. (2015). Making sense of the sensemaking perspective: Its constituents, limitations, and opportunities for further development. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 36, S6–S32.
- Sandberg, J., & Tsoukas, H. (2020). Sensemaking reconsidered: Towards a broader understanding through phenomenology. *Organization Theory*, 1, 1–34.
- Scheepers, D., & Ellemers, N. (2019). Social identity theory. In K. Sassenberg & M. Vliek (Eds.), *Social psychology in action* (pp. 129–143). Cham: Springer.
- Schildt, H., Mantere, S., & Cornelissen, J. (2020). Power in sensemaking processes. *Organization Studies*, 41, 241–265.
- Schmader, T., Johns, M., & Forbes, C. (2008). An integrated process model of stereotype threat effects on performance. *Psychological Review*, 115, 336–356.
- Schnake, M., & Dumler, M. (1987). The social information processing model of task design: Conflicting cues and individual differences. *Group & Organization Studies*, 12, 221–240.
- Schürmann, E., & Beusaert, S. (2016). What are drivers for informal learning? *European Journal of Training and Development*, 40, 130–154.
- Schweiger, D., & DeNisi, A. (1991). Communication with employees following a merger: A longitudinal field experiment. *Academy of Management Journal*, 34, 110–135.
- Schyns, B., & Schilling, J. (2013). How bad are the effects of bad leaders? A meta-analysis of destructive leadership and its outcomes. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 24, 138–158.

- Scully, J., Kirkpatrick, S., & Locke, E. (1995). Locus of knowledge as a determinant of the effects of participation on performance, affect, and perceptions. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 61, 276–288.
- Sedikides, C. (2020). On the doggedness of self-enhancement and self-protection: How constraining are reality constraints? *Self and Identity*, 19, 251–271.
- Shamir, B. (2011). Leadership takes time: Some implications of (not) taking time seriously in leadership research. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 22, 307–315.
- Shirey, M. (2016). Leadership transitions and the first 90 days. *JONA: The Journal of Nursing Administration*, 46, 169–172.
- Seibert, S., Sargent, L., Kraimer, M., & Kiazad, K. (2017). Linking developmental experiences to leader effectiveness and promotability: The mediating role of leadership self-efficacy and mentor network. *Personnel Psychology*, 70, 357–397.
- Sieweke, J., & Santoni, S. (2020). Natural experiments in leadership research: An introduction, review, and guidelines. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 31, 101338.
- Sims, H., & Manz, C. (1982). Social learning theory: The role of modeling in the exercise of leadership. *Journal of Organizational Behavior Management*, 3, 55–63.
- Smircich, L., & Morgan, G. (1982). Leadership: The management of meaning. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 18, 257–273.
- Sun, X., Lin, H., & Xu, K. (2015). A social network model driven by events and interests. *Expert Systems with Applications*, 42, 4229–4238.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). Social categorization, social identity and social comparison. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups* (pp. 61–76). London: Academic Press.
- Tangney, J. (1999). The self-conscious emotions: Shame, guilt, embarrassment and pride. In T. Dalgleish & M. Power (Eds.), *Handbook of cognition and emotion* (pp. 541–568). Chichester: Wiley.
- Tepper, B., Mitchell, M., Haggard, D., Kwan, H., & Park, H. (2015). On the exchange of hostility with supervisors: An examination of self-enhancing and self-defeating perspectives. *Personnel Psychology*, 68, 723–758.
- Terborg, J., & Miller, H. (1978). Motivation, behavior, and performance: A closer examination of goal setting and monetary incentives. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 63, 29–38.
- Tetlock, P. (1985). Accountability: The neglected social context of judgment and choice. In L. Cummings & B. Staw (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (pp. 297–332). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Thiel, C., Bagdasarov, Z., Harkrider, L., Johnson, J., & Mumford, M. (2012). Leader ethical decision-making in organizations: Strategies for sensemaking. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 107, 49–64.
- Thomas, C., & Lankau, M. (2009). Preventing burnout: The effects of LMX and mentoring on socialization, role stress, and burnout. *Human Resource Management*, 48, 417–432.
- Treadway, D. (2012). Political will in organizations. In G. Ferris & D. Treadway (Eds.), *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations* (pp. 563–588). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Treadway, D., Adams, G., & Goodman, J. (2005). The formation of political sub-climates: Predictions from social identity, structuration, and symbolic interaction. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 20, 201–209.
- Treadway, D., Ferris, G., Hochwarter, W., Perrewé, P., Witt, L., & Goodman, J. (2005). The role of age in the perceptions of politics-job performance relationship: A three-study constructive replication. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90, 872–881.



- Treadway, D., Hochwarter, W., Ferris, G., Kacmar, C., Douglas, C., Ammeter, A. P., & Buckley, M. R. (2004). Leader political skill and employee reactions. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *15*, 493–513.
- Treadway, D., Hochwarter, W., Kacmar, C., & Ferris, G. (2005). Political will, political skill, and political behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *26*, 229–245.
- Triana, M., Richard, O., & Yücel, İ. (2017). Status incongruence and supervisor gender as moderators of the transformational leadership to subordinate affective organizational commitment relationship. *Personnel Psychology*, *70*, 429–467.
- Tsoukas, H., & Vladimirou, E. (2001). What is organizational knowledge? *Journal of Management Studies*, *38*, 973–993.
- Turner, J., Hogg, M., Oakes, P., Reicher, S., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Twenge, J., Campbell, S., Hoffman, B., & Lance, C. (2010). Generational differences in work values: Leisure and extrinsic values increasing, social and intrinsic values decreasing. *Journal of management*, *36*, 1117–1142.
- Ucbasaran, D., Shepherd, D., Lockett, A., & Lyon, S. (2013). Life after business failure: The process and consequences of business failure for entrepreneurs. *Journal of Management*, *39*, 163–202.
- Uhl-Bien, M., Marion, R., & McKelvey, B. (2007). Complexity leadership theory: Shifting leadership from the industrial age to the knowledge era. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *18*, 298–318.
- Ulrich, D., & Yeung, A. (2019). Agility: The new response to dynamic change. *Strategic HR Review*, *18*, 161–167.
- Valcea, S., Hamdani, M., Buckley, M., & Novicevic, M. (2011). Exploring the developmental potential of leader-follower interactions: A constructive-developmental approach. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *22*, 604–615.
- van Knippenberg, B., & Steensma, H. (2003). Future interaction expectation and the use of soft and hard influence tactics. *Applied Psychology*, *52*, 55–67.
- Vough, H., Caza, B., & Maitlis, S. (2020). Making sense of myself: Exploring the relationship between identity and sensemaking. In A. Brown (Ed.), *Oxford handbook of identities in organizations*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Press.
- Vuori, T., & Huy, Q. (2016). Distributed attention and shared emotions in the innovation process: How Nokia lost the smartphone battle. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *61*, 9–51.
- Waldman, D., Balthazard, P., & Peterson, S. (2011). Social cognitive neuroscience and leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *22*, 1092–1106.
- Waldman, D., Ward, M., & Becker, W. (2017). Neuroscience in organizational behavior. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *4*, 425–444.
- Walumbwa, F., Hartnell, C., & Misati, E. (2017). Does ethical leadership enhance group learning behavior? Examining the mediating influence of group ethical conduct, justice climate, and peer justice. *Journal of Business Research*, *72*, 14–23.
- Wang, L., Restubog, S., Shao, B., Lu, V., & Van Kleef, G. (2018). Does anger expression help or harm leader effectiveness? The role of competence-based versus integrity-based violations and abusive supervision. *Academy of Management Journal*, *61*, 1050–1072.
- Wang, M., Zhan, Y., McCune, E., & Truxillo, D. (2011). Understanding newcomers' adaptability and work-related outcomes: Testing the mediating roles of perceived P–E

- fit variables. *Personnel Psychology*, 64, 163–189.
- Wei, L., Chiang, F., & Wu, L. (2012). Developing and utilizing network resources: Roles of political skill. *Journal of Management Studies*, 49, 381–402.
- Weick, K. (1993). The collapse of sensemaking in organizations: The Mann Gulch disaster. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38, 628–652.
- Weick, K. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Weick, K., Sutcliffe, K., & Obstfeld, D. (2005). Organizing and the process of sensemaking. *Organization Science*, 16, 409–421.
- Weiss, H. (1977). Subordinate imitation of supervisor behavior: The role of modeling in organizational socialization. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 19, 89–105.
- Wihler, A., Blickle, G., Ellen, B., Hochwarter, W., & Ferris, G. (2017). Personal initiative and job performance evaluations: Role of political skill in opportunity recognition and capitalization. *Journal of Management*, 43, 1388–1420.
- Williams, E., Pillai, R., McCombs, K., Lowe, K., & Deptula, B. (2020). Adaptive and maladaptive narcissism, charisma, and leadership performance: A study of perceptions about the presidential leadership of Donald Trump. *Leadership*. doi:10.1177/1742715 020902906
- Wolfson, M., & Mathieu, J. (2018). Sprinting to the finish: Toward a theory of Human Capital Resource Complementarity. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 103, 1165–1180.
- Xiao, Z., Dong, M., & Zhu, X. (2019). Learn to be good or bad? Revisited observer effects of punishment: Curvilinear relationship and network contingencies. *Journal of Business & Industrial Marketing*, 34, 754–766.
- Xu, M., Qin, X., Dust, S., & DiRenzo, M. (2019). Supervisor-subordinate proactive personality congruence and psychological safety: A signaling theory approach to employee voice behavior. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 30, 440–453.
- Yammarino, F., & Mumford, M. (2012). Leadership and organizational politics: A multilevel review and framework for pragmatic deals. In G. Ferris & D. Treadway (Eds.), *Politics in organizations: Theory and research considerations* (pp. 323–354). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Yang, C., Hu, C., Baranik, L., & Lin, C. (2013). Can protégés be successfully socialized without socialized mentors? A close look at mentorship formality. *Journal of Career Development*, 40, 408–423.
- Yang, J., Liu, C., Wang, C., & Zhang, Q. (2019). How gender and political will affect employees' social network embeddedness. *Psychological Reports*. doi:10.1177/00332941198629930033294119862993
- Yeo, R., Gold, J., & Marquardt, M. (2015). Becoming "leaderful": Leading forward in turbulent times. *Industrial and Commercial Training*, 47, 285–292.
- Yeo, R., & Marquardt, M. (2015). (Re)Interpreting action, learning, and experience: integrating action learning and experiential learning for HRD. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 26, 81–107.
- Zhou, J., Wang, X., Song, L., & Wu, J. (2017). Is it new? Personal and contextual influences on perceptions of novelty and creativity. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 102, 180–202.
-

**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management**  
**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Volume 38, 103–143**  
**Copyright © 2020 by Emerald Publishing Limited**  
**All rights of reproduction in any form reserved**  
**ISSN: 0742-7301/doi:10.1108/S0742-730120200000038005**

## CHAPTER 4

# THE FUTURE OF UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Gayle Hamilton and Marick F. Masters

### **ABSTRACT**

*The future of unions hangs in the balance. Labor unions face enormous challenges to overcome decades of decline and diminishing power. The authors examine the current status of unions with an eye toward identifying pathways to rejuvenation. Our analysis focuses on what the authors know about the decline of unions, how it compares historically, and what avenues are available to unions to change. Pathways to growth with undoubtedly require breaking old molds, which have proven ineffective. Unions need to explore new models of representation to take advantage of a changing workforce with new employment relationships typified by the "gig economy." The authors present an agenda for fruitful research and discuss the implications of a weakened labor movement on the well-being of society.*

**Keywords:** unions; labor; organized labor; labor relations; industrial relations; collective bargaining

Ornati (1960, pp. 41–42): “The facts are that public opinion has turned against the labor movement and, even among its friends, labor can do no right as in the past it could have done no wrong .... At the heart of the internal malaise is disenchantment. The messianic fervor to help fellow workers has gone out of organized labor; complacency and self-satisfaction have taken its place, and the worker looks at the labor movement with boredom.”

Drucker (1980, p. 199): “The emergence of the employee society also creates a new center of turbulence in the labor union. Its very survival is endangered by the fact that our society is an employee society...”

Galbraith (1967, p. 274): “The Industrial System, it seems clear, is unfavorable to the union. Power passes to the technostructure and this lessens the conflict of interest between employer and employee which gave the union much of its reason for existence.”

## INTRODUCTION

The decades-long decline in unions has represented one of the most significant societal trends for the past half century or so (Rosenfeld, 2014). The latest report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) has found that union membership as a share of the workforce (the density rate) fell again in 2018, reaching its lowest point since the 1930s, before a two-decade labor resurgence (Soloman, 1956; Troy, 1965; U.S. BLS, 2019). Since the mid-1950s, density has fallen continually to 10.5 per cent, compared to over one-third of the workforce at its peak (Mayer, 2004; <http://unionstats.gsu.edu>). In the private sector, the rate has dropped to just above 6 per cent, while density has more-or-less leveled off in the public sector since the early 1980s (Hirsch & Macpherson, 2003; <http://unionstats.gsu.edu>). In manufacturing, once a union stronghold, membership has fallen to less than 10 per cent.

As the above-noted quotes illustrate, various observers have expressed concerns about the plight and future of unions since the early 1960s, when initial signs of the tempering of the post-New

Deal/World War II ascendancy of trade unions in America emerged ([Ornati, 1960](#)). A consensus has evolved that labor's troubled state has risen to crisis proportions. Membership and density have long correlated with union power ([Chaison, 2006](#); [Freeman & Medoff, 1984](#); [Goldfield, 1987](#); [Greenhouse, 2019](#); [Kahlenberg & Maruit, 2012](#); [Kochan, Katz, & McKersie, 1986](#); [Lafer, 2015](#)). As they have declined, so has labor's influence over its environment. Moreover, labor's erosion has implications for the economic well-being of the broad working class and its clout in politics ([Dark, 1999](#); [Francia, 2006](#); [Greenstone, 1977](#); [Lafer, 2017](#); [Mishel, 2012](#)). Research has associated the decline in unionization with stagnating or declining wages, rising economic inequality, and eroding benefits ([Rosenfeld, 2014](#)). These forces have hollowed the middle class and arguably reduced upward social mobility ([Greenhouse, 2019](#)).

Somewhat ironically, labor's long-term downturn has energized rather than modulated the anti-union forces of society, which form a loose coalition of conservative-right wing organizations operative on the local, state, and national levels ([Lafer, 2013, 2017](#)). In the past decade, the munificently financed and staffed anti-union network has gained momentum, feeding off a string of legislative, executive, and judicial victories across all levels of government ([Greenhouse, 2019](#); [Lafer, 2013](#); [Rosenfeld, 2014](#)). The Tea-Party-inspired Republican Party has contributed to the polarization of politics and ensconced neoliberalism as the driving ideology behind public policies ([Jacobs & Myers, 2014](#)). Since 2010, when the Tea-Party catapulted the Grand Old Party to a midterm tsunami, anti-union forces have launched waves of concerted efforts to roll back labor rights and standards, stymie union-organizing campaigns, and institutionally delegitimize labor ([Faue, 2017](#); [Lafer, 2013, 2017](#); [Masters, Albright, & Gibney, 2015](#); [Rosenfeld, 2014](#)). The union voice has rung increasingly hollow with the torrents of assault. Only very recently have signs of renewed militancy and social mobilization surfaced ([Chen, 2018](#); [D'Onfro, 2018](#); [Eidelson, 2013](#); [Feiner, 2019](#); [Fine, Burnham, Griffith, Ji, Narro, & Pitts, 2018](#); [Matthews, 2018](#); [Milkman, 2017](#); [Paarlberg, 2018](#); [Rodriguez, 2019](#)).

Whether or not labor is in a crisis goes to the heart of its future. If answered affirmatively, then unions almost by definition confront critical decision points. Ongoing challenges may eventually pose an existential threat. Though labor's extinction does not seem imminent, its continued relevance appears open to question. Given such a reality, unions need to find ways of adapting more favorably to their often inhospitable environments or changing the contours of their very circumstances. In this vein, labor must engage introspectively to determine if its dominant method of operations to connect with workers and the workplace needs adjustment. The future of unions may depend on how they define themselves institutionally. Alternative forms of unionism may be necessary if labor is to find pathways out of current doldrums (Fine et al., 2018; [McCartin, 2018](#); [Narro & Fine, 2018](#); [Rhomborg, 2018](#); [Sneiderman & McMartin, 2018](#); [Turner & Hurd, 2001](#)).

Writing about the future of unions is at best problematic. Many imponderables prevent accurate forecasting. A straightforward extrapolation of current trends offers one scenario, but the history of labor is wrought with violent twists and turns (Laski, 1948; [Zeigler, 1964](#)). Disruptive change by definition is unforeseeable, though it is certain to occur. Our purpose is not to predict the future but rather to show what it might look like if current membership trends continue over the next generation. This extrapolation provides a baseline to compare to alternative scenarios.

We argue that ongoing trends suggest that the status quo is unviable. From a resource dependence theoretical perspective, unions need to alter their frame of unionism to shift from one that is employer-based to an employee-centric model ([Hillman, Withers, & Collins, 2009](#); [Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978](#)). This suggests reorganizing the functional portfolio of labor organizations and realigning their overall configuration to exploit this paradigmatic shift. The objective is to show how labor might redefine its mission to comport better with a changing workforce and adapt to the emerging "gig" economy, broadly defined ([McKinsey Global Institute, 2016](#)). We show the vacuity of heavy reliance on traditional means of organizing and representing workers but do not advocate abandoning this



approach. Instead, unions should consider turning the traditional model on its head, by following the worker rather than the employer. Therefore, unions may play a significant role regardless of the employment status of workers. They focus on the potential power of social movements rather than just as bargaining agents ([Schradie, 2018](#)). This reorientation of unionism borrows not only from emerging models embedded in “alt-labor” but also from historical practice in the United States, which once encouraged worker councils and other forms of representation (Fine et al., 2018; [Milkman, 2017](#); [National Industrial Conference Board, 1933](#)).

We organize to address several questions relevant to the future of labor:

- What is the current state of labor?
- Where does labor stand today relative to its past over the last several decades?
- What is the magnitude of the task that unions face in trying to grow membership?
- How much will it cost unions to grow?
- What new models and structures of union organization and representation might facilitate growth?
- What are the opportunities for growth and challenges, such as technology?
- What are the societal implications of the union decline?
- What research might be fruitfully pursued to shed light on labor’s future?

We begin by positing a framework for understanding the nature and scope of labor decline.

## **FUTURE DIRECTIONS CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Unions operate in an employment relations system framework (ERS; [Dunlop, 1958](#); [Kochan et al., 1986](#)). In this framework, several

environmental forces drive labor's future. They include the economy, politics and ideology, demography, social forces, and technology. These forces may either promote or contract union strength. For example, technological developments regarding artificial intelligence (AI) and robotics may result in the obsolescence of large swaths of jobs, many which are currently union, as has occurred in various manufacturing industries ([McKinsey Global Institute, 2016](#)). At the same time, these same forces lead to the creation of new products and employment opportunities which may advantage unions. Furthermore, technology, such as the digital revolution, may facilitate union growth by making it vastly easier and less expensive for labor to communicate with workers and convey its message without employer filters.

Unions interact with other parties to make decisions that affect working conditions at three distinctive levels: the work site; organizational; and political-societal ([Kochan et al., 1986](#)). Labor attempts to influence management in day-to-day workplace relations; corporations and other employers at the organizational level where wages and benefits are determined; and policymakers at all levels of government who enact laws setting labor standards, such as the minimum wage and healthcare benefits, and defining union rights to organize and bargain collectively. The array of strategies and tactics unions use to influence decision-making varies, depending on the decision-making level and how labor chooses to represent workers. There is more than one type of unionism from which organizations may choose and the selection influences behaviors and outcomes.

Within the ERS, the ultimate focus in this context on the future of unions is how unions stand as a result of interaction of environmental and organizational forces. The critical dimension used to assess the condition of labor is membership. Operationally, membership is measured in terms of its absolute numbers and its share of the workforce (that latter referred to as union density). Generally speaking, the larger the level of total membership and the greater the density, the stronger labor's presence in the workplace, at organizational decision-making levels, and in the broader political

economy. Obviously, labor's influence and power at any given time is contingent on a variety of factors, including the criticality of work union members perform and the wider support labor has in the community.

Three plausible scenarios emerge in assessing labor's future: (1) continuing decline, which would essentially be an extension of the ongoing trends; (2) stagnation or a standstill in relative and absolute membership and labor's capacity to influence events; or (3) growth, with the question being whether the increase is marginal or by an order of magnitude. Our purpose in the chapter is to review how labor might achieve growth and the relative cost of such a path.

In sum, the future of unions depends on the interactions of the various interconnected parts of the political economy of the ERS. Labor is one of the principal actors in the mix, and its capacity to adapt to the environment is critical. The adaptation is contingent on the strategies and structures it chooses as well as how it interfaces with relevant constituencies. Unions may choose alternative approaches to representation, and the choices have implications for how the parties will interact. As organic entities, unions will respond to their environments and seek paths to promote continued viability. Faced with pressing challenges, they can be expected to make changes and to seek to affect change. Our focus is on how labor might adapt to grow its membership by making changes that are largely within its ambit. An important consideration in this regard is the extent to which labor will pursue choices which minimize their dependence on employers, who have widely opposed efforts to build a stronger labor presence in the workforce ([Lafer, 2007](#); [Shaiken, 2007](#)).

## **PAST RESEARCH**

[Barbash \(1961, p. 25\)](#): "Though there may be arguments in some circles as to whether management is actually following a 'hard line,' union leaders have become convinced that 'big corporations' have adopted a conscious ideology which, at the very least, looks to a

drastic cutting down of union power and, at the most, offers a challenge to [union] existence.”

Shister (1963, p. 55): “The probability is very small indeed for a significant spurt in trade-union membership in the near future. The principal forces capable of generating such growth are largely beyond the control of unions, and there seems to be very little likelihood that these forces will, on their own, assume a form conducive to rapid growth in the foreseeable future.”

Barbash (1984, p. 11): “A half century of union ascendancy in bargaining is possibly coming to an end. Adverse economic and political circumstances are forcing the unions to concede the bargaining initiative to management. It is now the unions that are cast in the reacting role.”

Rosenfeld (2014, p. 1): “Today the only thing big about “Big Labor” is its problems .... the contemporary American labor movement stands alone in its smallness.”

Labor’s future has periodically aroused attention among observers. Prognostications have varied from problematic to gloomy. Rarely have observers seen bright days ahead. As noted, while few have forecasted labor’s outright extinction, many have raised concerns about its continuing relevance. Such reservations have generally coincided with declining union membership or adverse economic conditions. Throughout their history in the United States, unions have continually provoked intense and determined opposition, even though public opinion polls may have shown a solid majority in their favor, at least on the surface.

A prominent case in point occurred in December 1932 when the then-president of the American Economic Association, George Barnett (1933), stated in his presidential address that

American trade unionism is slowly being limited in influence by changes which destroy the basis on which it is erected .... I see no reason to believe that American trade unionism will so revolutionize itself within a short period of time as to become in the next decade a more potent social influence than it has been in the past decade.

More than 30 years later, [Barkin and Blum \(1963\)](#) edited a collection of 15 articles published in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* on the topic of "The Crisis in the American Trade-Union Movement." In 1984, *The Annals* devoted another entire issue of 15 articles on "The Future of American Unionism." These research volumes corresponded with surveys of union officialdom published in 1963 and 1983 on the state of labor in American society. More recently, observers have offered numerous accounts on the formidable challenges confronting unions ([Matthews, 2018](#)).

The various articles in the two issues of *The Annals* and the surveys provide useful insights into today's analysis of labor's future. They not only offer enriching historical perspective but also provide a reference point by which to assess labor's relative condition. In addition, the research explores the various factors contributing to the declining state of unions and speculates on how unions might recover. Based on these past observations, we can see more clearly what strategic and tactical approaches might prove more fruitful in building a stronger labor movement.

In the foreword to the 1963 issue of *The Annals*, [Barkin and Blum \(1963, p. xii\)](#) noted that "The American trade-union movement is up against many serious problems, and its traditional policies and structures appear insufficient to deal with them." The 15 following articles addressed the internal and external challenges facing labor, ranging from organizing ethnic and economic minorities, promoting union democracy, coping with changing occupational and industrial structures, combating employer power at the bargaining table, and empowering the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) to better serve the labor movement. In two articles, [Taft \(1963\)](#) and [Townsend \(1963\)](#) took opposing views on the question of whether labor was in a crisis. [Taft \(1963, p. 10\)](#) argued in the negative, arguing in part that "Changes in occupational composition and the increased importance of professional and clerical employment are not serious obstacles to the future prosperity of organized labor." At the same time, however, [Taft \(1963, p. 12\)](#) cautioned that

To discount the existence of a crisis is not to deny that the labor movement is facing difficult and novel problems which are likely to challenge the imagination and resourcefulness of the leaders and members.

Arguing the affirmative, [Townsend \(1963, p. 1\)](#) observed that

The union-movement crisis is one of uncertainty and conflict over what must be done – if anything – toward resuming the dynamism and militancy of the 1930's and 1940's, directed into new channels .... So far, there is little evidence that labor is prepared to make the evolutionary changes required to meet the different and pressing challenges of today.

In examining the prospects for future union growth at the time, Shister (1963, p. 55) concluded that "The probability is very small indeed for a significant spurt in trade-union membership in the near future." He reasoned that forces beyond labor's control were working against it, including shifting patterns in the nature of work and employment along with mounting employer opposition to organizing. Shister (1963, p. 55) lamented that, even regarding those matters more or less within its control, "the labor leadership does not seem to have displayed adequate drive and ingenuity in this activity" to exert maximum influence over forces affecting its future. In similar vein, [Windmuller \(1963\)](#) argued that, while a vibrant trade-union movement undergirds democratic societies, unions in the United States had failed to equip themselves to play anything but a junior partner's role in formulating and administering American foreign policy.

To emerge from what many deemed its then crisis, [Barkin \(1963, p. 138\)](#) argued that there needed to be trade-union commission for self-analysis "to conduct a full-dress self-examination of the movement..." Such introspection would lead labor to reorient and restructure itself to be more proactive than reactive, stressing that "New flexible forms of organization which respond to member desires and effective collective bargaining have to be devised" ([Barkin, 1963, p. 146](#)).

Twenty-one years later, *The Annals* revisited the topic of labor's future in a compendium of 15 articles edited by [Ferman \(1984\)](#). In

the preface, [Ferman \(1984, p. 9\)](#) pointedly addressed the problematic status of unions in America, observing that

In the first half of the 1980s, American unionism finds itself both in crisis and at a crossroads. It is not a circumstance that have developed overnight, but is a reflection of trends – economic, social, and political – that have been occurring since the close of World War II.

The contributors covered considerable ground diagnosing the internal and external forces that had challenged unions at an accelerated pace. They addressed topics on workforce demographics, the composition of union leadership, union democracy, productivity, public sector unionism, collective bargaining, labor-management cooperation, employee ownership, labor's role in politics, and selected cross-national perspectives on the state of labor. [Barbash \(1984, p. 22\)](#) commented on the deeply rooted changes which had continued to push labor downhill and which had accelerated in the Reagan era:

many of the changes at work in the strongholds of collective bargaining are structural, not temporary. These are changes that are not likely to go away with the current recovery from recession. We are witnessing basic alterations in political alignments, in market and wage structures, in technologies, and the geographic distribution of industry.

In the 20-plus years bookended by the two topical issues of *The Annals*, the United States experienced economic and political turbulence. Vietnam divided the nation while Watergate eroded its confidence. The post-oil embargo economy suffered an inflationary recession, and intense foreign competition shuttered manufacturing across the nation. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations embraced neoliberalism, resulting in de-regulatory policies that marginalized affected labor unions. Through Reagan's election in 1980, conservatives rose to political dominance. The summary dismissal of 11,000 striking air traffic controllers [whose union (the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, PATCO, had ironically endorsed Reagan over Carter in 1980)] by Reagan in August 1981 gave public license to stern employer resistance to labor unions ([McCartin, 2018](#)). Unfavorable economic, legal, and



political developments blended to accelerate labor's declining fortunes. This detrimental confluence led Kistler (1984, p. 107) to prognosticate that "Even if the economic recession abates, the adversity of employer resistance, along with the changing character of work in America, will remain primary challenges to organizing in this decade." Kistler (1984, p. 107) hastened to add, however, that unions should not await favorable political and public policy changes to accentuate organizing activity, observing that "Organizers know that change in the political environment and legislated reforms will do little to alter hostile employer attitudes."

Two sets of surveys of union leaders and staff representatives (officialdom) occurred in 1963 and 1983 on whether unions were facing a crisis (Barkin & Blum, 1963). Each survey included 20 items about the extent to which these union officials agreed or disagreed with certain statements about labor's situation. Three of these items focused specifically on labor's relative vitality, power, and future security. The percentage of respondents who agreed that labor had suffered a significant loss of vitality had risen from 64.3 per cent in 1963 to 73.4 per cent in 1983. In 1983, almost 71 per cent agreed that union bargaining power was growing weaker, vis-à-vis 51.2 per cent 20 years earlier. Interestingly, on the question of whether labor's future is secure, almost 27 per cent agreed in 1983 compared to 20.7 per cent in 1963.

If serious concerns existed about labor's condition and future more than 35 and 55 years ago, then it should come as no surprise that many observers today would also have doubts about the relative health of unions in our society. With union density in seemingly irreversible decline, it would be counterfactual if such reservations had lessened. From a diagnostic standpoint, the forces contributing to labor's diminution – international competition, industrial and occupational restructuring, legal impediments, and widespread employer resistance – appear as more pressing now than they were in the past. Given these realities, we must ask how far labor has slipped further into its diminished state and what it can do to reverse course. We need a more precise accounting of labor's condition to determine how steep a climb it must make to recover. With

additional data to confirm the nature and scope of the decline, we can more astutely comment on potentially viable paths unions might pursue.

## **WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATE OF UNIONS IN AMERICA?**

We measure the current state of unions on eight indicators based on the dimensions of membership, organizing, and strikes. The membership dimension includes the (1) total number of union members in the workforce and (2) the percentage of the workforce unionized (density). Organizing includes the (3) total number of certification elections held each year by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA); (4) total number of workers eligible to vote in these elections; and (5) these eligible voters as a percentage of the overall workforce. Strike activity encompasses the (6) total number of major strikes (involving a bargaining unit of 1,000 or more employees) in any given year; (7) total number of strikers in the corresponding year; and (8) per cent of work time lost due to a strike per thousand days worked during the year.

We gathered data on these indicators for years between 1948 and 2018. [We subsequently report the data for four selected years during the period, which are used to compute the various summary indices]. The data indicate that the average union density rate over this period was close to 21 per cent, with the range extending from 10.5 (2018) to 34.8 (1954). Union membership averaged nearly 16.8 million in this period, ranging between 14.267 million (1950) to 20.986 million (1979). The number of strikes averaged 157, with the range being 5 (2009) to 470 (1952). The number of strikers averaged about 522,000 with the low being 12,500 (2009) and the high nearly 2.75 million. Lost work time per thousand days worked ranged from less than 0.01 per cent (several years) to 0.43 per cent (1959), with the average centering on 0.065 per cent. Annual NLRB-sponsored certification elections averaged 4,940 with a range of

1,120 (2018) to 9,484 (1977). The average number of eligible workers in the elections was 354,796, which is the electoral work site base from which unions are recruiting new members. [The number of eligible workers in proposed bargaining units holding elections is the maximum from which unions may recruit members through this process. In actuality, unions do not win all the elections, so the number they convert to members from this population of voters is smaller than the total eligible.] The range in such voters extended from 79,020 (2009) to 890,374 (1950). As a share of the workforce, eligible worker-voters averaged 0.0051, and the range was from 0.0006 (2018) to 0.0196 (1950).

We chose four particular points in time to compare the raw and normalized data on these eight indicators. The normalized data enable us to construct a standardized index between the values of 0 and 1 to compare the indices over time. We added the normalized data for each of the four selected years to compute a summary index. This overall index gives a multi-dimensional snapshot of labor's relative condition. The dates chosen were 1949 (a few years after World War II and before the Korean War), 1963, 1984 (these two dates coincide with the publication of the aforementioned issues of *The Annals*), and 2018.

In terms of raw numbers, the trend is clearly downward except for the total number of union members (which depends obviously in part on the size of the workforce). Comparing 1949 to 2018, union density fell from over 31 per cent to 10.5 per cent. The total number of union members is only slightly more in 2018 than it was in 1949, when the workforce was much smaller in size. Membership has fallen considerably since 1984. The number of strikes involving bargaining units of 1,000 or more members has receded significantly falling to just 20 in 2018. [Interestingly, 2018 represents a sizable rise from earlier years, suggesting a spike in union militancy. By historical standards, however, the situation appears anemic.] The number of union certification elections and the participating worker-voters has similarly shrunk, falling from nearly 6,400 in 1963 to just above 1,100 in 2018. Organizing through traditional certification elections has touched just a minuscule portion of the overall

workforce, which has major implications for its potential utility as a means for growing the labor movement. Only 84,505 workers were eligible to vote in the certification elections held in 2018, compared, for example, to about 590,000 in 1949, when the workforce was much smaller in number.

## **DO WORKERS WANT UNIONS?**

Declining union density and membership raise the question of whether workers still want unions. Researchers offer a regular slate of plausible reasons explaining this negative trend which suggest why the demand for union representation may have receded in recent decades: sophisticated employer opposition to organizing which raises the cost of securing representation; government laws which provide for certain labor standards and other protections at work; positive employee relations practices which substitute the need for unions; the changing nature of work and employment relationships which loosen ties to employers; and the insufficient supply of union-organizing efforts (Chaison, 2006; [Faue, 2017](#); Foulkes, 1979; [Rosenfeld, 2014](#)). A frequently heard comment is that while unions once served a useful purpose, they no longer do so. Perhaps the greatest threat to the future of labor is its continuing marginalization.

If worker demand for union representation has dwindled, we would expect to see evidence of it in surveys which ask whether nonunion workers would vote for union representation if given the chance. Three principal surveys posed this specific question at selected intervals between 1977 and 2017 ([Freeman & Rogers, 1999](#); [Kochan, 1979](#); [Kochan, Yang, Kimball, & Kelly, 2019](#)). The results enable us to determine the trend in worker support for unions over 40 years, during which time both density and membership have dropped significantly. We compare the results on workers' willingness to vote for union representation compared to the actual level of union membership at the corresponding time. The difference is referred to as the representation gap.

The representation gaps for the three surveys (1977 Quality of Employment Survey, QES; 1995 Worker Representation and Participation Survey, WRPS; and 2017 Worker Voice Survey, WVS). The QES survey, as reported by [Kochan \(1979\)](#), revealed that 33 per cent of the surveyed nonunion workers would vote for union representation if given the chance (the QES included a sample from the private and public sectors plus lower-level managers). This compares to the actual union density rate for that year of 23.8 per cent, yielding a 9.2 percentage point gap. The 1995 WRPS survey ([Freeman, 2007](#); [Freeman & Rogers, 1999](#)), which excluded public sector workers and lower-level managers, found that 32 per cent of the nonunion workers supported union representation. Since the 1977 survey, the density rate had fallen to 14.9 per cent, causing the gap to rise to slightly over 17 percentage points. The WVS survey ([Kochan et al., 2019](#)), which included public sector workers and lower-level managers in its sample, revealed a sharp rise in support for union representation (to 48 per cent of the nonunion workers). With density in 2017 at 10.7 per cent, the resulting gap rose to over 31 percentage points. These results suggest that a sizable share of the workforce has been willing to support union representation but unable to secure it in practice. As we will discuss later, the implications of closing this gap are quite significant in terms of broadening labor's base in the workforce.

The WRPS and WVS surveys both includes a set of items on the extent to which workers wanted to have a "say" over selected work-related issues compared to the degree to which they believed that actually had such a "voice." Both surveys reveal sizable gaps between what workers experience in an actual voice or say over issues, such as benefits, pay, work goals, employer values, and organizational strategy, and their desired level of voice or say. Workers feel their voices are not being heard.

We report briefly on two other sources of attitudinal data. First, [Freeman \(2007\)](#) shows data from opinion polls conducted by Harris (1984) and Hart Research Associates (selected years between 1993 and 2005) on whether nonunion workers would vote for union representation. The 1984 Harris Poll showed that just 30 per cent

would vote for such representation. In 1994 and 1996, Hart Research Associates polls indicated that the percentage of support was 39 per cent. By 2005, the support for union representation among nonunion workers had climbed to 53 per cent. Second, the Gallup Poll on general public attitudes toward unions has been conducted annually since 1936. The peak of public approval of unions was reached in the mid-1950s when 75 per cent of Americans expressed approval of unions. The lowest level of approval (48 per cent) was registered in 2009, in the midst of the Great Recession and the associated rise in the Tea Party. Between 2001 and 2008, approval stood between 58 and 65 per cent each year. After falling to 48 per cent in 2009, it rose more or less steadily to 58 per cent in 2015. Approval has been at 56 per cent, 61 per cent, and 62 per cent from 2016 to 2018.

In sum, there does not appear to be a paucity of demand for either union representation or a voice on important workplace issues. Nearly half of the nonunion workforce expresses a willingness to vote for union representation, which is a very strong indication of sizably unmet worker demand. The challenge for unions, therefore, is to translate such demand into actual representation. As we will show in more detail later, the traditional means of organizing through certification seems deficient, at least in part because it allows employers to use a variety of workplace tactics and legal machinations to resist unions ([Bronfenbrenner, 2009](#)). But we hasten to add that there appears to be sufficient approval of unions in the general public for labor to make a persuasive case for representation.

## **A BASELINE ESTIMATE OF UNION DENSITY TO 2050**

We estimate union density rates into the future based on a straightforward extrapolation of recent trends. Specifically, we project density to 2034 and 2050, assuming that the rate of decline is that same that is has been between 1987 and 2018. Such

projections indicate that, present trends continuing, the density rate in the overall workforce would fall from 10.5 per cent (2018) to less than 6.5 per cent in 2050. Private sector density would decline from 6.4 per cent to 3.1 per cent, while it would fall from 9 per cent to 3.5 per cent in manufacturing. The density rate in the public sector would dip slightly from 33.9 per cent to 32 per cent. Based on these projections, the actual number of union members would fall from slightly over 14.7 million to just above 12.6 million. Unions would grow increasingly balkanized into the public sector, which could complicate already existing tensions between government workers and the general taxpaying public.

## **HOW MUCH DO UNIONS HAVE TO GROW TO CLOSE THE GAP?**

If trends in union density continue over the next several decades, unions will recede further from the national scene. Assuming a sizable segment of nonunion workers remain supportive of union representation, then the representation gap may expand accordingly, though it is conceivable that workers may attach less importance to a collective voice as labor organizations become increasingly remote to their daily working lives. What will it take in terms of sheer membership growth for unions to move the needle significantly toward closing the representation gap?

We estimate the magnitude of the challenge. Our estimate requires making an assumption about the relative amount of attrition in membership among workers unions can expect in any given year. Just to maintain an existing density rate for the next year, unions must replace the members lost to attrition and add a sufficient number to account for the increase in the size of the labor force. Growth in density means fulfilling a replacement quota and adding more new members at a pace greater than workforce growth. We will show the level of new members unions would have had to recruit in 2018 to keep even with the density rate in 2017. Then we compute the new recruits that would have been necessary to



achieve density rates of 11.7 per cent, 15 per cent, 25 per cent, 35 per cent, and 48 per cent, the last of which is the estimated level of support for union representation among surveyed nonunion workers the WVS study ([Kochan et al., 2019](#)).

Chaison (2004, [2010](#)) has estimated that in 2001, unions had to add approximately 500,000 new members just to replace those lost due to attrition. At that time, that amounted to 0.0036 per cent of the number of employed workers on which the BLS reported labor density for that year (U.S. BLS, 2001). For unions to have maintained in 2018 the same density rate they had in 2017 (10.7 per cent), they would have had to replace 504,465 members and recruited an additional 182,324 to keep pace with labor-force growth, amounting to a total of 686,789 new members. To have increased the density rate by just one percentage point, from 10.7 to 11.7, union would have had to recruit 2,088,081 members. That amounts to slightly more than 14 per cent of its total membership of over 14.8 million in 2017.

To reach the other milestone in growth, unions would have to add over 6.4 million new members to raise density to 15 per cent. To go to 25 per cent, unions would need an additional 20.23 million. To achieve 35 per cent density, which is close the level reached in 1954, they would have had to recruit slightly more than 34 million new members. And to close the representation gap by reaching 48 per cent density, unions would have to add nearly 52 million additional members. These are herculean tasks.

## **THE BANKRUPTCY OF TRADITIONAL ORGANIZING**

To identify viable paths for union growth, it seems appropriate to inspect more closely the record of success through the traditional certification channel. We examined the number of NLRB-conducted elections for the fiscal years between 1998 and 2018. The data show a more or less continual drop in the number of certifications and eligible voters. The lowest actual number of certification elections on

record since World War II occurred in 2018, while the smallest number of eligible voters was in 2009 at under 80,000. For the past 20-plus years, an average of 143,064 workers have been eligible to vote in these NLRB-conducted elections, which amounts to an average of just over one-tenth of 1 per cent of the overall number of employees. Even if one were to assume that unions added twice the number of eligible voters through card-recognition procedures, then the total would amount to just about two-tenths of one per cent of the workforce. Thus, organizing through certifications and card checks (where allowed by employers through negotiated agreements with their unions) seems bankrupt as a growth strategy. It would not even provide half of the number of workers unions need to replace each year due to attrition.

## **NEW MODELS OF UNIONISM**

Labor unions currently operate in a radically different world than they have over the last few decades. Political, social, and economic changes have impacted the way unions operate. Research shows that unions, directly or indirectly, have experimented with a variety of new approaches to representing workers (Fine, Burnham, Griffith, Ji, Narro, & Pitts, 2018). Clearly, the revitalization of labor unions is dependent on their ability to attract new workers from a much more diverse workforce, which has significant implications for union outreach efforts, leadership development, and issue focus. Unions will have to pay more attention to concerns of pay equity, social and economic justice, and inclusiveness to reach more women and minorities.

Given the evident bankruptcy of traditional organizing, which focuses on achieving bargaining recognition, the question arises: What can unions do to broaden their appeal sufficiently to translate unmet demand for representation into actual membership. Perhaps the answer lies in exploring different models of representation which fit better in a changing workforce. Traditional business unionism, centered on narrowly focused collective bargaining, appears not to

fit well into the evolving workforce, which is more industrially, occupationally, and demographically diverse. Unions might explore alternative forms of representation to attract a broader swath of workers, creating new types of organizations. A structural realignment would need to take place within individual labor organizations and across them based in industry-federation configurations. These alternative representational models would create incentives to join unions separate from the ones offered through traditional bargaining. Thus, unions could grow without having to overcome the obstacles employers erect to block organizing through certification elections. Once labor succeeds in building a larger base of supporters, it would be in a stronger position to pursue the traditional route. Such alternative approaches, incidentally, should appeal to the growing segment of the “gig workers,” broadly defined. By being more inclusive and involving more women and minorities in leadership positions – elective and staff – unions would tap into another source of growth opportunities, particularly given that women and minorities derive greater relative economic benefits from union representation at the bargaining table.

### *The “Gig” Workforce*

The “gig” workforce represents a loose term subject to various definitions ([McKinsey Global Institute, 2016](#)). It arises from the advent of new technologies (digital platforms) which allow people to connect electronically with organizations in need of work. Generally speaking, the workers in this situation are paid for services rendered, rather than as employees. Uber and Lyft drivers, who rely on “apps” to connect with potential customers, fall into this domain. In a strict sense, gig workers include those who get paid work assignments through electronically mediated connections ([U.S. BLS, 2018](#)). However, many apply the term much more broadly to include workers who have contingent or alternative working arrangements ([McKinsey Global Institute, 2016](#)). These workers consist of independent contractors, temporary agency workers, contracted

workers, and perhaps even part-timers (U.S. BLS, 2018). Used in this wider sense, the number of “gig” workers becomes vastly greater than the narrow application to those who work through electronically mediated channels.

The share of workforce engaged in electronically mediated work is still relatively small, despite all the hoopla about the gig economy. According to a 2017 survey released by the U.S. BLS (2018), the workforce consists of 1.6 million electronically mediated workers. However, there are approximately 5.9 million so-called “contingent workers” whose jobs are either temporary or not expected to last more than one year (U.S. BLS, 2018). In addition, slightly more than 10 per cent of workforce operates under alternative employment relationships, including independent contractors, on-call workers, temporary help agency workers, and contracted workers. Nearly 11 million workers are classified by the BLS as independent contractors, including those self-employed and wage and salary workers who moonlight. BLS (2018) estimates that nearly 9 in 10 independent contractors are self-employed. Parenthetically, according to the Freelancers Union, there are approximately 57 million people in the United States who garner at least some work as an independent contractor or freelancer (<http://www.freelancersunion.org>).

The broadly defined gig workforce presents several challenges to traditional unionism and organizing. First, a significant segment the workforce operating under alternative employment relations, including electronically mediated workers, fall under the classification of independent contractors. As such, they do not enjoy the legal right to unionize nor to bargain collectively. This does not mean, however, that these workers lie outside of the realm of representation, if conceptualized as an alternative to traditional bargaining resulting from certification. Second, temporary and part-time workers, whose work is arguably “contingent” by definition, are often inherently difficult to unionize because of their looser ties to the workforce, compared to traditional full-time employees. In fact, these workers in some instances may dilute the traditional union workforce, complicating the task of representing employees. Last, contracted workers may be difficult to represent because of the

difficult in identifying who is the primary employer. There may be several layers of contractors between the originator of work and the organization actually hiring the employees to do the work. In some cases, the subcontractors' workforces may be relatively small and hence uneconomical to organize.

In this context, we should mention that technology is a double-edged sword. Automation, robotics, and AI threaten to change or eliminate jobs on a vast scale in the upcoming decades, particularly given Moore's law of the escalating pace of technological advancement. As a result, [Greenhouse \(2018\)](#) writes that "Robots put jobs on the line and threaten a rise income inequality." The title of his article betrays challenge this poses to organized labor: "Unions Face the Fight of Their Lives to Protect American Workers." On the other hand, as [Green \(2019\)](#) comments, "Unions are in a position to lead the way in helping workers adapt to new technologies and reskill to prepare them for successful transitions in the automated workplace."

In this vein, there is much that unions can learn from the recent experiences of the NewsGuild and the Writers Guild of America-East (WGAE) in organizing digital and traditional news media workers. This industry has faced a seismic technological shift from print to digital, shedding jobs and forcing adjustment. These two unions have aggressively organized workers and used technology in the process. In short, they have used the very technology that has displaced their traditional workers to organize the new generation digitalists and remaining print professional through swift and stealth organizing campaigns. There are signs that these organizing efforts are bearing fruit, notwithstanding the continuing job retrenchment in the industry. The percentage of information-based workers belonging to unions rose to 10.4 per cent in 2019 from 9.6 per cent in 2018, despite a significant drop in employment in the industry classification ([U.S. BLS, 2020](#)).

These same challenges, however, present opportunities. Nowhere is it written in stone that there has to be a one-size-fits-all approach to union representation. There is ample historical and comparative evidence of different models of representation, which have

significant relevance today. We identify several models of representation in addition to traditional business unionism, which focuses on collective bargaining. They include these varieties of unionism: common-good bargaining, enterprise, works councils, minimum-industry standards, worker centers, and social movement/community benefits. These alternatives may map more suitably to the gig workforce, presenting an opportunity for union growth. To varying degrees, these alternatives bypass the traditional certification process. They also imply offering different levels of union membership, which is not a new proposal. Indeed, the AFL-CIO recommended that unions consider creating new categories of membership for workers who would not be part of a bargaining unit, at least at the initial stages. In a 1985 report entitled *The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions*, the AFL-CIO (1985: 19) urged unions to offer “associate membership” in order “to accommodate individuals who are not part of organized bargaining units.”

### *Traditional “Business” Unionism*

“Business” unionism describes the traditional approach taken to labor representation in the United States, though it by no means encompasses the varieties of ways in unions operate (Hoxie, 1914). This approach, as noted, focuses on representing employees through collective bargaining. It typically necessitates achieving recognition as the bargaining representatives of a unit of employees through the certification process. Once recognized, unions become the exclusive representative of all the employees in a unit, regardless of whether they belong to union. The employees of the unit generally receive the same benefits (higher wages, greater healthcare and pension benefits) irrespective of membership status. This, obviously, creates the potential for some to “free ride,” that is, reap the benefits without joining the union and paying dues. To offset this possibility, unions negotiate so-called union-security agreements (the agency or union shop or their derivatives, such as the fair share fee), which compel nonmembers of units to pay dues or a portion thereof. These

arrangements are permissible under the NLRA and the Railway Labor Act, except where states have enacted so-called right-to-work laws, which disallow compulsory dues or fee payments. Twenty-seven states have enacted RTW, with five having done so since 2012. In the public sector, the Federal Service Labor-Management Relations Statute and the Postal Reorganization Act (which cover federal and postal services, respectively) ban union-security. Before the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated the agency shop in the public sector in its 2018 decision in *Janus v. AFSCME Council 31*, 22 states and the District of Columbia allowed the negotiation of agency shops or fair-share fee agreements for at least some their state and local employees. Today, as a result of *Janus*, the entire public sector operates as an “open shop.”

We should note that while unions tend to focus on collective bargaining in relatively narrow context of negotiating agreements with the employers for which they are recognized bargaining agents, the practice of bargaining is being expanded to enlist broader constituencies. A recent manifestation of this form is referred to as “bargaining for the common good” (McCartin, 2018; Smiley, 2018; Sneiderman & McCartin, 2018). This form was exhibited by the striking teachers in Los Angeles in 2019 and West Virginia in 2018, who reached out to community allies, including students and parents, to build a coalition to apply pressure on the school boards and state legislatures in behalf of the teachers (Miller, 2019). In some respects, this approach resembles the worker center and social movement advocacy approaches which envelope community-benefit bargaining, which is also coalition-based.

### *Alternative Models of Union Representation*

Various typologies of unionism exist, with Hoxie’s (1914) conceptualization being one of the most widely cited. A common definition of a trade union is an organization formed for the purpose of improving the conditions and lives of working people. Within this broad interpretation, there are various approaches labor



organizations may take to achieving such goals. Hoxie (1914) posits four functional types of unionism: business (as described above), friendly or uplift, revolutionary, and predatory. Uplift unionism concentrates on bettering the conditions of workers toward the benefit of society as a whole. It focuses on improving material conditions, providing a social net, and raising the inherent value of work. Revolutionary unionism corresponds to the Marxist frame of reference. It is a distinctly class conscious approach that rejects the existing institutional order under capitalism. Predatory unionism designates a singular emphasis on immediate ends, with the ends justifying the means. Such unions use whatever tactics necessary to achieve the goals, regardless of concerns about ethics or legalities.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1906) offer a different classification, which includes collective bargaining, legal enactment, and mutual insurance. The bargaining type corresponds to Hoxie's business unionism. Legal enactment connotes unions focusing on achieving their objectives through political action that results in changes in public policies. Mutual insurance correlates with uplift unionism, but stresses the provision of goods and services that unions offer to their members to provide for their economic and social well-being. We reformulate this type of unionism here into enterprise unionism, as exemplified by the Freelancers Union.

An emerging alternative labor movement differs from these approaches and stresses advocacy of economic, social, and political change, often operating outside the contours of traditional labor law. The models subsumed under "alt-labor" emphasize representing nontraditional and precariat workers a sizable per cent of whom are immigrants, people of color, and women.

Within the realm of "alt-labor," we identify several types of collective representation, and encourage that each be more closely affiliated with unions. Specifically, the models include: worker centers, national federations, and social movements, the last of which is akin to the community-benefits bargaining, which focuses on raising labor standards in a geographic region, such as a municipality and metropolitan area. Worker centers aim to improve the lot of workers in selected industries or occupations (retail,

janitors, security guards, hospitality) through community activism. These centers typically do not charge dues and are funded through grants or subsidies provided by labor organizations. A popular example is the Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC), which mobilizes restaurant workers to advocate and protest for improvements in working conditions. Given that ROC is technically not a union, it does not face the limitations on picketing or boycotting traditional labor organizations confront. The National Domestic Workers Alliance and the New York Taxi Drivers Alliance represent national federations. They organized various geographic-designated chapters into a federational structure to advocate for raising working standards in their respective industries. These federations focus on community activism and political action. Fight for \$15 illustrates the social movement variety. Such organizations mount grassroots campaigns to corral public support for raising wages among workers in selected low-wage industries, such as retail and hospitality.

Another form of representation enables workers, through union representatives or any group of employee representatives, to consult with management on selected workplace issues. It stops short of formalized bargaining. Precedent for this model is found in President Kennedy's 1962 Executive Order 10988, granting federal employees the right to form unions and be represented to managers in the federal service. The order established three tiers of representation: informal, formal, and exclusive recognition. Labor organizations with at least 10 per cent of a proposed bargaining unit received informal recognition, which grants labor organizations of such standing permission "to present to appropriate officials its views on matters of concern to its members." An agency head may grant formal recognition to a union if it has achieved sufficient membership within an agency to so warrant. Under formal recognition, agency officials are obligated to consult with a union "in the formulation and implementation of personnel policies and practices, and matters affecting the working conditions that are of concern to its members." Exclusive recognition results from a certification process similar to the one used under the NLRA. When a union achieves such

recognition, it may bargain with managers for a contract over the statutorily specified terms and conditions of employment. Generally speaking, the scope of bargaining under this order, compared to the NLRA, is quite restrictive, excluding economic matters and union-security arrangements.

Worker councils constitute another alternative somewhat similar to the Kennedy order's informal and formal recognitions. These councils may or may not involve representatives of labor organizations. This approach is widely associated with the contemporary German model of industrial relations, though it is rarely practiced in the United States, partly because of legal concerns. However, such councils were much more common in the earlier part of the twentieth century. According to a report issued by the [National Industrial Conference Board \(1933, p. 16\)](#), its 1932 survey revealed that 767 companies had employee representation plans, including works councils, representing more than 1.26 million workers. The Conference Board (1933, p. 40) concluded that

The works council provides a meeting place, where management and the working force can consider calmly, on the basis of accurate information rather than rumor, their respective positions and problems...Beyond the settlement of grievances and, better, their prevention, is the broader and more constructive accomplishment of employee representation in welding together management and working force into a single, cohesive productive unit.

This conclusion has the ring of the unitary perspective referred to by Fox (1966a, 1966b) in his frames of reference analysis.

In short, numerous approaches to unionism or union representation exist. We borrow from them to construct a portfolio model of unionism, one which incorporates several alternative approaches. These approaches include those embedded in "alt-labor, such as worker centers and social movements. We add a variant of mutual insurance, which we label enterprise unionism, to the mix, along with a minimum-industry standards model. To extend the potential reach of collective representation through direct or indirect union involvement, we supplement the listing with works councils, or non-majority union representation.

## *Portfolio Unionism*

Portfolio unionism envisions labor organizations broadening their array of functional services to meet the differing needs of an evolving workforce. This form of unionism contrasts with the more limited reach of traditional unionism, which centers on collective bargaining. Portfolio unionism encompasses broadens traditional business unionism to incorporate modern extensions of collective bargaining. The nucleus of the portfolio union remains traditional bargaining through certification or ancillary procedures, such as card check. Functional satellites revolve around the nucleus to reflect the variety of different representational models unions might choose to pursue. For example, a union might focus also on mutual insurance or enterprise unionism. Accordingly it offers selected goods and services only to its members for a fee. A union might provide discounted medical and life insurance for workers who choose to join, regardless of whether they belong to a recognized bargaining unit. It might offer subsidized legal representation for workers facing disputes over wages and hours or alleged discrimination. In addition, on a fee-for-service basis, a union could invest in the training and development of workers so that they acquire the skills needed to make them continually employable. Another option would be for a union to represent non-employee workers through political advocacy or the negotiation of minimum-industry standards contracts to which they could invite employers to become signatories, like the WGAE does when it represents freelancing writers.

The traditional model of bargaining relates primarily to the employees within established bargaining units. Emerging approaches broaden the focus to involve community-based groups to expand the impact of negotiated settlements. Community-benefits bargaining falls into this category. Using this model, unions typically negotiate agreements with public entities, such as cities or counties, to uplift the economic position of the marginalized. Such agreements might include pledges to invest in infrastructure, job training, and economic development projects, as well as higher wages and benefits for work performed on these projects. Examples of community-benefit

agreements exist across states and localities, including the state of California's High-Speed Rail Authority and the Los Angeles airport, LAX

([https://www.hsr.ca.gov/docs/newsroom/fact%20sheets/CBA\\_Factsheet\\_FINAL\\_0050415.pdf](https://www.hsr.ca.gov/docs/newsroom/fact%20sheets/CBA_Factsheet_FINAL_0050415.pdf)).

Another more enlightened variant involves bargaining for the common good. Accordingly, union negotiators build alliances with various stakeholders with a vested interest in having members receive better terms and conditions of employment. For example, teachers in a bargaining unit might enlist the support of parents and businesses interested in ensuring that they properly equipped and trained. This form of bargaining occurred recently in the city of Los Angeles, which striking teachers allied with parents and students to pressure a recalcitrant school board to take another look at its proposed draconian budget cuts (Miller, 2019).

Portfolio unionism, which allows a given labor organization to proffer alternative models of representation to varying groups of workers, enables unions to build its base apart from the traditional organizing path of bargaining certification. It thus affords unions the chance to grow without having the fight employers tooth-and-nail in order win recognition as an exclusive bargaining representative. Such recognition remains a core labor objective when the base has been built to sufficient levels to warrant holding an election. More specifically, portfolio unionism provides these other paths to organizing:

- Recruit and represent workers/members through a *minimum-industry standards* model that benchmarks wages and benefits to prevailing union rates; employers are urged to become signatories to these standards, even though they may not have formally unionized facilities; this approach offers appeal to lower-wage workers in such industries as retail and leisure.
- Recruit and represent workers/members through an *enterprise* model that provides discounted goods and services to dues-payers, regardless of their employment status or whether their employer (in cases in which they are employees) is unionized; this approach

focuses on those in alternative working arrangements, including the “gig” economy, or employees of nonunion facilities in need of legal or grievance representation in compliance with mandatory employment arbitration agreements under which they may work (Colvin, 2018).

- Recruit and represent workers/members to become part of a *worker center (ROC)*, *national federation (New York Taxi Drivers Alliance)*, or *social movement (Fight for \$15)*, in which workers become dues-payers of affiliated labor organizations such as the United Food and Commercial Workers, Service Employees International Union, and UNITE HERE. The dues-paying union members, in turn, support the independently created “movements,” virtual or bricks-and-mortar, which wage campaigns on behalf of nontraditional and lower-wage workers, including employees of popular fast-food restaurants.
- Recruit and represent workers/members through a hybrid of approaches including *enterprise benefits* and *minimum-industry standards*, which would be well suited for nominally independent contractors who might substantively be considered “employees” (but are technically classified otherwise) based on the nature of their work and working relationships with contractors.

## **MAPPING PORTFOLIO UNIONISM ONTO THE EVOLVING WORKFORCE**

We can map portfolio unionism onto the evolving workforce to show the potential base from which unions might expand membership. The new contingent-based and gig-oriented workforce, which includes overlapping segments, provides several opportunities for alternative models of representation to blossom. The precariat workforce also offers rich soil for expansion. Precariat workers are those whose jobs and economic status are unstable and insecure, giving them reason to want to find ways of raising minimal labor standards to provide security.

The core base of unionism lies in its extant membership, which constitutes over 14.7 million workers as estimated for 2018 (U.S. BLS, 2019). The enlightened notion of common-good bargaining, which extends traditional bargaining into the realm of community-based alliances, offers special appeal to workers in information (e.g., digital media workers), education and health services (teachers and nurses), and leisure and hospitality (hotel workers). Together, these workforce sectors include more than 33 million workers. The enterprise benefits model should appeal to the alternative workforce, inclusive of gig or electronically mediated workers. Including independent contractors, contracted employees, part-timers, temporary help agency workers, and on-call workers, these sectors comprise nearly 40 million workers. Works-councils types of representation, which would need to involve elected union representatives, map onto the nonunion workers in the largely unorganized information and professional services sectors, which include roughly 24 million. [Again, these models of representation may appeal to overlapping sectors, giving them potentially broader reach, especially if unions coordinate their organizing paths in industries and occupations where they have distinctive advantage.]

Worker centers and national federations focus on the more precariat sectors of work, such as retail, leisure and hospitality, and transportation, the last of which involved the use of many workers (think Fedex drivers) as “independent contractors,” a designation subject to considerable dispute for legal and practical reasons. The retail sector includes almost 16 million workers, where the median weekly wage is less than 63 per cent of the overall private sector, where the median weekly wage is almost \$960 (U.S. BLS, 2019). In the leisure and hospitality industry, the median weekly wage is less than 45 per cent of the median in the overall private sector (U.S. BLS, 2019). The transportation sector includes over 5.5 million, of which over 2.7 million operate as truck drivers and nearly 400,000 as taxi drivers (U.S. BLS, 2019).

The minimum-industry standards model, which is already used in the professional sports and media-related industries, applies to the information, professional/business services, and education/health



services, where workers could benefit from the equivalent of industry wage boards that set basic standards for salient terms and conditions of employment ([Madland, 2018](#)). These segments incorporate more than 48 million workers.

The social-movement model, which conceptually envelopes the community-benefits approach to bargaining of a multilateral nature, engages the precariat sector and the building and construction trades, which have a keen interest in community-wide agreements that raise labor standards for workers engaged in major construction and infrastructure projects. The social-movement model configures in such a way in which members in targeted unions affiliate with progressive organizations, such as Justice for Janitors or Fight for \$15 to advance an agenda of change through grassroots mobilization, including strikes, protests, and picketing. They seek to mobilize public opinion and community alliances to enact policies such as a \$15 minimum wage, paid sick leave, and fair scheduling laws.

To put the size of the potential organizing base of unions in these discrete employment sectors (information, professional and business services, education and healthcare services, transportation, retail trade, construction, and leisure and hospitality) into perspective, the total number of employees across these industries approached 94 million in early 2019. If unions were able to recruit 20 per cent of this population, they would have nearly 18.8 million members in these industries alone. That is more than four million more than the current estimate of 14.744 million in 2018. If labor had 20 per cent of the overall workforce as members (based on 2018 BLS estimates), it would have close to 27.6 million, or about 13 million more than the current level. If labor were able to recruit this volume of members, without having to go through the obstacles and machinations of the certification process, it would vastly raise its presence and mobilizing potential. This added volume would put more pressure on existing nonunion workers to buy into the certification option, and also give unions more resources—money and people – to deploy toward organizing.

## **DIGITAL ORGANIZING: LOWERING THE COST OF JOINING A UNION**

The traditional process of organizing workers is often time-consuming, labor-intensive, and expensive. Unions historically rely on paid organizers to generate the grassroots cadre of supporters needed to demonstrate a sufficient showing of interest (typically at least 30 per cent of the employees in a proposed bargaining unit) to warrant holding a certification election. If such an interest is demonstrated, the NLRB orchestrates the process of sanctioning the unit and allowing the parties time to get their message to the unit employees. Employers and unions use various means to convey information and get their points across.

Previous research ([Voos, 1987](#)) reveals that organizing this way can be very expensive. [Voos \(1983\)](#) calculated that it cost somewhere between \$375 and \$1235 to organize a new member through certifications in 1980 dollars. This translates to a range of \$1234.38 and \$4,065.21 in today's currency, with the mid-point being \$2649.80.

Assuming this mid-point represents a reasonable estimate of how much it would cost to organize a worker today through certifications, it becomes clear that this path is well-nigh cost prohibitive. At this rate of expense, it would cost unions slightly over \$34 billion to add enough new members (12,834,000) to reach 20 per cent of the workforce (27,578,000). To put this estimate in perspective, the total net receipts (all receipts minus intra-union organizational transfers) of all international labor organizations in 2018 amounted to just under \$6.7 billion, less than one-fifth of the amount needed to fund the price tag of \$34 billion. These international organizations' total net assets amounted to under \$7.6 billion. Thus, if all the internationals were to spend every dime of their receipts plus liquidate all their net assets, they would still be about \$21.4 billion short.

The sheer expense of traditional organizing suggests the need for a less costly alternative. Virtual organizing provides one option. It relies on inexpensive digital platforms (accessed through apps or

websites) to connect workers to each other through a union conduit (Zuckerman, Kahlenberg, & Marvit, 2015). Digital technologies give unions the opportunity to communicate confidentially and directly with their members without an employer filter. Through virtual communities, unions can mobilize almost instantly without their employers' knowledge. To add more direct human touch to organizing, unions may complement virtual communities with on-site organizing groups and paid organizers, who could, in turn, be supported by a broader network of community activists.

The virtual organizing platform would come with multi-functionality. It would facilitate communications between workers at targeted work sites; e-filing of certification-related documents, including petitions to show sufficient interest through authorization cards; mapping the workforce to identify an appropriate bargaining unit; identifying access to legal and election campaign expertise; modeling collective bargaining contract language; dealing with difficult campaign situations posed by employers; campaign messaging; surveying on opinions and attitudes; holding mock certification elections; and conducting media relations, including use of social media. The platform essentially constitutes a one-stop shopping tool for indigenous-based organizing efforts. Each national union and its affiliated locals would have website information on how to access the platform.

If this approach were to be used extensively by unions, it would transform them from essentially servicing centers, which focus on serving the current membership, to organizing centers, which focus on building the base and, in the process, through portfolio unionism, offering an array of services complementary to traditional bargaining.

## **RESTRUCTURING LABOR UNIONS**

To maximize the potential for portfolio unionism to advance membership, it seems appropriate for labor unions to restructure themselves at two levels. First, unions need to restructure their operations to fit the multi-functionality of portfolio unionism. This

requires establishing different operating centers accommodate the range of diverse activities undertaken in this realm. Second, unions should form clusters of super-unions to facilitate portfolio unionism on an industry- or occupation-wide basis. These clusters would manifest portfolio unionism and link the unions' operations to derive economies of scale and broadened impact.

Within their own organizations, unions should consider structuring operations into various units that serve the functions of portfolio unionism. These units would devote attention to traditional bargaining representation, worker center/advocacy, industry-occupation standards (a la wage boards), works councils, discounted goods and services (enterprise operations), and social movement activism. Traditional bargaining representation constitutes the hub of the union, with such being the ultimate goal through certification-related procedures. The satellite units at the end of each spoke of the wheel, so to speak, reflect the alternative models of representation. Units would be staffed with the experience and expertise needed to meet their varied purposes. This configuration places unions at the center of the "alt-labor" operations. The ultimate goal is wall-to-wall organizing of an industry or occupation, depending on the nature of the distinct union. In sum, each national labor organization – as well as its local and regional affiliates – would offer those functional forms of representation to the extent appropriate.

Layered on top of this organizational restructuring would be clusters of super-unions, or semi-federation organizations that mirror the portfolio model. Unions would be grouped in key industries based on intersecting membership bases. This would enable them to coordinate their efforts to organize across industry and occupational boundaries so as to promote higher-standard working conditions on a wider scale. A plausible conceptualization of these super-union clusters follows: manufacturing; construction; retail, leisure, and service; healthcare; information and communications; public sector; and energy, food, and transportation. Each super-union would include units devoted to the diverse aspects of portfolio unionism: traditional bargaining, worker centers, works councils, social

movement, enterprise operations, and minimum-industry/occupation standards. These super-unions would be funded based on revenue sharing pro-rated to the size of the individual union in terms of membership.

By aggregating at this level, the national unions would be able share information about organizing opportunities and strategies, avoid unnecessary jurisdictional conflicts in organizing workers, and coordinate organizing and bargaining activities. They could combine resources to offer discounted goods and services to dues-payers as an incentive to join, especially for those who initially lack bargaining representation.

At the apex of a reconfigured labor movement would be the mega-federation, in this case a reinvigorated AFL-CIO. Hopefully, the AFL-CIO would succeed in bringing independent unions, such as the National Education Association and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, into its fold. The splinter federation, ChangeToWin, would blend its operations and knowledge into the AFL-CIO, so the labor movement presents a clearly united front. The mega-federation too would replicate the elements of portfolio unionism. Thus, across the national, super-union, and mega-federation levels the labor movement would encompass multi-functional unionism.

## **FINANCING A RECONFIGURED LABOR STRUCTURE**

An important calculation in restructuring the labor movement is determining how it would be financed. If unions at various levels – national, super-national, and mega-federation – were to expand their functional operations to copy portfolio unionism (on top of offering the array of services currently provided), then they would need to raise additional revenue. Ideally, this revenue would come from increased dues-paying membership, as well as fee-for-service provisions. The most viable path, as discussed, is by organizing workers outside the traditional certification route. Unions would build their base by broadening the array of functions offered to incentivize

membership. To make such an offering appealing, unions would have calibrate the dues structure to capacity to pay as well as level of service provided. This becomes particularly important when representing nontraditional and precariat workers.

If unions generally pushed for tiered membership calibrated to different levels of services, they might arguably raise significant amounts of money that could be used to finance digital campaigns on a large scale. Three tiers of membership seem plausible: affiliate, associate, and full. Affiliate members might be provided with certain discounted benefits (e.g., health insurance) for reduced dues rate, perhaps 60 per cent of total regular dues. Associate members could pay 80 per cent for more services, again shy of full-fledged collective bargaining representation. Those workers who are part of establish bargaining units would pay the full regular dues rate and receive bargaining representation and access to discounted benefits and services.

We make a rough estimate of the additional revenue unions might be able to raise by offering tiered memberships equivalent to 60, 80, and 100 per cent of its dues. For example, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) charges an annual dues rate in the range of \$192.48-\$256.60, with the mid-point being \$222.50. Assuming a widespread application of the mid-point across unions in various industries, we can calculate the revenue intake if unions were able to increase their membership by aggregated rises in density rates of five, ten, and fifteen percentage points. An increase in the overall density rate from 10.5 per cent (2018) to 15.5, 20.5, and 25.5 per cent, respectively, would translate into slightly more than 6.6 million, 13.5 million, and 20.4 million additional members. At the affiliate membership rate (60 per cent of \$222.50, or \$133.50, these increases in membership yield more than \$885 million, \$1.8 billion, and \$2.7 billion, respectively. The increase of over \$2.7 billion equates to a 41 per cent hike in the net revenues taken in by all labor organizations in 2018.

## DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

To grow significantly and establish a solid community base, unions need to be at the forefront of diversity and inclusion. They must rid themselves of whatever vestiges of discrimination that may remain in their cultures and structures. At local, regional, and national levels, organized labor needs to stress the policy and practical elements of representing a more diverse workforce, broadly defined. This includes grooming a more diverse leadership and continually stressing the organizing and representing of people of color, women, and immigrants.

The US labor movement has historically reflected racial and gender prejudices, as well as opposition to immigrants ([Goldfield, 1987](#)). Many labor organizations explicitly banned African-Americans and women from their ranks. In fact, employers would often exploit racial tensions to weaken unions. Several groups of African-American workers formed their own unions to fulfill their desire for collective representation. As a result of their history of discriminatory practices, unions in the United States have had to take affirmative steps to overcome the legacy effects of their biases. They still have a long way to go in diversifying their leadership and putting the relevant issues of economic and social justice to the forefront of organizing and political campaigns.

Labor unions face a twofold challenge in organizing an increasingly diverse workforce. First, they must be prepared to reach out more affirmatively to women and minorities, involving them in organizing campaigns and bargaining teams. [Toossi \(2002, 2006\)](#) estimates that the workforce will be majority minority before 2060. Labor cannot escape this reality. Second, unions need to find ways of diversifying their leadership ranks, not only among elected officers but also among staffers.

As the workforce changes demographically, the face of labor also changes ([Schmitt & Warner, 2009](#)). Today's union membership reflects a much more diverse composition than it did more than 35 years ago. Yet, the top leadership remains predominantly white male, the caricature of the union member and leader of yesteryear.



Most of the 58 members of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO are Caucasian males; only a handful are women. Unions need to devote more time and effort to recruiting minority and women leaders, as well as rank-and-file members. Demonstrating the relative advantage women and minorities derive economically from union representation offers a strong argument for recruiting from their ranks, along with continued efforts to rid labor of discrimination.

Today, in fact, unions are much more diverse in membership composition than they were in the past. In 1983, over 78 per cent of union members were white compared to just over 64 per cent in 2018. Almost 38 per cent are minority in 2018, compared to about 19 per cent 35 years earlier. The percentage of women has risen from 35 per cent to almost 47 per cent during this period. The key to the future rests in building a leadership across the board that reflects the diversity of the membership and society.

## **WHAT A REVITALIZED LABOR MOVEMENT MEANS FOR SOCIETY**

A robustly growing labor movement would have potentially profound implications for the economic, political, and social aspects of American life ([Bivens, 2017](#); [Freeman & Medoff, 1979, 1984](#); [Rosenfeld, 2014](#)). It could affect directly wage and benefit levels, the inequality in incomes across gender and racial lines, and workplace safety and health. Indirectly, it could impact the opportunities for upward mobility, home ownership, and the availability of a sound social net for the unfortunate.

Extensive research correlates union density with improvements in wages and benefits for working people, women, and minorities ([Bivens, 2017](#); [Freeman & Medoff, 1984](#); [Mishel, 2012](#); [Rosenfeld, 2014](#)). It also improves workplace safety and health. This research shows that:

- Union workers earn 13.2 per cent higher wages than similarly situated nonunion workers;

- If union density had remained at the same level in 1979 until 2015, real weekly wages of nonunion men in the private sector would have been five per cent higher and the wages of nonunion men without a college education would have been eight per cent higher;
- Women represented in unions earn 9.2 per cent more than their nonunion counterparts;
- Unions raise the total compensation (87.0 per cent) and wages (56.1 per cent) for women in female-dominated service industries such as food service and janitorial service compared to their nonunion counterparts;
- Unions raise the wages of African-American and Latinx workers more than their white counterparts;
- Between 1979 and 2015, the real hourly earnings of the median worker rose only 9.9 per cent, compared to 190 per cent for the top one per cent of earners; during this period, union density fell from 24.1 to 11.1 per cent; and
- Unionized workers in construction and mining, among others, enjoy safer working conditions; unions across many industries, including healthcare and public safety, push aggressively to improve these conditions.

From these findings, we plausibly argue that a substantial rise in union density, especially if correlated with an increase in bargaining recognition, would produce several positive results. Wages among middle and lower income American workers would rise faster, and more of these workers would be covered by better benefits. The income gap between the wealthiest and the median worker would be closed, and economic differentials between men and women and minorities and whites would similarly be bridged. Through increased political action, which might contribute to changes in public policies regarding the minimum wage, overtime, worker classification, and pension protection, we might also see further improvements in economic conditions for the typical worker.

All of these things combined could create more wealth for many working families, leading to a greater capacity to buy a first home.

Higher wages and property values yield tax revenues for many cash-strapped municipalities and states, which, in turn, could result in improved public services and sorely needed investments in infrastructure. These investments would spark opportunities to move up the economic ladder for those who have been left behind in recent decades.

## CONCLUSIONS

Conventional wisdom, based on decades of uninterrupted union decline, views labor's condition as decidedly problematic. Few observers see any bright spots, though evidence of increased militancy gives some cause for hope. For example, the number of major strikes rose significantly in 2018, and teachers have led the way (U.S. BLS, 2019). From West Virginia to Los Angeles, grassroots teacher-led strikes have succeeded in winning better terms and conditions for their members (Miller, 2019). Although nonunion, the workers at Google across the globe struck in protest over inequitable working conditions (D'Onfro, 2018), urging the prohibition of mandatory employment arbitrations contracts, which had recently received sanction by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2018 in a trilogy of cases collectively labeled *Epic Systems* (*Epic Systems Corporation v. Jacob Lewis*; *Ernst & Young v. Stephen Morris*; *National Labor Relations Board v. Murphy Oil USA*, U.S. Supreme Court, Nos. 16-285, 16-300, 16-307, May 21, 2018). And community activism and protests have led to enactment of laws in municipalities and states raising the minimum wage, mandating paid sick leave, and promoting pay equity, though several states have intervened to block municipalities from adopting these higher labor standards.

Our assessment of the future recognizes the dire straits in which labor finds itself. No one can gainsay the dramatic decline in labor's presence and force on the national landscape. Unions represent a hallowed version of their past glory. Indeed, the traditional path to organizing through certification elections seems bankrupt. Barring

unforeseen developments, reliance on this route destines labor to further decline.

However, we offer a different view of what the future might look like. The severity of the situation demands bold action. Tweaking the edges will only produce more of the same. Unions need to break the mold and re-position themselves to expand in numbers. Membership growth needs to be their singular focus. Once they amass sufficient density, unions can and should then turn their sights to seeking bargaining recognition through certification. In the meantime, they need to explore varieties of unionism to motivate workers to join ranks. Labor activism currently subsumed under “alt-labor” should be brought squarely into the fold of traditional labor organizations, which enlighten their status by practicing portfolio unionism.

We offer several conclusions. Unions should complement traditional organizing and bargaining with concentrated efforts to grow membership through separate paths. This reorientation requires turning the traditional model on its head. Focus first on building the base and then turn attention to achieving bargaining recognition. Unions need broad-based community and worker support to sustain the rigors of organizing for collective bargaining. There are few if any signs that employer opposition to union organizing is likely to recede. Witness the concerted efforts that Volkswagen (VW) made to defeat another attempt by the United Auto Workers to organize slightly more than 1700 workers at a Chattanooga, Tennessee plant in mid-June 2019 ([Brooks, 2019](#)). The UAW lost the election by a 29-vote margin, with 93 per cent of the eligible workers voting.

Labor needs to address its narrow functionality, which limits its appeal. Research shows that nearly half of the nonunion workers would vote for union representation if given the chance. Why can’t unions close the evident representation and voice gaps? The answer lies not just in employer resistance, which cannot and should not be minimized. Rather, unions bear a share of the responsibility. They fail to exploit digital technologies which allow them to wage organizing campaigns that essentially bypass employers. Through the sophisticated use of digital platforms, unions could cover the working

landscape of America with virtual organizing committees, reaching out to encourage traditional, nontraditional, and precariat workers to join. In return for joining, unions would offer a menu of services calibrated to the type of membership workers choose. Tiered memberships offer unions a chance to vary the services offered depending on the level of dues paid. This approach links workers to traditional labor organizations for nontraditional forms of representation, until such time that unions feel they can win bargaining recognition.

Portfolio unionism offers labor a means of broadening its appeal by blending several alternative models of representation with traditional bargaining. It embraces enlightened notions of collective bargaining, such as bargaining for the common-good, which extends the apparatus of bargaining into the community, where allies can be brought into grassroots coalitions. Portfolio unionism also incorporates these other varieties: enterprise, works councils, minimum-industry standards, and worker center/national federation/social movement. Through these diverse functional channels, unions broaden their potential appeal to workers in alternative working relationships and in precariat industries.

The unfortunate reality facing unions is that the traditional approach to organizing is extravagantly labor intensive and costly, and hence devoid of practical utility in the current context and foreseeable future. Based on the estimated cost of organizing workers through their current budgets, unions can ill-afford to organize on a broad scale. They need to find ways to reduce the cost of organizing, perhaps through digital technologies that enable them to connect directly with their current and prospective membership, without having to suffer employer interference.

To capture fully the potential benefits of this multi-functionality, unions need to restructure themselves. Each national union needs to embrace the functionalities most suited to its conditions. For example, unions in retail and leisure and hospitality could benefit from stressing elements of enterprise, minimum-industry standards, and worker advocacy/social movement unionism. But the restructuring must go much further to exert maximum effect. Unions

should embrace industry-centric super-union structures, in which semi-federation arrangements would correspond with broad industry classifications, such as manufacturing, retail, leisure, and services, and energy, food, and transportation. Unions would benefit from the economies of scale offered by these super-unions as well as the increased opportunities to coordinate organizing drives and mobilize activism with broader reach. These semi-federations would fold into a mega-federation, which could manifest a reinvigorated AFL-CIO. The mega-federation would mirror the multi-functionality of portfolio unionism.

Unions can both use technology to reduce the cost of organizing and eliminate the employer as a barrier to recruiting members. Digital technologies, which enable the electronic filing of authorization cards, automatic dues checkoffs to workers, regardless of their employment status, and electronic/internet voting, offer promise as avenues of lower-cost campaigning, especially if coupled with adept usage of the social media. Unions should transform workers into digital activists, encouraging their participation in internal operations and communicating the union message to wider audiences. The digital revolution lowers the cost of direct communications while increasing its potential reach.

Seventh, re-positioning labor for the twenty-first century demands maximum effort to promote diversity and inclusion. Vestiges of discrimination against women, minorities, and immigrants must be erased. Unions need to foster ties with the Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, Transgender, and Queer (LBGTQ) communities and expand opportunities for both younger and older workers to participate. A progressive agenda that focuses on pay equity, fairness and civility in the workplace, plus broader notions of economic and social justice, needs forthright attention and direction.

We recommend that unions change their strategic priorities. This necessitates putting more money to where the yield is potentially must greater. Offering non-represented workers a chance to belong at tiered levels (affiliate, associate, and full) provides a means of raising money to finance more organizing. Unions should impress

upon workers that nothing is free. To function effectively, unions need members who are vested in the future of their organizations.

While these are bold challenges, unions are in reality living organisms which are highly adaptable and resilient. Ontologically, their survival depends on their capacity to adapt to changing conditions. Rather than taking paths of greatest resistance, where chances of grand or even marginal successes appear remote, unions should jump over the hurdles and connect directly with the rank-and-file. Integrating their organizing efforts into the broader community offers promise as a means of fostering membership growth, power, and economic change for the betterment of working classes.

## **FUTURE RESEARCH**

We encourage research in several directions, revolving around how unions can adapt to adverse conditions. One especially ripe area for scholarly inquiry concerns how unions can change themselves organizationally to embrace alternative models of representation. Most unions today focus on collective bargaining and contract administration, with little experience running enterprise operations, or what we might more aptly call profit centers. They also have little experience with representing workers in nontraditional arrangements or in situations without bargaining recognition. Arguably, unions need a different type of leader – at the elected and staff levels – to make this reorientation work. A new generation of more diverse leaders attuned to rapidly changing technologies would certainly position unions better to fit into their surroundings. A corollary stream of research would focus on how unions can develop this next generation of leadership and equip themselves organizationally to embrace a more holistic approach to workers and the workplace.

Second, research is needed on how unions can use technology to their advantage. What types of digital platforms would work best in linking workers to individual labor organizations? Ideally, these platforms would enable unions to establish virtual communities tied to common employers (grocery chains, major banking institutions,



hotel conglomerates, and other retail outlets) or geographic areas, especially where practical distances make direct personal contact difficult.

Third, research should be conducted on what effects electronic organizing campaigns, electronic filing of authorization cards, and electronic voting have on the process of organizing workers. Does the speed of these electronic means tilt the balance toward or against unions and employers? Does electronic voting diminish the effects of employer opposition? Can unions compete electronically through virtual communities to get their message across when faced with employer opposition at the actual work site?

Fourth, how much density does a union need to achieve in a particular company or geographic area to tip the scales to its advantage? This calculation is important not only for organizing drives but also bargaining campaigns, especially those which enlist community backing.

Fifth, what variables predict union success in recruiting members for different types of representation? Does industry, occupation, geography, or economic security matter? Just as businesses pay considerable attention to site location when deciding where to open facilities or move headquarters, unions need robust ways of targeting organizing efforts.

Last, research needs to be paid on how unions can get a solid footprint into nonunion operations through service provision to convince workers that labor offers value to them. A rich opportunity may come due to the expected proliferation of mandatory employment arbitration contracts in the nonunion sector. Research suggests that more than 90 million workers in the United States will be covered by such contracts by 2024. It also indicates that these types of procedures may disadvantage typical workers, particularly those in lower income strata ([Colvin, 2018](#); [Colvin & Gough, 2015](#); [Shimabukuro & Staman, 2017](#)). How can unions turn this situation to their advantage? Labor organizations have more experience with grievance and arbitration dispute resolution procedures than any other set of institutions in the United States. Perhaps they may offer appropriate representation of workers with relatively small claims

that might arise under such circumstances. For example, a worker for a nonunion employer with a modest claim for overtime payment that an employer is disputing might be represented, at discounted cost, by a union-paid attorney under a mandatory arbitration procedure. One of the ways that unions should consider demonstrating their practical relevance is by offering services where they have considerable expertise and experience.

In sum, there is a future for organized labor in the United States. How bright it is depends on the willingness of unions to break with tradition and vigorously pursue new paths.

## REFERENCES

- Barbash, J. (1961). Union response to the 'hard line'. *Industrial Relations*, 1, 25–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-232X.1961.tb00166.x>
- Barbash, J. (1984). Trade unionism from Roosevelt to Reagan. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 473(1), 11–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716284473001002>
- Barkin, S. (1963). The road to the future: A trade-union commission for self-analysis. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 350, 138–147. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271626335000116>
- Barkin, S., & Blum, A. A. (1963). Is there a crisis in the American Trade-Union Movement?: The Trade Unionists' Views. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 350(1), 16–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271626335000104>
- Barnett, G. (1933). American Trade Unionism and Social Insurance. *American Economic Review*, 23, 1–15.
- Bivens, J. (2017). *Inequality is slowing US economic growth*. Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.epi.org/publication/secular-stagnation/>
- Bronfenbrenner, K. (2009). *No holds barred: The intensification of employer opposition to organizing*. Briefing Paper No. 235. Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.epi.org/publication/bp235/>
- Brooks, C. (2019, June 19). Why the UAW lost another election in Tennessee. *The Nation*. Retrieved from <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/uaw-works-council-tennessee-union-volkswagen/>
- Bureau of National Affairs. (2018). *2018 Source Book on Collective Bargaining*. Arlington, VA: Bloomberg BNA.
- Chaison, G. (2010). Union membership attrition. *Monthly Labor Review*, January, 74–76. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2010/01/art4full.pdf>
- Chen, M. (2018, February 5). Millennials are keeping unions alive. *The Nation*. Retrieved from <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/millennials-are-keeping-unions-alive/>
- Colvin, A. J. S. (2018). *The growing use of mandatory arbitration*. Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.epi.org/publication/the-growing-use-of-mandatory->

arbitration/

- Colvin, A. J. S., & Gough, M. D. (2015). Individual employment rights arbitration in the United States: Actors and outcomes. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 68(5), 1019–1042. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0019793915591984>
- Dark, T. E. (1999). *The unions and the democrats*. Cornell University Press.
- D'Onfro, J. (2018, November 3). Google walkouts showed what the new tech resistance looks like, with lots of cues from union organizing. *CNBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/11/03/google-employee-protests-as-part-of-new-tech-resistance.html>
- Drucker, P. F. (1980). *Managing in turbulent times*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Dunlop, J. T. (1958). *Industrial Relations Systems*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Eidelson, J. (2013). Alt-Labor. *The American Prospect*, January 29.
- Faue, E. (2017). *Rethinking the American labor movement*. New York: Routledge.
- Feiner, L. (2019, May 7). *Uber drivers will go on strike over wages and benefits ahead of the company's \$90 billion IPO*. *CNBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/05/07/uber-lyft-drivers-to-go-on-strike-over-low-wages-and-benefits.html>
- Ferman, L. A. (Ed.) (1984). The future of American unionism. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 473, 1–251. <http://pascal-francis.inist.fr/vibad/index.php?action=getRecordDetail&idt=12213140>
- Fine, J., Burnham, L., Griffith, K., Ji, M., Narro, V., & Pitts, S. (Eds.) (2018). *No one size fits all: Worker organization, policy, and movement in a new economic age*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Francia, P. L. (2006). *The future of organized labor in American politics*. Columbia University Press
- Freeman, R. B. (2007). *Do workers still want unions? More than ever*. Briefing Paper No. 182. Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.epi.org/publication/bp182/>
- Freeman, R. B., & Medoff, J. L. (1979). The two faces of unionism. *The Public Interest*, 57, 69–93. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w0364>
- Freeman, R. B., & Medoff, J. L. (1984). *What do unions do?* New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.
- Freeman, R. B., & Rogers, J. (1999). *What workers want*. Cornell University Press.
- Galbraith, J. K. (1967). *The new industrial state*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.
- Goldfield, M. (1987). *The decline of organized labor in American politics*. University of Chicago Press.
- Green, K. (2019, September 17). How workers can protect the workers who are most vulnerable to automation. *UnionTrack*. Retrieved from <https://www.uniontrack.com/blog/unions-and-automation>
- Greenhouse, S. (2018, May 4). Unions face the fight of their lives to protect American workers. *HuffPost*. Retrieved from [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/american-workers-jobs-inequality-union-automation\\_n\\_5ae043f9e4b061c0bfa32e0c](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/american-workers-jobs-inequality-union-automation_n_5ae043f9e4b061c0bfa32e0c)
- Greenhouse, S. (2019). *Beaten down and worked up: The past, present, and future of American labor*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
- Greenstone, J. D. (1977. 2d ed.). *Labor in American Politics*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc.
- Hillman, A. J., Withers, M. C., & Collins, B. J. (2009). Research dependence theory: A review. *Journal of Management*, 36(6), 1404–1427. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0149206309343469>

- Hirsch, B. T., & Macpherson, D. A. (2003). Union membership and coverage database from the current population survey: Note. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 56(2), 349–354. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F001979390305600208>
- Hokie, R. F. (1914). Trade Unionism in the United States: General Character and Types. *Journal of Political Economy*, 22(3), 201–17.
- Hogler, R. L. (2015). *The end of American labor unions*. Praeger.
- Hogler, R., & Henle, C. (2011). The attack on public sector unions in the United States: How regional culture influences legal policy. *Labor Law Journal*, 62(3), 136–144. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/893888910?accountid=12964>
- Jacobs, D., & Myers, L. (2014). Union strength, neoliberalism, and inequality: Contingent political analyses of U.S. income differences since 1950. *American Sociological Review*, 79(4), 752–774. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0003122414536392>
- Janus v. American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees*, Council 31, et al., 585 U.S. (2018).
- Kahlenberg, R. D., & Maruit, M. Z. (2012). *Why labor organizing should be a civil right*. The Century Foundation Press.
- Kistler, A. (1984). Union organizing: New challenges and prospects. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 473(1), 96–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0002716284473001010>
- Kochan, T. A. (1979). How American Workers View Unions. *Monthly Labor Review*. April, 23–31.
- Kochan, T. A., Katz, H. C., & McKersie, R. B. (1986). *The transformation of American industrial relations*. Basic Books, Inc.
- Kochan, T. A., Yang, D., Kimball, W. T., & Kelly, E. L. (2019). Worker Voice in America: Is There A Gap Between What Workers Expect and What They Experience? *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 72(1), 3–38.
- Lafer, G. (2007). *Neither free nor fair*. American Rights at Work. <https://www.jwj.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Neither-Free-Nor-Fair-FINAL.pdf>
- Lafer, G. (2017). *The one percent solution*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Madland, D. (2018, April 9). Wage boards for American workers. Center for American Progress. Retrieved from <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/reports/2018/04/09/448515/wage-boards-american-workers/>
- Marshall, R. (1963). Ethnic and economic minorities: Unions' future or unrecrutable. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 350(1), 63–73. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F000271626335000109>
- Masters, M. F., Albright, R., & Gibney, R. (2015). The attacks on federal and postal unions: 2001-Present. *Employee Rights and Employment Policy Journal*, 19(2), 301–329. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/emplrgh19&div=19&id=&page=>
- Matthews, D. (2018). The Emerging Plan to Save the American Labor Movement. Vox. September 3.
- Mayer, G. (2004). *Union membership trends in the United States*. Congressional Research Service. Retrieved from [https://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1176&context=key\\_workplace](https://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1176&context=key_workplace)
- McCartin, J. A. (2018). Innovative union strategies and the strength to reinvent collective bargaining. In J. Fine, L. Burnham, K. Griffith, M. Ji, V. Narro, & S. Pitts (Eds.), *No*

- one size fits all: Worker organization, policy, and movement in a new economic age* (pp. 161–180). Cornell University Press.
- McKinsey Global Institute. (2016). *Independent work: Choice, necessity, and the gig economy*. New York: McKinsey Global Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.mckinsey.com/~media/McKinsey/Featured%20Insights/Employment%20and%20Growth/Independent%20work%20Choice%20necessity%20and%20the%20gig%20economy/Independent-Work-Choice-necessity-and-the-gig-economy-Executive-Summary.ashx>
- Milkman, R. (2017). A new political generation: Millennials and the post-2008 wave of protest. *American Sociological Review*, 82(1), 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0003122416681031>
- Miller, J. (2019, January 28). Lessons from the LA teachers strike. *Education Under the Perfect Sun*. Retrieved from <https://obrag.org/2019/01/lessons-from-the-la-teachers-strike/>
- Mishel, L. (2012, August 29). *Unions inequality and faltering middle-class wages*. Issue Brief No. 342. Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.epi.org/publication/ib342-unions-inequality-faltering-middle-class/>
- Narro, V., & Fine, J. (2018). Labor unions/worker center relationship, joint efforts, experiences. In J. Fine, L. Burnham, K. Griffith, M. Ji, V. Narro, & S. Pitts (Eds.), *No one size fits all: Worker organization, policy, and movement in a new economic age* (pp. 67–90). Cornell University Press.
- National Industrial Conference Board. (1933). *Collective bargaining through employee representation*. National Industrial Conference Board, Inc.
- Ornati, O. (1960). The current crisis: A challenge to organized labor. *The Antioch Review*, 20(1), 41–50. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4610210>
- Paarlberg, M. (2018, February 26). The future of American unions hangs in the balance. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/26/janus-afscme-supreme-court-case-labor-unions-impact>
- Pfeffer, J., & Salancik, G. R. (1978). *The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Rhomberg, C. (2018). \$15 and a union: Searching for workers' power in the fight for \$15 movement. In J. Fine, L. Burnham, K. Griffith, M. Ji, V. Narro, & S. Pitts (Eds.), *No one size fits all: Worker organization, policy, and movement in a new economic age* (pp. 251–270). Cornell University Press.
- Roberts, M. (1984). The future demographics of American unionism. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 473(1), 23–32. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0002716284473001003>
- Rodriguez, J. F. (2019, May 15). #UberLyftStrike had more impact on public opinion than on traffic. *San Francisco Examiner*. Retrieved from <https://www.sfexaminer.com/the-city/uberlyftstrike-likely-had-more-impact-on-public-opinion-than-on-traffic/>
- Rosenfeld, J. (2014). *What unions no longer do*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Schmitt, J., & Warner, K. (2009). *The changing face of labor: 1983-2008*. Center for Economic and Policy Research. Retrieved from <https://cepr.net/report/changing-face-of-labor/>
- Schradie, J. (2018). The digital activism gap: How class and courts shape and define collective action. *Social Problems*, 65(1), 51–74. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spx042>



- Shaiken, H. (2007, February 22). *Unions, the economy, and employee free choice*. Briefing Paper No. 181. Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.epi.org/publication/bp181/>
- Shimabukuro, J. O., & Staman, J. A. (2017, September 20). *Mandatory arbitration and the Federal Arbitration Act*. Congressional Research Service. Retrieved from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R44960.pdf>
- Sneiderman, M., & McMartin, J. A. (2018). Bargaining for the common good: An emerging tool for rebuilding world power. In J. Fine, L. Burnham, K. Griffith, M. Ji, V. Narro, & S. Pitts (Eds.), *No one size fits all: Worker organization, policy, and movement in a new economic age* (pp. 219–234). Cornell University Press.
- Taft, P. (1963). Is there a crisis in the labor movement? No. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 350(1), 10–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F000271626335000103>
- Toossi, M. (2002). A century of change: The U.S. labor force, 1950–2050. *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 17–28. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2002/05/art2full.pdf>
- Toossi, M. (2006). A new look at long-term labor-force projections to 2060. *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 19–39. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2006/11/art3full.pdf>
- Townsend, E. T. (1963). Is there a crisis in the American trade-union movement? Yes. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 350(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F000271626335000102>
- Troy, L. (1965). Trade union membership, 1897–1962. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 47(1), 93–113. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1924128>
- Turner, L., & Hurd, R. W. (2001). Building social movement unionism: The transformation of the American labor movement. In L. Turner, H. C. Katz, & R. W. Hurd (Eds.), *Rekindling the movement: Labor's quest for relevance in the twenty-first century* (pp. 9–26). Cornell University Press.
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2018). *Contingent and alternative employment arrangement-May 2017*. Retrieved from <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/conemp.pdf>
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2020). *Union members summary*. Retrieved from <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.nr0.htm>
- Voos, P. B. (1983). Union organizing: Costs and benefits. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 36(4), 576–591. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F001979398303600404>
- Voos, P. B. (1987). Union organizing expenditures: Determinants and their implications for union growth. *Journal of Labor Research*, 8, 19–30. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02685141>
- Webb, S. B. (1902). *Industrial Democracy*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Windmuller, J. P. (1963). Labor: A partner in American foreign policy? *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 350(1), 104–114. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F000271626335000113>
- Zeigler, H. (1964). *Interest groups in American society*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Zuckerman, M., Kahlenberg, R. D., & Marvit, M. (2015, June 9). *Virtual labor organizing*. The Century Foundation. Retrieved from <https://tcf.org/content/report/virtual-labor-organizing/>
-

**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management**  
**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Volume 38, 145–179**  
**Copyright © 2020 by Emerald Publishing Limited**  
**All rights of reproduction in any form reserved**  
**ISSN: 0742-7301/doi:10.1108/S0742-730120200000038006**



## CHAPTER 5

# PROSOCIAL ADVOCACY VOICE IN HEALTHCARE: IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Soo-Hoon Lee, Thomas W. Lee and Phillip H. Phan

### **ABSTRACT**

*Workplace voice is well-established and encompasses behaviors such as prosocial voice, informal complaints, grievance filing, and whistleblowing, and it focuses on interactions between the employee and supervisor or the employee and the organizational collective. In contrast, our chapter focuses on employee prosocial advocacy voice (PAV), which the authors define as prosocial voice behaviors aimed at preventing harm or promoting constructive changes by advocating on behalf of others. In the context of a healthcare organization, low quality and unsafe patient care are salient and objectionable states in which voice can motivate actions on behalf of the patient to improve information exchanges, governance, and outreach activities for safer outcomes. The authors draw from the theory and research on responsibility to intersect with theories on information processing, accountability, and stakeholders that operate through voice between the employee-patient, employee-coworker, and employee-profession, respectively, to*

*propose a model of PAV in patient-centered healthcare. The authors complete the model by suggesting intervening influences and barriers to PAV that may affect patient-centered outcomes.*

**Keywords:** Information processing; governance; responsibility; accountability; speaking up; outreach; patient safety; patient-centered care

## INTRODUCTION

After more than 50 years of research, workplace voice remains a vibrant and active topic of inquiry ([Welbourne, 2011](#)). It encompasses behaviors such as prosocial voice, informal complaints, grievance filing, and whistleblowing ([Klaas, Olson-Buchanan, & Ward, 2012](#)). Workplace voice represents the ways and means through which employees have a say in their organizations. Giving employees the opportunity to voice their concerns leads to lower job search activity, lower intentions to quit, higher employee retention rates, and higher levels of organizational embeddedness ([Ng & Feldman, 2013](#); [Olson-Buchanan & Boswell, 2002](#); [Spencer, 1986](#)).

Unlike prosocial voice in which the focal actor may benefit from the “discretionary communication of ideas, suggestions, concerns, or opinions about work-related issues” ([Morrison, 2011](#), p. 375), in the chapter, we present prosocial advocacy voice (PAV hereon, see [Table 1](#) for definitions), which we define as prosocial voice behaviors aimed at preventing harm or promoting constructive changes by advocating solely for the benefit of others. The purpose of this chapter is to proffer a model of PAV in the healthcare context. The healthcare sector represents 14% of employment in the United States and is the fastest growing sector in the US economy ([Salsberg & Martiniano, 2018](#)). Therefore, any contemporary application of human resource management (HRM) constructs must also work in the healthcare context, for them to matter theoretically. Yet, what we may assume about HRM may not generalize to healthcare

because of the unique professional, regulatory, ethical, and technological dimensions in the work environment. As a case in point, we illustrate how healthcare professionals (HCPs hereon) exercise PAV, not to benefit themselves but for patients and others. In doing so, we extend the theory and research on prosocial voice.

We organize this chapter as follows. We begin by providing important reasons to study workplace voice in the healthcare context. Next, we provide evidence of limitations from current voice theory and research in the healthcare context. We suggest an extension of voice to PAV and show how PAV is differentiated in a nomological network of other related constructs. Next, we establish the boundaries for PAV. We discuss how three PAV mechanisms influence important outcomes in the healthcare context as well as potential moderators that could mitigate the influence of PAV on these outcomes. We conclude with a discussion of the research and managerial implications of PAV in HRM.

## **THE HEALTHCARE CONTEXT**

### *Patient Safety and Workplace Voice*

We focus on the healthcare context because, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2.8 million jobs were added to the health sector between 2006 and 2016, growing almost *seven times faster* than the rest of the economy. This growth in healthcare jobs was thought to help the US economy recover from the 2008 financial crisis. More critically, about 11.6 million additional healthcare workers will be needed in the United States between 2016 and 2026 ([Salsberg & Martiniano, 2018](#)), suggesting that the healthcare sector in its own right represents an important sector for HRM scholars to aim their research, in order for that research to be impactful in the future. In short, what happens in healthcare work (practices and policies) will drive what happens to work nationally and globally.

**Table 1.** Definition of Terms.

Term	Definitions
Accountability	Being answerable to others for performing up to certain prescribed standards, thereby fulfilling obligations, duties, expectations, and other charges (Schlenker et al., 1994, p. 634)
Adverse event	A deviation from safe practices that result in actual patient harm (Jeffs et al., 2012)
Advocate	One who give voice for, protect, comfort, and cares for another (Boyle, 2005)
Governance voice	Proactively expressing suggestions or concerns aimed at controlling and safeguarding the direction and performance of coworkers
Health literacy	The degree to which individuals have the capacity to obtain, process and understand basic health information and services needed to make appropriate health decisions (Harrington & Valerio, 2014)
Healthcare professional or healthcare practitioner (HCP)	Doctors, nurses, allied health professionals, and pharmacists (Nouri & Rudd, 2015)
Healthcare organization	Certified by the government for the delivery of medical treatment to provide comprehensive healthcare that include the assignment of primary treating physician, inpatient hospital care, emergency services, diagnostic facilities, home health services, a quality assurance and medical case management system ( <a href="https://www.dir.ca.gov/DWC/HCO.htm">https://www.dir.ca.gov/DWC/HCO.htm</a> )
Information exchange voice	Proactively providing unsolicited expert information to unapprised decision-makers to make informed decisions
Near-misses	Procedural violations resulting from deviations of safe operating standards or rules in prescribing, dispensing, or administering medications and procedures that HCPs detected and corrected before actual harms to patients occurred (Jeffs, Lingard, Berta, & Baker, 2012)
Organizational climate	Attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that describe life in an organization (Schneider, 1975)
Organizational embeddedness	Socio-psychological attachment to a formal organizational unit (Ng & Feldman, 2013)
Organizational job embeddedness	An employee's <i>fit</i> (or comfort) in the job and organization, the quality and quantity of her <i>links</i> (or ties) to other people and groups in the organization, and the <i>sacrifices</i> that she would make if she left the organization (Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablynski, & Erez, 2001)
Outreach voice	Proactively providing a collective voice to stakeholders to benefit specific populations
Prohibitive voice	Expressions of concern to cease existing or impending practices or behaviors that cause harm (Liang, Farh, & Farh, 2012)

Promotive voice	Expressions to improve existing work practices and procedures to bring about a benefit ( <a href="#">Liang, Farh, &amp; Farh, 2012</a> )
PAV	A source of proactive voice behaviors, aimed at preventing harm or promoting constructive changes, that advocate for the benefit of others (adapted from <a href="#">Morrison, 2011</a> )
Prosocial voice	Proactive behavior aimed at bringing about constructive change through the “discretionary communication of ideas, suggestions, concerns, or opinions about work-related issues with the intent to improve organizational or unit functioning” ( <a href="#">Morrison, 2011</a> , p. 375)
Psychological ownership	A cognitive-affect the state in which individuals feel as though they have ownership of a target or a piece of that target belongs to them ( <a href="#">Avey, Avolio, Crossley, &amp; Luthans, 2009</a> )
Psychological safety	A belief that it is safe for interpersonal risk taking in a group setting ( <a href="#">Edmondson, 1999</a> )
Quality of care	Care that is safe, effective, timely, efficient, equitable, and patient-centered ( <a href="#">Institute of Medicine, 2001</a> )
Responsibility	Psychological glue that connects individuals who hold specific roles to a corresponding set of guidelines that establish the proper conduct or behaviors ( <a href="#">Schlenker, 1997</a> )
Speaking up	Explicitly communicating task-relevant observations, requesting clarification, or explicitly challenging or correcting a task-relevant decision or procedure ( <a href="#">Kolbe et al., 2012</a> ).
Stakeholder	Any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objectives ( <a href="#">Freeman, 1984</a> , p. 46)
Voice	The ways and means through which employees have a say in their organizations ( <a href="#">Klaas, Olson-Buchanan &amp; Ward, 2012</a> )

---

[Hirschman \(1970\)](#) defines voice as any effort to change “an objectionable state of affairs” (p. 30). In healthcare, no state of affairs is more objectionable than poor patient safety. Safety lapses represent the *third* leading cause of death, after heart disease and cancer, in the United States ([CDC, 2017](#)).<sup>1</sup> The lack of attention to patient safety produces between 200,000 and 400,000 premature deaths annually in the United States ([James, 2013](#)). Hence, improving patient safety is paramount for regulators, patients and their families, patient advocates, providers, and payers who bear the cost of safety lapses. By enacting voice, individuals challenge the status quo, provide information for others to make informed decisions, and stimulate changes to the way things are currently done ([Bashshur & Oc, 2015](#); [Van Dyne, Ang, & Botero, 2003](#)). Thus,

voice can play an important role to help healthcare organizations improve their patient safety outcomes.

The objectives of patient safety include the protection of patients from harm or injury as well as the prevention of near-misses and avoidable adverse events through HCPs working in collaborative teams (Kim, Lyder, McNeese-Smith, Leach, & Needleman, 2015). In clinical safety science, “near-misses” are procedural violations resulting from deviations in safe operating standards or rules in prescribing, dispensing, or administering medications, but are detected and corrected before actual harms to patients occur (Jeffs, Lingard, Berta, & Baker, 2012). An “adverse event,” on the other hand, is a deviation from safe practices that results in actual patient harm (Jeffs et al., 2012). HCPs include many kinds of physicians, nurses, and allied health professionals (e.g., clinical psychologists, dietitians, and social workers), working interdependently to provide care to patients. Being at the nexus of interpersonal relationships and the implementation of clinical procedures, HCPs can exercise voice to assist their employers (healthcare organizations) identify and prevent unsafe coworker behaviors and organizational processes (Okuyama, Wagner, & Bijnen, 2014; Sundqvist, Holmefur, Nilsson, & Anderzén-Carlsson, 2016).

Aside from the immediate costs of human pain and suffering, economic losses for the patient and healthcare organization are associated with unsafe practices and unnecessary diagnostics and treatments because of increased administrative expenses and legal liability. From the standpoint of HRM, losses in wages and productivity as well as diminished organizational reputation resulting from safety lapses can negatively affect talent recruitment, the efficacy of performance management programs, and compensation costs (Hoffmann, Morgeson, & Gerras, 2003). In short, improving patient safety through workplace voice is a critical organizational and human resource goal in healthcare organizations (World Health Organization (WHO), 2017).<sup>2</sup>

## *The Complexity of the Healthcare Setting*

In the constellation of service-based industries, healthcare is the most complex. Healthcare organizations require, for instance, certification by the government for its delivery of medical services through a complicated system of primary care physicians, emergency services, inpatient hospital care, diagnostic facilities, home health services, and a quality assurance and medical case management system.<sup>3</sup> Unlike other industries, consumers of healthcare – the patients – face information asymmetry and are in a weak bargaining position to voice their concerns to effect change relative to providers (i.e., healthcare organization) and payers (i.e., insurance companies). Patients differ from customers because unlike other types of consumers, they cannot withhold consumption of the healthcare services, but instead have to relinquish control over critical health decisions to their healthcare providers ([Mazurenko, Zemke, & Lefforge, 2016](#); [Torpie, 2014](#)). Hence, HCPs who apply their medical knowledge to advocate for patient safety recognize patient's rights, as a salient stakeholder group. This application of advocacy for a salient stakeholder is in line with studies on strategic human capital theory where employees who meet the needs of salient stakeholders help their organizations gain legitimacy and improve firm performance ([Grimpe, Kaiser, & Sofka, 2019](#)).

The contemporary healthcare system changes constantly because of the discovery of new therapies, invention of devices, and evolution of diseases, all of which increases the burden on the public purse. As a result, healthcare quality and delivery are under microscopic public scrutiny, which leads to frequent changes in regulations. In response, the [Institute of Medicine \(2001\)](#) recommends a framework for managing patient care that enhances safe, effective, timely, efficient, equitable, and patient-centered care. It posits that when patients take control of their own care processes, appropriate and more efficient delivery of care follows ([Michie, Miles, & Weinman, 2003](#)). However, the healthcare environment involves multiple stakeholders and a network of HCPs from multiple professions who provide patient care. Patients are not always in a



position to know or understand the care being offered. Patients and their family members who interact with or are enmeshed in this complex healthcare web are generally in a position of great vulnerability, stress, confusion, and anxiety. Not only are they confronted with a plethora of complex data about their illness, they also often lack the necessary knowledge required to navigate the complex system or understand the risks in their decisions. Thus, patients depend on HCPs to help them understand the critical information needed to make life-and-death decisions ([Mazurenko et al., 2016](#); [Sundqvist et al., 2016](#)). As a result, the role of HCPs expands to include advocacy for patients' rights in major health policies and the promotion of social justice in healthcare ([Bu & Jezewski, 2007](#); [Sethi, Obremsky, Sathiyakumar, Gill, & Mather, 2013](#)). Patient empowerment can only be achieved in part from having open and ongoing dialog with their HCPs ([Newell & Jordan, 2015](#)).

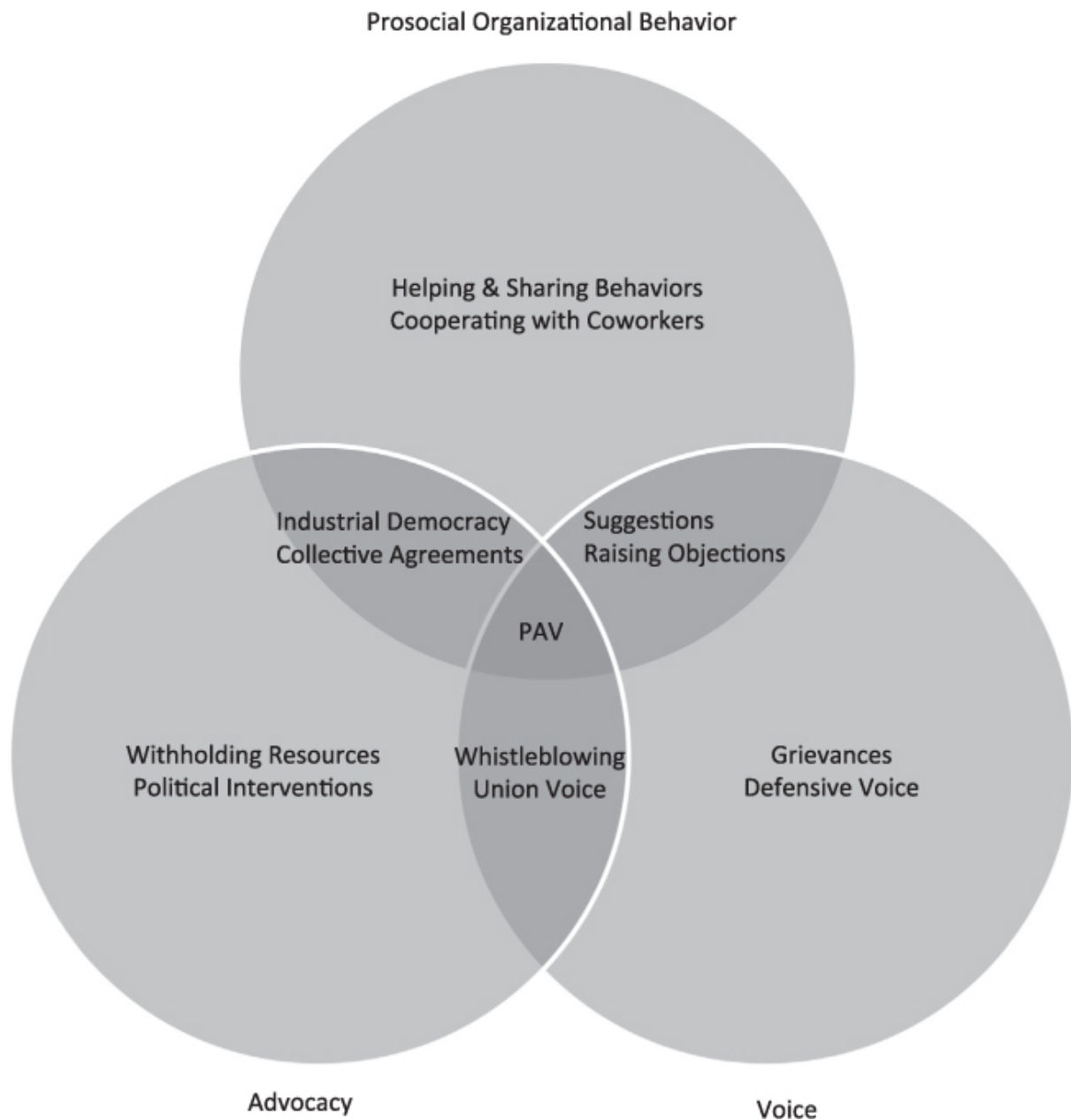
The role of an advocate includes communicating and expressing support to protect, comfort, and care ([Boyle, 2005](#)). In healthcare settings, an advocate is one who provides the patient with educational, relational, and psychological support such that the latter can make informed decisions about their choices of care ([Manaouil, Manaouil, & Jardé, 2012](#)). Specifically, patient advocacy includes three main elements: (1) protecting patients' rights to self-determination, which involves educating and providing information to foster informed decisions, such as the choice of treatment; (2) protecting patients by "speaking up" on their behalf when they cannot do so for themselves; and (3) championing social justice in healthcare ([Curtin, 1979](#); [Rainer, 2015](#)). Research shows that speaking up, which is verbalizing task-relevant observations, requesting clarification, or explicitly challenging or correcting a task-relevant decision or procedure ([Kolbe et al., 2012](#)), not only enhances patient safety but also enhances satisfaction of the one who voiced the concerns ([Garon, 2012](#); [Nouri & Rudd, 2015](#); [Schwappach & Gehring, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c](#)).

## *Patient Safety and PAV*

HCPs are in the best position to exercise prosocial voice to *advocate* on behalf of patients because of their formal roles as caregivers and their expertise in healthcare matters ([Whiting, Maynes, Podsakoff, & Podsakoff, 2012](#)). Although a substantial amount of research examines the interactions between the employee with her supervisor, work group, or organization, far less is written about voice *on behalf of third parties*. Yet, it is critical and necessary to fill this most important gap because the exercise of voice in healthcare organizations commonly differs from other settings as the objective and the target is to benefit the patient (the third party) who is a stakeholder of the organization, and not to benefit the person voicing the concern or complaining about a supervisor, work group, or organization ([Okuyama et al., 2014](#)). Hence, an opportunity arises to develop a theoretical framework for PAV in the context of an organizational member-stakeholder dynamic. We focus our framework on HCPs exercising PAV *on behalf of* patients to promote positive or prevent negative outcomes.

## **THE NOMOLOGICAL NETWORK OF THE PAV CONSTRUCT**

To illustrate the PAV construct in the hospital setting, the most common form of healthcare organization delivering acute care, we define it and briefly show how it fits into a nomological network of related constructs. We define PAV as prosocial voice behaviors, aimed at promoting constructive changes or preventing harm by advocating for the benefit of patients and their families, peers, and the community within the healthcare context. Hence, the PAV construct occupies the intersection of constructs related to prosocial organizational behavior, advocacy, and voice, as illustrated in [Fig. 1](#).



*Fig. 1.* Nomological Network for PAV Construct.

Prosocial organizational behaviors are positive promotive behaviors, such as helping, which that are performed by a social actor to promote the welfare of organizational members with whom he or she interacts while carrying out his or her organizational role (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986). PAV includes positive promotive behaviors but is only focused on voice behaviors. Thus, prosocial behaviors

such as sharing or cooperating with coworkers ([Brief & Motowidlo, 1986](#)) or participation in industrial democracy ([Wilkinson & Fay, 2011](#)) and collective agreements ([Morrison, 2011](#)), are excluded from the PAV construct, as they do not include voice. Moreover, the intended targets in PAV are wider compared to those in the prosocial organizational behavior construct. First, PAV behaviors include advocacy to benefit groups outside the organization with which the organization does not have direct or economics relationships but with which HCPs have relationships as members of their professional guilds. An HCP can partner with peers from other organizations to advocate for voice targets outside the HCP's organization. Second, PAV includes both positive promotive prosocial organizational behaviors *and* prohibitive voice behaviors to prevent harm. The latter dimension is not part of the prosocial behavior construct.

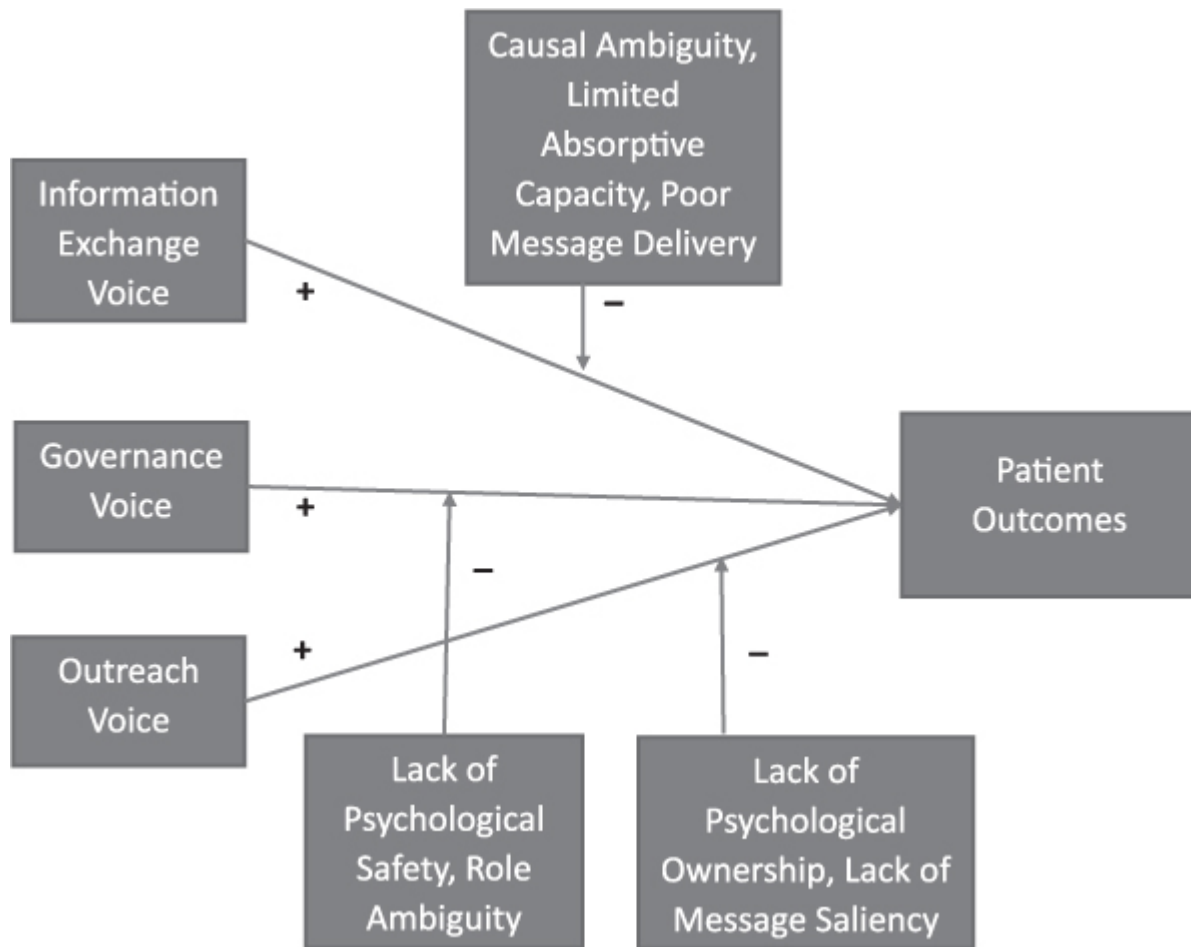
PAV is related to the voice construct but is more focused than the latter. Voice is defined as an expression of opinion, concerns, or ideas about issues, which include both promotive and prohibitive voice ([Liang, Farh, & Farh, 2012](#); [Van Dyne et al., 2003](#)). However, unlike general voice, which includes complaints, raising objections ([Brief & Motowidlo, 1986](#)), grievances ([Klaas et al., 2012](#)) or defensive self-protection voice ([Van Dyne et al., 2003](#)), PAV focuses on prosocial motives aimed at constructive change and improvement in interpersonal or organizational functioning even when no one is wronged or injured. Its focus is not to benefit the self but a third party, who may not even be an organizational member ([Klaas et al., 2012](#)). Also, unlike other voice constructs that focus on *upward* communication behaviors in supervisor–employee interactions and communications ([LePine & Van Dyne, 1998](#); [Van Dyne et al., 2003](#)), PAV includes *lateral* communication behaviors with coworkers, professional peers, and patients, which is specific to the healthcare context.

In the same vein, while PAV is related to the advocacy construct, which includes punitive or dysfunctional outcomes such as withholding resources, organizing disruptive protests, or triggering political interventions (see [Olsen, Sofka, & Grimpe, 2016](#) for examples), it is distinct from it. PAV is focused on individuals

advocating for the positive outcomes of others. HCPs in the healthcare context are held to codes of conduct that are dictated by the medical profession and the guilds of their specialties that constrain dysfunctional advocacy behaviors. Thus, the PAV construct excludes whistleblowing (Morrison, 2011), and in the case of nurses union voice (Wilkinson & Fay, 2011), who belong to professional guilds, such as those in the accounting, banking and finance, educational, and other industries that are highly regulated with external codes of conduct. Moreover, the level of task interdependence and shared responsibility required to achieve outcomes beyond what an individual alone can achieve means that advocacy through professional guilds supersedes the prosocial behaviors of individuals. Thus, PAV behaviors acting through advocacy groups using voice that are prosocial achieves such transcendent outcomes.

We offer three major contributions in this chapter, which provides future research opportunities for HRM scholars and practice guidelines for HRM professionals in the healthcare setting. First, we expand on the long-standing goal of HRM scholars to conduct research that enhances our understanding of individual well-being. In healthcare organizations, this means that we have to expand the view to include employees *and* patients. Thus, our model brings healthcare management to intersect with human resources management. Second, we highlight the importance of healthcare organization as a context in which applications of voice can be extended beyond procedural justice, the traditional domain of inquiry, to include responsibility, information processing, governance, and stakeholder theories. Third, we deepen current discussions of the managerial factors that drive patient safety and quality of care. Our model explores the contribution of PAV behaviors to patient well-being beyond the provision of clinical care that is embedded in the job roles and responsibilities of HCPs.

### *Boundaries of the Conceptual Model*



*Fig. 2.* Conceptual Model of PAV Behaviors in Healthcare.

A conceptual model is only as useful as its boundaries. To keep this chapter tractable, we focus on HCPs' PAV behaviors on behalf of *patients*, which are the supportive and constructive actions taken with a focus on others, as shown in Fig. 2 (Klaas et al., 2012; Maynes & Podsakoff, 2014; Van Dyne et al., 2003). Though important, we exclude discussions on (a) customer's (patients) voice on their own behalf, (b) employees' (HCP) voice on their own behalf, and (c) managers' voice on behalf of their organizations because these dyads have been extensively discussed in the literature. We also exclude prosocial advocacy on behalf of other vulnerable communities not related to the healthcare setting though similar arguments can be made there. Following Boswell, Settle, and

Dugdale (2015), we exclude the public's voice due to ambiguities in defining the "public" because many stakeholders (e.g., regulators, community activists, lobbyists, and politicians) who claim to represent the public may have conflicting goals and objectives for doing so. Similarly, we exclude discussions on employee-organization voice to avoid becoming overly broad in scope and unfocused as such discussions necessarily entail the organizational structure and work processes that influence HCPs' practices. Finally, we exclude whistleblowing because that act often results from "catastrophic" events or illegal activities (Firtko & Jackson, 2005; Lachman, 2008).

Instead, this chapter focuses on HCPs who voice concerns directly to a targeted third party (the patient, coworker, or profession) on poor care delivery and voice recommendations for improvement in contrast to voicing to complain a personal slight or to obtain a personal reward. In short, the objective of HCPs' PAV behaviors influences or improves patient outcomes. Raising concerns of suboptimal care and providing alternatives for improved care can save patients from harm and even save lives.

## **THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Research shows that voice increases employee morale, especially for those working in stressful roles (i.e., serving sick or dying patients), and is related to lower burnout and higher satisfaction (Locatelli & LaVela, 2015; Totman, Hundt, Wearn, Paul, & Johnson, 2011). The positive effects of voice on such outcomes come through the mechanism of procedural justice, which is the restoration of perceived fairness from a state of perceived inequitable treatment. For example, participants who have access to a grievance system or are allowed by organizational leaders to voice their concerns judge the decisions by leadership to be fairer, and, as a result, are more likely to remain with the organization (Olson-Buchanan, 1996; Price, Lavelle, Henley, Cocchiara, & Buchanan, 2006).

In this chapter, we draw from Schlenker's (1997) the theory of responsibility as the overarching basis for PAV, which we define as



prosocial voice behaviors, aimed at preventing harm or promoting constructive changes by advocating for the benefit of others. We integrate theories from information processing ([Galbraith, 1973](#)), accountability ([Schlenker, Britt, Pennington, Murphy, & Doherty, 1994](#)), and stakeholder ([Freeman, 1984](#)), to inform our model of PAV in the healthcare setting that improves health outcomes. [Schlenker \(1997\)](#) describes responsibility as the psychological glue that connects individuals who hold specific roles to a corresponding set of guidelines that establish the proper conduct or behaviors.

The exercise of voice is a dimension of work responsibility ([Tangirala, Kamdar, Venkataramani, & Parke, 2013](#)). Voice behaviors are expressions of change-oriented ideas and constructive suggestions motivated by desires to improve current work situations ([LePine & Van Dyne, 1998](#)). Voice is used to highlight practices that do not function in the workplace and links the individual's professional responsibility to the performance of job duties. Some areas in which voice is studied include facilitating continuous process improvement, preventing mistakes or errors, enhancing readiness for unexpected situations, and improving organizational performance (see [Tangirala et al., 2013](#) for a review).

Individuals with high felt responsibility exhibit more voice behaviors ([Morrison & Phelps, 1999](#)). [Morrison and Phelps \(1999\)](#) report that a strong sense of felt responsibility positively relates to greater efforts to initiate change in the workplace. Engaging in more PAV behaviors could also be a likely outcome of increased organizational embeddedness for four reasons. First, as employees become embedded in the organization, they are more likely to view themselves as core members with greater responsibilities to improve organizational performance. Second, embedded employees may be more motivated to engage in PAV behaviors to demonstrate their value to employers because they want their organizations to continue to thrive ([Ng & Feldman, 2007](#)). Third, embedded employees may be more able to voice valuable and practical suggestions to employers because they "know the system" and are more knowledgeable about work routines. Fourth, when employees are embedded in an organization's social network, they experience

greater psychological safety in speaking up because they expect to receive more social support from colleagues. Psychological safety, defined as a belief that it is safe for interpersonal risk taking in a group setting ([Edmondson, 1999](#)), often serves as a prerequisite for voice behavior ([Detert & Burris, 2007](#)). Hence, HCPs with higher levels of job embeddedness exercise more PAV behaviors out of a greater sense of responsibility despite the associated social risks.

HCPs exercise voice to bridge their professional and personal responsibilities in the workplace. Healthcare services are high risk, task interdependent, complex, and uncertain ([Hyde, Harris & Boaden, 2013](#)). The wide range of clinical conditions, which patients present, includes ambiguities inherent in diagnosis, and the frequent transitions of care between specialized HCPs place patients at risk for mishaps ([Blatt et al., 2006](#)). A necessary element to high standards of excellent care is professional responsibility. The professional responsibilities specified in the Physician's Charter and the Code of Ethics for nurses include a commitment to provide safe and competent care to protect the health, safety, and rights of patients as well as preserve their personal integrity and improve patient safety ([Lombarts, Plochg, Thompson, & Arah, 2014](#)). One element to the success or failure of professional responsibility depends on HCPs' exercising PAV behaviors to serve the interests of patient welfare.

Going beyond the provision of medical care, for instance, exercising PAV can positively affect health outcomes by closing the knowledge gaps of patients with information on self-care techniques. HCPs who exercise PAV behaviors provide patients with more personalized information with information that is understandable and easily acted upon. For example, PAV behaviors influence the way medical information is presented (e.g., in vernacular rather than specialist language) to help patients better understand their diagnoses and form the appropriate expectations of treatment options, care plans, diet, laboratory results, medications, follow ups, and so on. Information exchange voice includes one-on-one interactions, providing specialized information through counseling, teaching patients how access to their own health records, or

explaining how to navigate the non-clinical aspects of the healthcare system such as insurance rules and claims paperwork. Information exchange voice reduces confusing and conflicting information, provides a cushion against ambiguity, eases patient stress, and increases the patient's perceived preparedness and control over medical decisions ([Keeling, Khan, & Newholm, 2013](#)). The outcome for the patient is less fear, stress, disappointment, and greater psychological resiliency against the emotional effects of the disease. As a result, the patient is more likely to feel satisfied and empowered.

The healthcare industry is extremely dynamic because of the discovery of new diseases and innovations in diagnostics and treatments. Since healthcare services occur in work groups that require HCPs' cooperation and coordination, PAV behaviors through prohibitive voice can be one timely way to correct errors and mishaps due to lapses in judgment and frequent changes in team composition. PAV behaviors can identify operational problems sometimes overlooked by supervisors and provide constructive corrective solutions ([Graham & Van Dyne, 2006](#); [Morrison, 2011](#)). For example, in high-pressure work environments such as surgical theaters where multiple groups of professionals comprising the surgeon, anesthesia staff, and nurses provide care simultaneously, operating room nurses often exercise PAV behaviors for the anesthetized or "silent" patient through conversations with peers to ensure that the patient is not prematurely transferred to less intensive care settings because of pressures on bed capacity ([Munday et al., 2015](#)). PAV behaviors directed at helping the profession improve and adapt to new healthcare regulatory, technological, diagnosis, and treatment regimens places the patient as beneficiary squarely in the center of the prosocial context.

Thus, we posit the following. When applied to the *HCP-patient* interaction, the responsibility and information processing perspectives give rise to information exchange voice that advocates for patient access to their own health information, which in turn facilitates the latter's participation in decision-making regarding their own care. We define *information exchange voice* as proactively

providing unsolicited expert information to unapprised decision-makers to make informed decisions. When applied to the *HCP-coworker* interaction, the responsibility and accountability perspectives give rise to governance voice that supports the use of established evidence-based medical protocols and against non-compliant behaviors. Adapting from definitions in corporate governance (Hitt et al., 2003), we define *governance voice* as *expressing suggestions or concerns aimed at controlling and safeguarding the direction and performance of others*. When applied to the *HCP-profession* interaction, the responsibility and stakeholder perspectives give rise to outreach voice that expresses itself in lobbying for improvements in the healthcare system to benefit patients. Adapting from stakeholder theory, we define *outreach voice* as proactively providing a collective voice to stakeholders to benefit specific populations. The direct effects are discussed below.

We complete our model (Fig. 2) by suggesting moderating influences that amplify and buffer the effectiveness of PAV behaviors on patient-centered outcomes. In the next section, we explicate the theoretical basis for the role of voice in healthcare.

## **HCP–PATIENT VOICE MECHANISMS IN THE HEALTHCARE CONTEXT**

To keep the theoretical discussion of our model in Fig. 2 tractable, we divide it into three parts. Part A refers to the explanations by information process theory explanations for voice in the healthcare setting. Part B refers to the explanations by information exchange voice and its impact on patient outcomes, while Part C refers to moderators of the information exchange voice and patient outcomes relationship. A similar structure is followed in each of the following sections of the model.

### *Part A. Information Processing Theory in Healthcare*

In this section, we establish the theoretical basis for *P1*. Information processing theory explains how employee voice on behalf of patients and patient families improve patient outcomes. [Kanter \(1986\)](#) suggests that individuals become empowered with sufficient information to develop a frame of reference for understanding the likely impact of their decisions (i.e., able to “see the big picture”). Additionally, access to information facilitates self-efficacy ([Bandura, 1986](#)) and sense-making ([Weick, 1979](#)), especially during times of high uncertainty. The combination of knowledge and self-efficacy enhances an individual’s ability to make and influence decisions that are appropriately aligned with their personal goals ([Lawler, 1992](#)) and providing a sense of meaning and purpose ([Conger & Kanungo, 1988](#)). In contrast, the lack of information causes hesitation to act due to the fear of failure ([Spreitzer, 1996](#)).

[Galbraith’s \(1973\)](#) information processing theory helps us understand how HCPs use voice to benefit patients. Galbraith’s theory includes the concepts of information processing needs, information processing capability, and their optimal fit to enhance decision-making. Information processing needs include patients and their families’ needs to understand the ambiguity of the health crisis – such as the prognoses of the illness, treatment options and accessibility, treatment efficacy, and rehabilitation availability. Because they are the experts on the diagnosis and healthcare treatments ([Keeling et al., 2013](#)), HCPs serve as conduits through which high-quality information flows to patients to empower them. HCPs, who are inattentive to patients, create potential adverse events, for instance, if patients turn to the popular media or unverified sources for treatment options, where positive outcomes from such therapies tend to be inflated ([Madden, 2018](#)). The amount and richness of information that HCPs provide to patients and their families minimize the latter’s search costs and increase their information processing capability to make informed decisions, thereby enhancing patients’ empowerment.<sup>4</sup>

Inadequately prepared patients often experience elevated psychological distress, which often leads to lower treatment

compliance that compromises physical recovery and even survival. Non-adherence to treatment regime can increase healthcare costs associated with increased hospital admissions, doctor visits and longer hospital stays, and lower the quality of life ([Waller, Forshaw, Bryant, & Mair, 2014](#)). [Waller et al. \(2014\)](#), for example, reports that the proportion of cancer patients who receive insufficient information during treatment ranges from 11% to 97%. Patients report a range of unmet information needs such as how the treatment works, goals of treatment, schedule of treatment, effectiveness of the treatment for other patients, common side effects and coping with those side effects, and how the treatment may affect relationships with their family ([Halkett et al., 2010](#); [McCaughan & Thompson, 2000](#)). Similarly, surgical patients are often given limited information on postoperative pain (POP) because of the brief preoperative interview time. Consequently, patients have limited expectations of POP relief, are ignorant of the nature of pain, and are unaware of the latest treatment methods and their efficacy, which increase their preoperative anxiety, POP, and subsequent opioid consumption ([Mavridou, Manataki, Arnaoutoglou, & Damigos, 2017](#); [Sjöling, Nordahl, Olofsson, & Asplund, 2003](#)).

The way information about side effects is conveyed also influences patients' expectations. Evidence suggests that information conveyed in a negative tone increases negative expectations and can lead to increased occurrences and severity of side effects ([Waller et al., 2014](#)). For example, people who indicate that they would very likely experience severe nausea following chemotherapy are five times more likely to actually experience severe nausea in comparison to those who indicate very unlikely ([Roscoe et al., 2006](#)). Therefore, identifying patients vulnerable to negative emotional responses and providing concrete objective information is a useful first step to assist patients to avoid negative responses. Providing accurate preparatory information to patients prior to treatment helps to address unrealistic expectations about the benefits, risks, and potential outcomes of treatment ([Olver, 2005](#)). [Waller et al. \(2014\)](#) report that cancer patients who received appropriate preparatory information experience improved psychological outcomes including



reduced anxiety, depression, distress and improved mood and quality of life.

Similarly, individuals who receive information about pain and postoperative recovery pathways before the procedure experience less pain, require fewer analgesics, and have a shorter hospital stay than a control group ([Sjöling et al., 2003](#)). Specifically, information given to surgical patients enables them to play a role in their own pain management. When patients are taught how to manage their own pain by notifying the HCP early-on during a spike in pain, for example, prophylactic measures can be taken to prevent such peaks. Providing preoperative information to patients about POP not only decreases preoperative state anxiety, POP intensity, and analgesics consumption but also increases patients' satisfaction and contributes to faster recovery time ([Mavridou et al., 2017](#); [Sjöling et al., 2003](#)).

HCPs who actively communicate with patients about their care journey can positively impact quality by improving the latter's information processing needs to better understand her own condition ([Hsieh, Bruscella, Zanin, & Kramer, 2016](#)). Because there are usually multiple treatment pathways for a condition, HCPs who actively elicit patients' perspectives can help the latter, through strategic information sharing, develop an interpretive framework to better understand their conditions. Hence, HCPs can be a source of information to help guide patients think critically and be empowered to make informed decisions about their treatment pathways ([Hsieh et al., 2016](#)). Shared decision-making, which refers to providing balanced information so that patients and families understand their options and the tradeoffs involved, encourages patients to voice their preferences and values, and engages them in making appropriate decisions to improve the quality of care outcomes ([Newton, 2017](#)). In sum, when patients are given accurate and complete information about their disease course and treatment pathways, they are more likely to experience positive outcomes clinically and psychologically. The ways in which voice is related to the conveyance of information and its subsequent impact on health outcomes is explained in the next section in information exchange voice.



## *Part B. Information Exchange and Patient Outcomes*<sup>5</sup>

In healthcare, patients and their families often suffer from knowledge deficits when navigating the system of caregiving. In unanticipated acute illnesses, they seldom know the availability and effects of treatment options, hospital procedures, rehabilitation options, or questions to ask and when to ask them to make informed decisions. Research suggests that the resulting increased physical and mental stress of such a state can slow recovery or even complicate disease progression ([Cohen, Janicki-Deverts, & Miller, 2007](#)). Almost all heart failure patients and caregivers, for example, consistently describe the need for information on issues related to optimal activity level, the expected course of the illness, illness milestones, points at which they should be concerned, how patients' needs would change over time, and resources needed to address these issues ([Bekelman et al., 2011](#)). Care-seekers want HCPs who are sympathetic, attentive, provide explanations that are clear, accurate, understandable and free of jargon, and who involve them in decisions ([Slade, Molloy, & Keating, 2009](#)).

Frontline HCPs serve as important conduits of medical information to patients and their families who face knowledge deficiencies of their diseases and care pathways. Information exchange is the structured bidirectional transfer of data and its meaning between two or more parties. Information exchange voice bridges the gap between patient ignorance and provider organizations overwhelmed with delivering services. It ensures that patients who need high-quality information on treatment options are able to receive it in a timely manner ([Premkumar, Ramamurthy, & Saunders, 2005](#)). Thus, *information exchange voice* is advocacy for structured data sharing between patients and providers to ensure information integrity and comprehension.

In classic information processing theory, both senders and receivers of information must have a common understanding of the meaning and valence of the information transferred, which is why information exchange is usually conducted through structured protocols and defined message format. For example, when patients

are transferred between service providers (such as from the emergency department to the intensive-care unit (ICU)), specific data on the patient's present complaint, known comorbidities, and diagnostic results are conveyed in a structured way. Absent structured protocols, the receiver must have the knowledge and ability to process the information by the sender.<sup>6</sup>

[Tong et al. \(2008\)](#) reports that children with chronic kidney disease and their families face a lifetime of medical treatment and uncertainty because the disease is incurable. The care is complex and involves many medical specialties, often requiring multiple medications to be delivered subcutaneously or intravenously, and invasive procedures such as thrice-weekly hemodialysis for four to five hours or continuous peritoneal dialysis, and nutritional supplementation via enteral tubes and pump devices. The complicated maintenance routines can be daunting for parents and newly diagnosed patients. The lack of confidence in delivering care to a child and the pressure to exercise unwavering vigilance leads to fatigue and can create intrapersonal stress, anxiety, and emotional turmoil. The HCP who exercises information exchange voice is one who advocates for a structured program of information exchange between the parents and provider organization, with feedback loops to assess improvements in self-efficacy to care for their child.

In another example, [Gill et al. \(2016\)](#) describe the journey for patients undergoing care in the ICU and their families as shock and disorientation at the time of admission. Thereafter, they experience difficulties adjusting to invasive medical interventions, noisy monitoring equipment, and the alien culture of the ICU, in which providers talk with each other "in code." After discharge, the post-ICU experience is characterized by uncertainties about the long-term effects of the critical illness and treatments received. Patients and families often report inadequate preparation and anxiety over their physical, cognitive and mental health symptoms after returning home. In such a situation, the ability to make decisions about patient care is often diminished by the lack of information.

Information exchange voice calls for structured information and advice to be delivered by the HCP, so that patients and family are confident in knowing what to expect, when to seek assistance, and the questions to ask as they navigate the ICU journey and confront the long-term effects of the illness (Gill et al., 2016). We propose that voice positively influences patients and their families' psychological states, reduces the risks of adverse patient safety outcomes and improves future-oriented health-related patient behaviors.

*P1.* Information exchange voice positively and directly relates to patient-centered outcomes such as shorter hospital lengths of stay.

### *Part C. Moderators of Information Exchange Voice and Patient Outcomes*

In this section, we propose three moderators, Causal Ambiguity, Absorptive Capacity, and Information Delivery, to the relationship between information exchange voice and patient health outcomes.

#### *Causal Ambiguity*

Health crises are often complex and contextually dependent on the patient's situation and past experience. The degree of ambiguity or lack of clarity of the clinical situation mutes any effectiveness that voice engenders. Hence, causal ambiguity (Lippman & Rumelt, 1982) attenuates the relationship between HCP information exchange voice and patient outcomes. When ambiguous causality exists between the clinical pathway and health results, patients face problems of equivocality, which is defined as the problem of multiple and conflicting interpretations of information due to causal ambiguity (Daft & Weick, 1984). High equivocality leads to confusion so that information exchange voice does not improve patient satisfaction.

Moreover, treatments with side effects also involve interpretation and value judgments with their corresponding emotions regarding the acceptable levels of risks and tradeoffs, which will differ by individuals. In such circumstances, voice may be limited on its effects to reduce patient anxiety, perceived control, and other psychological benefits.

### *Absorptive Capacity*

The effectiveness of information exchange depends on the capacity of the receiver to accept and interpret the information conveyed. A patient's absorptive capability ([Cohen & Levinthal, 1990](#)) for medical information, which is the ability of an individual to assimilate and understand information, moderates the effectiveness of information exchange voice on patient outcomes. Many medical treatments and their efficacy involve high levels of complex information. The complexity of the health crisis affects the patient's ability to comprehend the interdependencies between the illness and treatment regimes. Patients often report understanding and retaining only about 50% of the information from their providers ([Kessels, 2003](#)). Individuals with lower health literacy (e.g., due to educational attainment) may not, however, understand care protocols ([Schillinger et al., 2003](#)). Health literacy is commonly defined as the degree to which individuals have the capacity to obtain, process and understand basic health information and services needed to make appropriate health decisions ([Harrington & Valerio, 2014](#)). Patients with limited health literacy are less likely to ask questions, seek information, process (i.e., remember) verbally communicated medication instructions, have less interest in shared health decision-making, and use information ineffectively ([Harrington & Valerio, 2014](#)). Thus, the effect of voice is likely muted when patient's absorptive capacity for information is low, because the patient cannot easily understand and synthesize the information provided to make informed decisions.

## *Information Delivery*

Information delivery also moderates the relationship between information exchange voice and patient outcomes. Specifically, the type of information and degree of repetitiveness of the message, the modality and context of the channel (e.g., personal encounters) and the specificity of the message influences patients' ability to understand and use health information. For example, face-to-face communication provides the opportunity for the HCP to clarify patients' concerns and beliefs, show empathy, and helps patients understand health information to make decisions, manage their illness, or navigate the healthcare system. These moderators increase patients' perception of provider attentiveness and increases their knowledge, engagement and feelings of empowerment to make decisions ([Nouri & Rudd, 2015](#)). Written information also assists patients in recalling information but not necessarily with the same degree of valency or affect as face-to-face communication. Written forms generally require higher literacy levels to access ([Waller et al., 2014](#)).

*P2. Causal ambiguity, limitations to absorptive capacity, and message delivery format weaken the effect of information exchange voice on patient-centered outcomes such as shorter hospital lengths of stay.*

## **HCP—COWORKER VOICE MECHANISMS IN THE HEALTHCARE CONTEXT**

While a large share of the voice research in healthcare is centered on the role of HCP voice directed at their patients, an equally important, though smaller share of the research focuses on the role of HCP voice directed at coworkers in service of patients. Called, "speaking up," this research is distinct from the research on workplace voice in service of one's self. It is related to but distinct from the research on whistleblowing, which takes on more

ethical/legal dimensions. Instead, this research focuses on how HCPs encourage each other by speaking up to improve quality and safe healthcare practices. Although this act sounds simple, it turns out that the ability and willingness to speak up cannot be taken for granted in such complex work environments as the healthcare setting. As with the previous section, this section is divided into three parts, namely: (A) accountability theory in the healthcare setting; (B) governance voice; and (C) moderators to the governance voice and patient outcomes relationship.

### *Part A. Accountability Theory in Healthcare*

Providing good care involves high reciprocal task interdependence where active coordination and cooperation among HCPs is essential to performing highly complex tasks with uncertain outcomes ([Hyde et al., 2013](#)). In such settings, multiple HCPs, who comprise doctors, nurses, and allied health professionals, such as pharmacists, therapists, medical technicians, and care coordinators, from a diverse array of disciplines, work interdependently to deliver care for the patient. This approach to interdisciplinary care results in multiple and frequent transitions of care for each patient, which places patients at a higher risk for a safety mishap during changes in team composition ([Blatt et al., 2006](#)). Accountability to other HCPs in this interdependent work setting renders coordination across the care continuum necessary to provide safe patient care ([Vogus & McClelland, 2016](#)).

Accountability is defined as “being answerable to stakeholders for performing up to certain prescribed standards, thereby fulfilling obligations, duties, expectations, and other charges” ([Schlenker et al., 1994](#), p. 634). To be accountable to others, individuals are first made aware of behavioral standards and then judged on their behaviors against these standards. They are rewarded or sanctioned based on a comparison between the behaviors exhibited and behavioral expectations ([Erdogan, Sparrowe, Liden, & Dunegan, 2004](#); [Frink & Klimoski, 2004](#)). Because HCPs work interdependently

with each other and are familiar with the task requirements to deliver patient-centered care, they can reliably observe and hold each other accountable. PAV behaviors to coworkers serve as monitoring and feedback mechanisms to manage governance and coordination as patients transition between care providers within and across subunits in a hospital. One way that voice is expressed with coworkers is speaking up ([Kolbe et al., 2012](#)).

Speaking up to coworkers includes questioning, correcting, or clarifying a current procedure ([Okuyama et al., 2014](#)). Speaking up provides a timely way to provide suggestions for improvement or corrections of emerging errors, mistakes, and mishaps due to lapses in judgment, coordination, or a lack of information. It is an important means to intercept the emergence of mistakes by interrupting an undesired chain of events that could lead to major harm. It can also change the status quo of unsafe working conditions by raising safety concerns or reporting dangerous working conditions to prevent potential injuries. In sum, speaking up brings unsafe work behaviors or practices to coworkers' attention to mitigate potential harm. In identifying and remedying flawed work practices, patient safety is enhanced, and the well-being of patients is promoted ([Okuyama et al., 2014](#)).

Speaking up is particularly crucial in cognitively challenging and dynamic contexts, such as the ICUs or emergency rooms, where judgment calls and rapid processing of incomplete information are required to make high risk decisions ([Kolbe et al., 2012](#)). For example, the labor and delivery setting is a high-pressure environment in which an obstetrical emergency can develop rapidly. Quick decisions are required; speaking up to inform or remind others of the availability or use of specific evidence-based procedures helps prevent adverse outcomes ([Mahlmeister, 2007](#)). Likewise, perianesthesia nurses could speak up to request surgeons or anesthesiologists to review patients' records before the surgical procedure to prevent wrong site surgery or medication allergies ([Windle, Mamaril, & Fossum, 2008](#)). Failure to speak up often contributes to medical errors. For example, [Rabøl et al. \(2011\)](#) report that 10 out of



84 adverse events in their study could be traced back to the failure to speak up.

Speaking up, especially to highlight departures from good practice, is a form of voice that supports governance in the workplace. Governance refers to incentives, monitoring mechanisms, and measurement systems designed to ensure actors' compliance with acceptable forms of behavior, so that the resulting performance outcomes do not vary from the goals. In the healthcare context, governance voice refers to speaking up in the context of the systems, procedures, and standards designed to support safe and high-quality patient care.

### *Part B. Governance Voice and Patient Outcomes*

Patient safety requires mutual accountability and shared responsibilities among HCPs to create and sustain reliable care. We translate [Schlenker \(1997\)](#)'s theory of responsibility for *event*, *prescription*, and *identity* into the healthcare context as follows. *Event* refers to the coworker behaviors that lead to safe patient care. *Prescription* refers to the situationally relevant HCP practice guidelines. For example, the Physician's Charter, which establishes doctors' professional responsibilities, includes specific commitments for safe and competent care ([ABIM Foundation. American Board of Internal Medicine, 2002](#)). In the case of nurses, the American Nurses Association's Code of Ethics for Nurses includes the statement for nurses to "be alert to and take appropriate action regarding any instances of incompetent, unethical, illegal, or impaired practice by any member of the healthcare team" ([Lombarts et al., 2014](#)). *Identity* refers to the HCP's professional obligations and accountability in their roles for commitments to the *prescriptions* (codes of conduct) and *events* (coworker behaviors to provide safe care).

Peer-to-peer accountability occurs when the HCP and coworkers uphold acceptable standards of patient care by speaking up and reciprocally receive and give feedback ([Lockett et al., 2015](#)). The

strength of an HCP's governance voice is determined by one's sense of felt obligation to the professional code of conduct, clarity of practice guidelines, and felt sense of personal control over coworker behaviors. It requires a commitment to be an advocate for patients even when it is inconvenient or uncomfortable (Chisholm, Cobb, Duke, McDuffie, & Kennedy, 2006). Hence, governance voice consists of two parts: *promotive* and *prohibitive*. The former includes expressions of encouragement to improve existing work practices and procedures to bring about a patient benefit while the latter includes expressions of discouragement so that existing or impending practices or behaviors that cause harm cease (Liang, Farh, & Farh, 2012).

Promotive governance voice is a form of prosocial organizational citizenship behavior in which employees speak up to make constructive suggestions for change (Lam & Mayer, 2014; Van Dyne et al., 1995, 2003). Promotive governance voice enhances HCPs' readiness to respond to unexpected situations and facilitates continuous process improvement to improve patient care. Coworkers give constructive opinions about work-related issues or behaviors to support or promote work processes or relationships to improve task performance (Mero, Guidice, & Werner, 2014; Van Dyne et al., 1995). It represents an exercise in personal responsibility at work because an employee must feel a professional responsibility for constructive change by communicating suggestions for organizational changes and continuous process improvement (Fuller, Marler, & Hester, 2006; Tangirala et al., 2013). High-quality health care can only occur with the continual questioning of taken-for-granted procedures and behaviors that put safety at risk under some circumstances (Martínez-Córcoles, Gracia, Tomás, & Peiró, 2014). Employees, who experience higher felt responsibility for constructive change, are more likely to perceive speaking up as a positive means of caring for their organization and see engagement in voice as being a "responsible citizen" of the organization. Such voice behaviors in team-based work settings provide the necessary feedback to HCPs to direct attention to critical issues. It positively influences organizational functioning because PAV that is

constructive and promotive identifies new or better ways of doing things (Van Dyne & LePine, 1998).

In contrast, prohibitive governance voice involves expressing concerns about harmful, wrongful, or failing work practices (Chamberlin, Newton, & LePine, 2017; Liang et al., 2012; Morrison, 2011). The content of such voice behaviors is problem-focused and avoidance oriented with the aim of correcting an inappropriate behavior or course of action (Kakkar, Tangirala, Srivastava, & Kamdar, 2016). It involves calling out problematic behaviors. It plays the role of holding employees accountable to vigilance in task behaviors prescribed in their job roles and performance standards (Lin & Johnson, 2015). For example, it may involve reminding coworkers to follow formalized checklists and protocols that guide best practices. Because HCPs work closely with others in the delivery of high task interdependent patient care with substantial overlaps in tasks and roles, HCPs who observe coworkers' deficient work behaviors can voice concerns and give feedback to correct deviations from protocol. The targets of prohibitive governance voice include mistakes (e.g., missed diagnoses, poor clinical judgment), lapses, rule breaking, or failure to follow standardized protocols and checklists of tasks and behaviors. Thus, upholding coworkers' accountability to violations of standards in their work roles through prohibitive governance voice should reduce adverse events.

In the HCP-coworker dyad, governance voice through promotive and prohibitive channels operate to continually improve patient-centered care, because each instance of care encounter is unique to the care context, time period, patient-HCP dyad or team, patient demographics and medical complaints, and selected treatment pathway. Hence, governance voice, a professional responsibility among team members to foster collaborative vigilance, is a dynamic (across context and time) construct. Encouraging team members to exercise governance voice by providing suggestions for improvement to coworkers or speaking up about wrongdoing improves patient safety because organizations can thereby change outdated or detect unsafe practices before they become embedded and routinized. Based on the above reasoning, we posit that the exercise of

governance voice is associated with better clinical outcomes such as fewer adverse events, lower unscheduled readmissions, and shorter lengths of hospital stay.

*P3.* Governance voice positively and directly relates to patient-centered outcomes such as shorter hospital lengths of stay.

### *Part C. Moderators to Governance Voice and Patient Outcomes*

In this section, we discuss the climate of psychological safety and role clarity as the moderators to governance voice. Organizational climate is defined as attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that describe life in an organization ([Schneider, 1975](#)). It provides a frame of reference through which individuals make sense of organizational life, molds attitudes, and shapes behaviors. Psychological safety is defined as a belief that it is safe for interpersonal risk taking in a group setting ([Edmondson, 1999](#)). Individual choices and behaviors are enacted within an organizational context. The ability of individuals to exercise voice is constrained by whether such actions are valued or accepted in the organizations they work. Organizational climate serves as the enabler (promotes) or disabler (prohibits) of certain behaviors. In climates that are perceived to be intolerant of criticism and dissent, employees learn to withhold information, not “rock the boat,” or not create conflicts ([Clapham & Cooper, 2005](#)). Conversely, in organizational climates that are perceived as nonpunitive and highly inclusive that encourage and promote organizational learning, higher speaking up and lower withholding voice frequencies can be expected as HCPs feel comfortable speaking up to foster a safety climate to prevent adverse outcomes ([Schwappach & Richard, 2018](#)). A climate of patient safety is a necessary condition for patient safety concerns to be heard and addressed in a timely manner by those in leadership positions. In departments where employees perceive a climate of employee autonomy, supervisor approachability, and learning,

employees are more willing to exercise promotive voice ([Sur, Schindler, Singh, Angelos, & Langerman, 2016](#)). Accordingly, we expect more voice in healthcare settings where the organizational climate promotes psychological safety and prioritize patient safety.<sup>7</sup>

In the “Silence Kills” study, junior physicians reported their beliefs that their silence may have contributed to adverse patient outcomes and regretted not voicing their concerns ([Maxfield et al., 2005](#)). They felt uncertain, however, about their role, knowledge they have vis-à-vis a senior physician, or the benefits they could contribute to the patient as a junior doctor, termed as perceived efficacy, in exercising promotive voice ([Wei, Zhang, & Chen, 2015](#)). Thus, the effectiveness of governance voice on patient outcomes is moderated by tradeoffs between the costs and benefits of speaking up that serve to guide the exercise of prohibitive or promotive voice respectively. Next, we explore these two factors that may moderate governance voice related to prohibitive and promotive voice.

### *Psychological Safety*

Speaking up is a dynamic social process in which team members must *feel* empowered to speak up without fear of put-downs or retribution ([Lyndon et al., 2015](#)). Voice is mediated by perceptions of psychological safety ([Detert & Burris, 2007](#); [Edmondson, 1999](#)). The perceived lack of psychological safety to speak up (e.g., fear of retaliation, breakdown in future work relationships others) when confronting questionable conduct and invoking the chain of command are often associated with some degree of trepidation or fear by a majority of HCPs. [Maxfield et al. \(2005\)](#) report that 85%–95% of the 1,700 respondents (nurses, physicians, and administrators) in their study were unable to speak up even when they observed that colleagues acted incompetently, broke rules (failure to follow clinical guidelines), or made mistakes. The fear of retaliation for voicing results in a “mum effect” ([Milliken, Morrison, & Hewlin, 2003](#)). The threat of isolation and corresponding fear of isolation exert to keep people from being open and honest about

their opinions, leading to a spiral of silence (i.e., [Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1985, 1991](#)).

A hierarchical relationship between subordinate and supervisor intensifies this “mum effect,” which attenuates voice in speaking up against a senior staff. [Siewert et al. \(2018\)](#) found that the most common human barriers to speaking up are the reluctance to challenge authority and fear of disrespect, which suggests that existing authority gradients interfere with full reporting of safety concerns. For example, differences in status, stemming from steep authority gradients and power differentials a healthcare organization’s hierarchical structure may be a reason for HCPs’ silence on safety. Junior doctors such as interns and residents are also less likely to speak up to an attending physician even when they perceived high potential patient harm because they fear negative evaluations ([Landgren, Alawadi, Douma, Thomas, & Etchegaray, 2016](#); [Martinez et al., 2017](#); [Okuyama et al., 2014](#)). Hence, nurses, compared to doctors, feel more discomfort speaking up and report a slightly lower likelihood of speaking up ([Ng et al., 2017](#)). However, an individual’s perceived power distance and supervisory delegation may influence the employee’s perceived efficacy of voice ([Wei et al., 2015](#)). For example, [Leroy et al. \(2012\)](#) found that when head nurses place a priority on patient safety, the number of treatment errors that are reported is high.

An individual’s value on harmony also influences the perceived social risk of voice ([Wei et al., 2015](#)). Individuals hold a general reluctance to convey negative information because of concerns for being viewed negatively, damaging valued relationships, and labeled as a messenger of bad news (also known as, “shooting the messenger”). Such fears are associated with silence because they want to avoid conflicts ([Clapham & Cooper, 2005](#)). Where work is performed interdependently, the potential fracturing of a social relationship or a fear of an erosion of trust between coworkers may be disincentives to voice ([Milliken et al., 2003](#); [Schwappach & Gehring, 2014a](#)). Relatedly, not knowing the coworker well increases the risks and potential costs of speaking up ([Schwappach & Gehring, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c](#)). In particular, where the infraction is deemed



to be minor (e.g., not washing hands) or difficult to prove, the anticipated negative consequences from damaged social relationships render speaking up more difficult ([Firth-Cozens, Firth & Booth, 2003](#)).

Furthermore, organizational cynicism could lead to silence ([Dean, Brandes & Dharwadkar, 1998](#)). Employees hold implicit theories about their leaders' reactions to speaking up, and these beliefs influence employees' willingness to speak up (Detert & Edmonson, 2011). Perceptions of a lack of social support in the organization can attenuate prohibitive governance voice. For instance, [Firth-Cozens et al. \(2003\)](#) report that HCPs do not report negative consequences because they "wouldn't have been listened to." In situations in which the HCP perceives an unsupportive environment for employee engagement or expects that decision-makers will not respond to suggestions that are voiced, little incentive exists to engage in promotive voice ([Near, Regh, Miceli & Van Scotter, 2004](#)). Promotive voice is also attenuated in healthcare organizations where work climates are not participative or focused on patient safety.

Conversely, individuals express promotive governance voice if they perceive that their positive suggestions are heard, recognized, and rewarded for speaking up on behalf of patients (i.e., positive perceived efficacy; [Wei et al., 2015](#)). Individuals are more likely to speak up when they believe that their position is supported by others ([Bowen & Blackmon, 2003](#); [Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2012](#)). Likewise, the theory of leader-member exchange (LMX) holds that the strength of the LMX influences employee voice behavior. High LMX relationships provide a supportive context for employees to speak up ([Davidson, Van Dyne, & Lin, 2017](#)). When employees perceive their supervisors as open to input, they are motivated to speak up ([Lebel, 2016](#)). In high-quality LMX relationships, subordinates hold greater trust in their supervisors and perceive little personal cost or risk in speaking up. LMX influences promotive voice behavior through psychological empowerment ([Wang, Gan, & Wu, 2016](#)). Empowerment is a psychological state in which individuals feel a sense of control in relation to their work due to increased feelings of self-determination and self-efficacy (Spritzer, 1996).



Perceived efficacy that one can bring positive outcomes for patients by speaking up moderates the extent to which an HCP exercises promotive voice ([Okuyama et al., 2014](#)).

### *Clarity of Roles*

In addition to the importance of psychological safety, role clarity for both employees and their coworkers is necessary for governance voice to work so that all staff are held accountable to performing their job tasks or exercising voice behaviors respectively. Employees accomplish their work by engaging in prescribed organizational roles ([Katz & Kahn, 1978](#)). When employees have clear job roles, a context emerges for coworkers to speak up when deficiencies exist with a goal to improving work performance. However, when role ambiguity is high, coworkers may be less certain about how promotive voice contributes consistently to constructive changes within the employee's role ([Fuller et al., 2006](#)). Additionally, individuals within organizations are frequently confronted with multiple, and sometimes competing, role expectations ([Hoffmann et al., 2003](#)). Conflicting role expectations can produce significant role ambiguity, resulting in unclear responsibilities. Uncertainty in work roles can lead coworkers to be uncertain if a breach of work behaviors in fact occurred. For example, the lack of protocols increases ambiguity for coworkers to exercise prohibitive voice as they could be wrong about the expected outcome ([Etchegaray et al., 2017](#)). Thus, coworkers may be reluctant to challenge the employee. A combination of the lack of role clarity and unclear protocols increase ambiguity in coworkers' exercise of responsibility to hold employees accountable to job tasks ([Schlenker, 1997](#)). In sum, role ambiguity negatively relates to coworkers' felt responsibility and acts to attenuate voice behaviors ([Schwappach & Gehring, 2014a](#)). Having explicit job descriptions and performance standards can improve role clarity to mitigate the reluctance of coworkers to engage in PAV behaviors.

From the perspective of coworkers, their failure to voice an error could indicate a failure to hold staff accountable to performing their job roles ([Martinez et al., 2017](#)). HCPs who do not understand the scope of their responsibility in exercising voice on service quality and patient safety outcomes are more likely to be silent. For HCPs to engage in voice behaviors, they may require some socialization activities to help them understand the contribution of that responsibility in achieving organizational objectives ([Fuller et al., 2006](#)). A lack of adequate role models may ill-equip an HCP in exercising their responsibility to provide promotive voice ([Martinez et al. 2017](#)). Moreover, the felt responsibility for coworkers to exercise prohibitive voice may be related to the perceived level of risk of the infraction to patient safety. For example, medication safety concerns are easier to voice because of the immediate risk to patient safety, whereas violations of hospital hygiene rules are more difficult to voice because of the relatively lower level of perceived risk. Therefore, the more that individuals recognize how voicing contributes to the success of the organization, the greater their feelings of responsibility to exercise voice behaviors as an organizational citizen ([Van Dyne, Graham, & Dienesch, 1994](#)).

*P4. Lack of psychological safety and role clarity weaken the effect of governance voice on patient-centered outcomes such as shorter hospital lengths of stay.*

## **HCP-PROFESSION VOICE MECHANISMS IN THE HEALTHCARE CONTEXT**

In this section, we discuss HCP-profession voice, which is the most novel part of our model, and it is the subject of much less theoretical and empirical research. Some of the citations below comes from research on the role and functioning of professional societies, unions, and nonprofit advocacy organizations. Although we characterize these organizations as channels for HCPs to express

patient advocacy voice as theoretically novel, we do so from the perspective of the voice literature. In practice, however, these professional medical societies traditionally encourage patient advocacy (unlike their social science and humanities counterparts, which are more member focused). The role of the individual HCP in expressing voice through the professional societies is, however, less well explored. Like previous sections, this section is divided into three parts comprising: (A) stakeholder theory; (B) outreach voice; and (C) moderators to the outreach voice and patient outcomes relationship.

### *Part A. Stakeholder Theory in Healthcare*

[Freeman \(1984\)](#) defines a stakeholder as “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objectives” (p. 46). Stakeholders include persons, groups, neighbors, organizations, and societies ([Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997](#)). In stakeholder theory, individuals hold themselves accountable to advance the interests and needs of their constituencies by representing them in policies or programs ([Freeman, 1984](#)). Stakeholder management is based on a moral foundation that respects people and their basic rights, integrity, fairness, freedom to choose, and assumption of responsibility for consequences to actions taken ([Freeman, Harrison, & Zyglidopoulos, 2018](#)). The heart of this theory is focused on noneconomic value and benefits associated with ethical issues, personal development, esteem, and happiness ([Freeman, Harrison & Wicks, 2007](#)).

From an organizational perspective, firms that give back to their community and take responsibility for the well-being of their stakeholders enjoy benefits from reciprocity, such as an enhanced reputation or influence, which will make them attractive to both existing and potential stakeholders from positive public opinion ([Fombrun, 1996](#); [Freeman et al., 2007, 2018](#)). Entities that possess attributes of power, legitimacy, or urgency of claims are identified and prioritized as salient stakeholders ([Mitchell et al., 1997](#)).

An example of a stakeholder partnership is an on-site HIV testing and counseling program at a men's club reported by [Woods et al. \(2008\)](#). While public health departments established testing programs to reduce HIV transmission among at-risk populations, the patrons and owners of the club also share a stake to improve their club's environment as a safe place to meet and socialize "...from a humanitarian ethic toward patrons, in addition to good business sense, i.e. the club had a good public image to maintain..." to support the voluntary counseling and testing (VCT) service at the club premises ([Woods et al., 2008](#), p. 254). The successful implementation of the VCT program requires commitment from all stakeholders comprising club owners, managers, staff, and patrons who participate in the program to demonstrate commitment to public health; HCPs and counselors who perform the tests and provide counseling; funders who provide financial backing for the project; and the local health department that develop, implement, and coordinate the program, secure funding, and train counselors. A result of this stakeholder partnership is that club patrons report comfort and convenience by having the VCT service at the club.

### *Part B. Outreach Voice and Patient Outcomes*

Membership in a profession, such as the American Nurses Association, the American Medical Association, or the American Psychiatric Association, protects members from external threats to legitimacy ([Chen & de Almeida Neto, 2007](#); [West, 2000](#)). Bridging individuals to a set of shared objectives heightens access to power, resources, and status. Within the HCP-profession dyad, outreach voice, defined as proactively providing a collective voice to stakeholders to benefit specific populations, serves as an ethical mechanism for changes in policy or the delivery of care. By exercising outreach voice, HCPs, who advocate for change through their professional medical societies or organizations, have greater visibility and power in their voice to influence the views and behaviors of others in support of their cause ([Gruen, 2008](#); [Maryland](#)

& Gonzalez, 2012; Sethi et al., 2013). For example, a campaign endorsement by the profession empowers outreach voice because what is said is legitimized by a collective (Nembhard, Labao, & Savage, 2015). For vulnerable patient populations, such as the elderly, disabled, those with chronic conditions who require ongoing monitoring and disease management, and those facing power asymmetry to access healthcare, HCPs exercising outreach voice can make a difference between patient suffering and well-being by championing for access as well as increasing participation in receiving care (Vrangbaek, 2015).

Outreach voice through issue selling, which involves actively convincing others such as stakeholders, to pay attention to and advance an issue to effect change, helps promote understanding for aims that are other-oriented (Grant, Parker & Collins, 2009; Morrison & Milliken, 2000). The channels through which HCPs provide outreach voice may include the political process, the academic process, or community-based events supported by the profession. In a survey of 1662 American doctors in six specialties, over 90% rated political involvement and community participation as important roles in collective advocacy (Gruen, Campbell, & Blumenthal, 2006). In testifying before regulatory agencies, HCPs can promote social, economic, educational, and political changes that ameliorate the suffering and threats to human health and well-being (Earnest, Wong, & Federico, 2010). In a similar vein, HCPs can influence health policy directions and dialog by developing position papers on issues such as patient safety (Matthews, 2012; Persaud, 2018) or by disseminating research findings on best care (Wischmeyer, 2008).

Through their professional societies, HCPs hold a responsibility to engage with external stakeholders to address the community's health needs (Ogden, Morrison & Hardee, 2014). Outreach voice may include health messages and educational initiatives for early detection screening and follow-up programs to improve quality of life in the community because of patient illiteracy in treatment options and prevention (Hoerger et al., 2011; Parker et al., 2016; Ragas et al., 2014; Shipley et al., 2005). Treatment literacy involves extending access to low-income or underserved communities who might

otherwise be excluded from access. Prevention literacy involves using a toolkit of biomedical, behavioral, and structural/environmental approaches to promote equity of access, community-based ownership, and multilevel support structures to enable usage and sustainability.

In sum, we believe that professional societies are an important “one-to-many” channel for HCP voice directed at patient wellbeing. Because professional societies enact their missions through outreach to members and stakeholders at large, they become powerful megaphones for the collective enactment of HCP voices. We posit that HCPs who exercise advocacy voice are associated with greater participation by the vulnerable patient populations in preventive medicine such as health screenings and lower emergency visits.

*P5. Outreach voice, through issue selling to stakeholders, positively and directly relates to patient-centered outcomes, such as shorter hospital lengths of stay.*

### *Part C. Moderators to Outreach Voice and Patient Outcomes*

The moderators that attenuate the effect of advocacy voice include a lack of psychological ownership for the target populations when they are not viewed as one’s patients ([Horwitz et al., 2009](#)). Psychological ownership is defined as a cognitive-affect state in which individuals feel as though they have ownership of a target or a piece of that target belongs to them ([Avey, Avolio, Crossley, & Luthans, 2009](#)). If specific patient populations do not fall within the purview of care by HCPs, the latter may not feel psychological ownership or attachment to the issue for these patients. For example, if the HCPs are orthopedic clinicians, they may not have high professional identification with a population of patients with chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, which is a respiratory disease, to feel efficacious about working outside of bone issues to make a significant and successful impact. Relatedly, having low self-efficacy at issue selling



may limit acceptance for psychological ownership. For example, not having personal knowledge about the issue may attenuate psychological ownership for the issue (Bergan & Risner, 2012).

In addition to the individual factors, structural factors may also weaken the strength of relationships between outreach voice and patient outcome. For example, one reason outreach voice is ineffective could be related to the lack of message saliency to stakeholders (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). When stakeholders face time pressure and competing demands for attention, they calculate the likely impact of their participation for change by evaluating the persuasiveness of the message appeal, its relevance, and the importance of their consequences (Bergan & Risner, 2012). For example, framing of the issue as potential gains or losses, lack of advertising or lacking a high-level leader to champion the issue may reduce the reference, exposure, duration, and status of the message in the minds of stakeholders, leading to low commitment and apathy toward the issue (Gittell, 2009; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Woods et al., 2008).

*P6. Lack of psychological ownership and the lack of message saliency to stakeholders weaken the relationship between outreach voice and patient outcomes such as shorter hospital length of stay.*

## **DISCUSSIONS**

Our model extends the voice construct beyond its usual focus on the self as target in the literature on personnel and HRM to a *third* party (patient and families) as the target. Our propositions identify key contextual (e.g., poor message delivery, lack message saliency) and individual factors (e.g., limited absorptive capacity, lack psychological safety) that affect the exercise of PAV behaviors in health care organization. In this chapter, we examine this phenomenon as part of a regular organizational process that the HCP enacts daily rather than as something less common (e.g., an employee leaving the



organization). Research in patient safety and quality show that employee voice through speaking up on the frontlines of care improves patient outcomes. The reduction of errors in healthcare depends, for example, on successfully enhancing a climate of psychological safety to disclose problems ([Edmondson, 1999](#)). Our propositions on the role of PAV behaviors advance a conceptual bridge to identify and fill gaps in our knowledge of HRM, health care management and perhaps management in general.

## **THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR HRM SCHOLARS**

In this chapter, we first integrate theories pertaining to responsibility, accountability, and stakeholder to the bifurcated voice construct of prohibitive and promotive voice. Second, we extend the application of voice to a third party (patient), which is our attempt to move beyond the self as the objective beneficiary of voice behaviors. Finally, by focusing on patient safety, we apply the construct of voice to the healthcare management domain, which is an area less commonly studied by HRM scholars. In short, our model represents an entry for HRM scholars into a potentially longer but more critical conversation on the role of voice in the healthcare context.

Frontline staff, such as medical residents and nurses, play a crucial role in providing patient-centered care in an increasingly complex environment of a hospital. Such individuals are often lower in the power and social hierarchy of the organization. Yet, they are best positioned to observe early signs of unsafe conditions and to bring them to the attention of the organization ([Okuyama et al., 2014](#)). HRM scholars might study how to establish these clear roles that provide the psychological safety needed by junior or lower status employees to exercise prohibitive voice when they see senior or higher-status coworkers exhibit safety lapses because such senior and higher-status individuals are first and foremost accountable to achieve patient-centered care. Hence, HCPs are encouraged to

report near-misses and adverse events by exercising prohibitive voice, and HRM scholars are encouraged to study how to make voice most likely to occur. On the other hand, codes of professional conduct give HCPs psychological empowerment to exercise promotive voice to make suggestions to improve coworker and organizational functioning as their professional responsibility. Enhanced accountability and responsibility have positive impacts on patient safety outcomes through prohibitive and promotive voice, respectively.

A conducive organizational structure, with anonymous reporting channels and positive support from top management for error reporting, can overcome a climate of silence. Understanding speaking-up behavior and its related factors can be useful in designing patient safety improvement initiatives that lead to more effective and sustainable behavioral change and safety improvement outcomes ([Okuyama et al., 2014](#)). We recommend that HRM scholars actively study how to avoid or overcome a climate of silence.

The perceived barriers to speaking up include concerns related to repercussion and social rejection as well as uncertainty on how to speak up ([Kolbe et al., 2012](#)). The former can be facilitated by giving medical professionals assistance to speak up through formalized error reporting channels while the latter could be improved by training and clarifying the procedure on how can speak up. Although our framework is largely descriptive, we note that exercising voice is a trainable skill. Healthcare organizations must provide training and guidance on how and when to voice safety concerns for voice to be effective, which may include training in diplomacy and communication style to choose the appropriate words and strategy based on the listeners' styles and personalities ([Kolbe et al., 2012](#)). Specifically, HRM scholars should develop and content validate such training programs, assess their efficacy and add improvements; HRM practitioners might lead these programs.

In terms of how our model can be tested, we note that well-established and valid scales operationalize the voice construct in the existing literature. Therefore, another way HRM scholars can make

an immediate improvement to theory and research is to develop and validate the measures of voice and add them to the annual Hospital Survey on Patient Safety Survey by the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (AHRQ) from the Department for Health and Human Services. Currently, such major, annual and publicly sponsored surveys constitute the major sources of data for researchers, but the measures of voice are confined to enumerating the number of incidences. We believe that our more sophisticated and theoretically robust approach should include intensity measures of the exercise of voice as well. Understanding that voice is not uniformly exercised throughout the organization and measuring the intensity of voice should better evaluate efforts to improve patient safety in hospitals. In our view, HRM scholars should play a major role in such research.

In this chapter, we also propose several ways one can define voice, and the various channels through which voice operates ([Fig. 2](#)). A target for future research is the development of scales that can discriminate the various expressions of voice, because they are not the same and originate in different ways. Our paper can guide such efforts.

## **MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE HRM FUNCTION**

Our chapter offers a meaningful contribution to managerial practice because it is phenomenon-based. Understanding voice behaviors and its related factors are useful when designing and implementing patient safety initiatives ([Okuyama et al., 2014](#)). Individual health care professionals (HCP) cannot act alone. Human Resource Professionals (HRPs) must partner with the HCP to create an organizational culture that is conducive to such voice. Successful voice requires, for instance, an institutional context that is conducive to dialog and reflection. Otherwise, voice can devolve into fault-finding and retaliation. In a supportive environment, HCPs should

exercise information exchange voice to improve patient and their families' knowledge of their health issues. When doctors, nurses and other HCPs are encouraged to participate in such exchanges (e.g., such as the online [patientslikeme.com](https://patientslikeme.com)®), they contribute to the openness their patients feel about the HCPs' willingness to share information. In turn, sharing of information leads patients to better informed decisions, lower stress, and increase perceived preparedness and control over their health. In our view, separately the HCP and HRP do not have knowledge or skills to create, maintain, and manage such an organizational culture; together, however, they do.

### *Leadership Matters*

Leadership support for the role of patient advocate is essential to create a patient safety climate that gives HCPs psychological safety to raise concerns to benefit patients ([Schwappach & Richard, 2018](#)). A climate of leader openness, respect, and learning fosters governance voice ([Sur et al., 2016](#)). For example, healthcare organizations employ nonpunitive discussions in confidential settings, known as mortality and morbidity (M&M) rounds, as part of regular workflow activities to improve patient care. M&M rounds are designed to re-examine clinical decisions involving specific cases that did not turn out well. This learning process can be extended to questions of patient safety and quality. HCPs can select patient cases that are relevant to quality, not just clinical, outcomes to create a safe, learning oriented environment in which voice behaviors are encouraged and supported. Via executive coaching, the HRP can enhance the effectiveness of the leader and HCP.

Governance voice, a leadership function, is enhanced in a healthcare organization with a supportive, participative, patient-centered safety-focused climate. A positive patient safety climate supports speaking up as the right thing to do. HCP's sense of empowerment and trust encourage voice behaviors as team members value each other's concerns ([Jones & Kelly, 2014](#)).

Individuals likely engage in voice behaviors when the strength of the organization's justice and/or patient safety climates are high but are less likely to engage when the silence climate is high ([Karassavidou, Glaveli & Zafiropoulos, 2011](#)). In sum, a positive patient safety culture and climate leads to safer and higher quality care by enhancing psychological safety and empowering individuals through training to understand their job roles and responsibilities as well as provide nonpunitive opportunities to enact voice behaviors.

Training and guidance on how and when to effectively voice concerns may include situational awareness and anticipation or preparedness, for instance: (a) learning diplomacy and communication styles in order to choose the appropriate words and strategy based on the listener ([Kolbe et al., 2012](#)); (b) teaching HCPs how to speak up through Team Strategies and Tools to Enhance Performance and Patient Safety (TeamSTEPPS) ([AHRQ, 2006](#)); (c) using CUS, which stands for "I'm **c**oncerned, I'm **u**ncomfortable, this is unsafe, or I'm **s**cared" to express concern; and (d) enacting how to speak up and respond directly to safety concerns with the 2-challenge rule (in which a HCP must stop all activities if she is challenged twice on the conduct of a protocol). Further, fuller briefings during shift changes or actual "shift change reports" can minimize the likelihood and/or the anticipation of negative events. Clearly, expertise on "voice training and guidance" falls directly into the HRM function, and HRPs should participate in its development, maintenance and management.

The healthcare organization could also establish, for instance, clinical guidelines as well as an organizational ethical code, which enhances role clarity for PAV behaviors ([Clapham & Cooper, 2005](#)). Coupled with valid and transparent data on actual adverse events, interventions aimed at resolving such events, and incentives to lessen and sanctions on adverse events ([Pronovost, 2010](#)), HCPs are more likely to report wrongdoing and view reporting of near-misses and adverse events as a part of their professional duty. Since frontline staff, such as medical residents and nurses, are well positioned to observe early signs of unsafe conditions in care delivery and bring them to the attention of the organization

([Okuyama et al., 2014](#)), governance voice in such situations can ultimately lead to fewer adverse events and improve clinical outcomes.

Employees can be empowered to exercise PAV if the organization provides codes of ethics and training programs to enable them to know when they can exercise voice behaviors ([Clapham & Cooper, 2005](#)). Psychological empowerment gives employees a high level of autonomy and control over their work as well as a clear sense of responsibility and the means of fulfilling them ([Hall, 2008](#); [Tangirala & Ramanujam, 2008](#)). Such individuals believe they have a greater influence on their work and perceive that their professional responsibility is to improve their work situations. Thus, they are more likely to use voice behaviors because they perceive that such self-determined behavior is an integral part of who they are ([Wang et al., 2016](#)). Enablers to speak up include training in communication skills and assertiveness to speak up about patient safety issues, rubrics on protocols (e.g., such as evidence-based medical practices), and certainty about the consequences of speaking up (e.g., rewards) to improve the HCP's ability to intervene in a positive manner ([Mahlmeister, 2007](#); [Schwappach & Gehring, 2015](#)). Once again, we believe that expertise on "voice enablers" falls directly into the HRM function, and HRPs should participate in the development, maintenance and management these enablers.

Psychological safety is a key ingredient in the exercise of governance voice. When HCPs believe that coworkers will not embarrass or reject them for sharing insights and ideas that may deviate from the team's actions, the likelihood of speaking up increases by feeling higher levels of psychological safety ([Edmondson, 1999](#)). Psychological safety promotes voice because it ameliorates concerns regarding embarrassment or threat following voice. Psychological safety can be engendered or attenuated by an organization's structure, policies, or practices. Voice is most often exercised when top leadership supports a strong organizational culture and climate for patient safety. Top management has the power to encourage or impede effective prohibitive voice by creating a safe reporting structure such as anonymous hotlines and



establishing clinical guidelines in performance assessment to reduce the burden and effort to report or providing incentives to increase the perceived benefits to report ([Pronovost, 2010](#)). Understanding the sources of psychological safety helps identify appropriate actions to remedy this silence.

Finally, HCPs can exercise voice in their professional associations to reduce the power difference with vulnerable patient populations. Professional communities of practice can leverage the power and resource base of the network and make information available about community-based services. For example, senior centers, health and wellness classes, and places to be physically active can be aligned with the principle of care coordination. The net result is improved health of community members by engaging advocacy voice ([Van Berckelaer et al., 2012](#)). By framing an issue as a “moral cause” to promote patients’ access and improved clinical outcomes, the likelihood of acceptance and support increases. We suggest that the HCP holds an ethical duty to champion for patients’ access to care through external stakeholders. Furthermore, the healthcare sector faces challenges as a result of aging populations, medical advancements, policy reform fueled by the rising costs, relative declines in state funding, and shifts from state-sponsored care systems toward market-driven and client satisfaction-oriented regimes (see [Cooke & Bartram, 2015](#)). Those who work in this sector must play a crucial role in this changing and increasingly complex set of institutional and cultural contexts not only in contributing to the reforms and well-being of the larger community but also in building a resilient, productive and patient-centered healthcare workforce ([Hoffmann et al., 2003](#)).

## **CONCLUSION**

We present a model of PAV in the healthcare setting from three angles – patients, coworkers, and members of one’s profession through information exchange voice, governance voice, and outreach voice respectively. What is different about this chapter,



relative to the extant literature, is that the latter generally focuses on the self as the object and the supervisor or the organizational unit as the target. We offer a framework in which employee voice is exercised on behalf of a third party (the patient). We propose responsibility theory as the theoretical foundation in which PAV behaviors are exercised in concert with information processing theory to provide information exchange voice, accountability theory to provide governance voice, and stakeholder theory to provide outreach voice. The patient-centered outcomes include reduced stress, increased perceived preparedness and control over healthcare decisions when information exchange voice is exercised with patients, lower unscheduled readmissions, shorter lengths of hospital stay and fewer near-misses and adverse events when governance voice is exercised with coworkers, and more health screenings and reduced unscheduled emergency department visits when outreach voice is exercised with members of the profession for the benefit of the community. As we have repeatedly suggested, the HRM scholar and practitioner have much to offer to the enactment of voice.

Since the healthcare sector continues to grow at a much faster rate than other sectors in the United States and global economy, understanding the factors that improve talent acquisition and management is critical to ensuring maximum efficiency and effectiveness in that sector. As well, HRPs in other sectors are highly likely to have to interact with HCPs as providers of the benefits accorded to them. As such, understanding the roles played by HCPs may enable HRPs to operate more strategically and productively on behalf of their organizations.

Lessons from understanding the role that PAV plays in healthcare organizations can potentially be generalized to the roles of HRPs in healthcare and other service-based organizations. Like HCPs, HRPs operate at the nexus of interdependent relationships. They act as intermediaries of the organization's employees, managers, and other HRPs through their guilds such as the Society of Human Resource Management. As strategic intermediaries, HRPs can utilize concepts from PAV to understand how responsibility, accountability,

information processing, and governance can benefit employees, and other members of their profession in a positive way.

In conclusion, we sought to expand the meaning of employee voice by drawing attention to the health care context and redirecting the target of voice to the patient by exploring the roles of information exchange, governance and advocacy voice. In doing so, we hope to encourage HRM and other management scholars to deepen their theorizing on voice, its correlates, and possible second order targets of voice (targets besides the self, and immediate others in the organization) that have hitherto been under-explored in the literature.

## NOTES

1. <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/fastats/deaths.htm> Accessed September 14, 2018
2. <http://www.who.int/patientsafety/en/> Accessed January 1, 2019
3. <https://www.dir.ca.gov/DWC/HCO.htm>. Accessed, November 15, 2018
4. The second author was considering two treatment options, one novel and both with more than minimal risk, being offered by different providers. His attending physician, who was an expert on his condition offered a third opinion, which heavily influenced the author's ultimate choice.
5. The discussion in this section is derived from existing literature, contextualized by the personal experiences of all three authors on this article, who have experienced acute health crises necessitating extended hospital stays; in one instance in a medical ICU.
6. For example, in a recent encounter, an attending physician for the second author discussed the latest scientific research on his condition as a way to explain the standard of care. The depth of discussion was meaningful only because the author revealed a demonstrably high level of knowledge in statistics.
7. <https://www.ahrq.gov/professionals/quality-patient-safety/cusp/clabsi-final-companion/clabsicomp5a.html> (Accessed on June 4, 2019).

## REFERENCES

- ABIM Foundation. American Board of Internal Medicine. (2002). Medical professionalism in the new millennium: A physician charter. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 136, 243–246.
- Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (AHRQ). (2006). *TeamSTEPPS® Guide to Action: Creating a Safety Net for your Healthcare Organization*. AHRQ Publication No. 06-0020-4. Rockville, MD: AHRQ.
- Avey, J. B., Avolio, B. J., Crossley, C. D., & Luthans, F. (2009). Psychological ownership: Theoretical extensions, measurement and relation to work outcomes. *Journal of*

*Organizational Behavior*, 30, 173–191.

- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bashshur, M. R. & Oc, B. (2015). When voice matters: A multilevel review of the impact of voice in organizations. *Journal of Management*, 41(5), 1530–1554.
- Bekelman, D. B., Nowels, C. T., Retrum, J. H., Allen, L. A., Shakar, S., Hutt, E., ... Kutner, J. S. (2011). Giving voice to patients' and family caregivers' needs in chronic heart failure: Implications for palliative care programs. *Journal of Palliative Medicine*, 14(12), 1317–1324.
- Bergan, D. & Risner, G. (2012). The power of citizen-group public-policy advertising: Messages don't need third-party validation to increase salience among pockets of voters. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 52(4), 405–420.
- Blatt, R., Christianson, M. K., Sutcliffe, K. M., & Rosenthal, M. M. (2006). A sensemaking lens on reliability. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27, 897–917.
- Boswell, J., Settle, C., & Dugdale, A. (2015). Who speaks, and in what voice? The challenge of engaging 'the public' in health policy decision-making. *Public Management Review*, 17(9), 1358–1374.
- Bowen, F. & Blackmon, K. (2003). Spirals of silence: The dynamic effects of diversity on organizational voice. *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(6), 1393–1417.
- Boyle, H. J. (2005). Patient advocacy in the perioperative setting. *AORN journal*, 82, 250–262.
- Brief, A. P. & Motowidlo, S. J. (1986). Prosocial organizational behaviors. *Academy of Management Review*, 11(4), 710–725.
- Bu, X. & Jezewski, M. A. (2007). Developing a mid-range theory of patient advocacy through concept analysis. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 57(1), 101–110.
- CDC. (2017). Deaths and mortality. Retrieved from <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/fastats/deaths.htm>
- Chamberlin, M., Newton, D. W., & Lepine, J. A. (2017). A meta-analysis of voice and its promotive and prohibitive forms: Identification of key associations, distinctions, and future research directions. *Personnel Psychology*, 70(1), 11–71.
- Chen, T. F., & de Almeida Neto, A. C. (2007). Exploring elements of interprofessional collaboration between pharmacists and physicians in medication review. *Pharmacy World & Science*, 29, 574–576.
- Chisholm, M. A., Cobb, H., Duke, L., McDuffie, C., & Kennedy, W. K. (2006). Development of an instrument to measure professionalism. *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education*, 70(4), 1–6.
- Clapham, S. E., & Cooper, R. W. (2005). Factors of employees' effective voice in corporate governance. *Journal of Management & Governance*, 9, 287–313.
- Cohen, S., Janicki-Deverts, D., & Miller, G. E. (2007). Psychological stress and disease. *JAMA*, 298(14), 1685–1687.
- Cohen, W. M., & Levinthal, D. A. (1990). Absorptive capacity: A new perspective on learning and innovation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35, 128–152.
- Conger, J. A., & Kanungo, R. N. (1988). The empowerment process: Integrating theory and practice. *Academy of Management Review*, 13, 471–482.
- Cooke, F. L., & Bartram, T. (2015) Human resource management in health care and elderly care: Current challenges and toward a research agenda. *Human Resource Management*, 54(5), 711–735.

- Curtin, L. L. (1979). The nurse as advocate: A philosophical foundation for nursing. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 1(3), 1–10.
- Daft, R. L., & Weick, K. E. (1984). Toward a model of organizations as interpretation systems. *Academy of Management Review*, 9(2), 284–295.
- Davidson, T., Van Dyne, L., & Lin, B. (2017). Too attached to speak up? It depends: How supervisor–subordinate guanxi and perceived job control influence upward constructive voice. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 143, 39–53.
- Dean, J. W., Brandes, P., & Dharwadkar, R. (1998) Organizational cynicism. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(2), 341–352.
- Detert, J. R., & Burris, E. R. (2007). Leadership behavior and employee voice: Is the door really open? *Academy of Management Journal*, 50, 869–884.
- Detert, J. R., & Edmondson, A. C. (2011). Implicit voice theories: Taken-for-granted rules of self-censorship at work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 54(3), 461–488.
- Earnest, M. A., Wong, S. L., & Federico, S. G. (2010). Physician advocacy: What is it and how do we do it? *Academic Medicine*, 85, 63–67.
- Edmondson, A. (1999). Psychological safety and learning behavior in work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44, 350–383.
- Erdogan, B., Sparrowe, R. T., Liden, R. C., & Dunegan, K. J. (2004). Implications of organizational exchanges for accountability theory. *Human Resource Management Review*, 14(1), 19–45.
- Etchegaray, J. M., Ottosen, M. J., Dancsak, T., & Thomas, E. J. (2017). Barriers to speaking up about patient safety concerns. *Journal of Patient Safety*. doi: 10.1097/PTS.0000000000000334. Published online ahead of print.
- Firth-Cozens, J., Firth, R. A., & Booth, S. (2003). Attitudes to and experiences of reporting poor care. *Clinical Governance: An International Journal*, 8(4), 331–336.
- Firtko, A., & Jackson, D. (2005). Do the ends justify the means? Nursing and the dilemma of whistleblowing. *Australian Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 23(1), 51–56.
- Fombrun, C. J. (1996). *Reputation: Realizing Value from the Corporate Image*. Brighton, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. Boston, MA: Pitman.
- Freeman, R. E., Harrison, J. S., & Wicks, A. C. (2007). *Managing for Stakeholders: Survival, Reputation, and Success*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Freeman, R. E., Harrison, J. S., & Zyglidopoulos, S. (2018). *Stakeholder Theory: Concepts and Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frink, D. D., & Klimoski, R. J. (2004). Advancing accountability theory and practice: Introduction to the human resource management review special edition. *Human resource management review*, 14(1), 1–17.
- Fuller, J. B., Marler, L. E., & Hester, K. (2006). Promoting felt responsibility for constructive change and proactive behavior: Exploring aspects of an elaborated model of work design. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27, 1089–1120.
- Galbraith, J. (1973). *Designing Complex Organizations*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Garon, M. (2012). Speaking up, being heard: Registered nurses' perceptions of workplace communication. *Journal of Nursing Management*, 20(3), 361–371.
- Gill, M., Bagshaw, S. M., McKenzie, E., Oxland, P., Oswell, D., Boulton, D., ... Critical Care Strategic Clinical Network. (2016). Patient and family member-led research in the

- intensive care unit: A novel approach to patient-centered research. *PLOS ONE*, 11(8), e0160947. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0160947
- Gittell, J. H. (2009). *High performance healthcare: Using the power of relationships to achieve quality, efficiency and resilience*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Graham, J. W., & Van Dyne, L. (2006). Gathering information and exercising influence: Two forms of civic virtue organizational citizenship behavior. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 18(2), 89–109.
- Grant, A. M., Parker, S., & Collins, C. (2009) Getting credit for proactive behavior: Supervisor reactions depend on what you value and how you feel. *Personnel Psychology*, 62, 31–55.
- Grimpe, C., Kaiser, U., & Sofka, W. (2019). Signaling valuable human capital: Advocacy group work experience and its effect on employee pay in innovative firms. *Strategic Management Journal*, 40, 685–710.
- Gruen, R. L. (2008). Evidence-based advocacy: The public roles of health care professionals. *Medical Journal of Australia*, 188(12), 684–685.
- Gruen, R. L., Campbell, E. G., & Blumenthal, D. (2006). Public roles of US physicians: Community participation, political involvement, and collective advocacy. *JAMA*, 296(20), 2467–2475.
- Halkett, G. K. B., Kristjanson, L. J., Lobb, E., O'Driscoll, C., Taylor, M., & Spry, N. (2010). Meeting breast cancer patients' information needs during radiotherapy: What can we do to improve the information and support that is currently provided? *European Journal of Cancer Care*, 19(4), 538–547.
- Hall, M. (2008). The effect of comprehensive performance measurement systems on role clarity, psychological empowerment and managerial performance. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 33(2-3), 141–163.
- Harrington, K. F., & Valerio, M. A. (2014). A conceptual model of verbal exchange health literacy. *Patient Education and Counseling*, 94(3), 403–410.
- Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hitt, M. A., Ireland, R. D., & Hoskisson, R. (2003). *Strategic Management: Competitiveness and Globalization*. Mason, Ohio: Thomson/South-Western.
- Hoerger, T. J., Ekwueme, D. U., Miller, J. W., Uzunangelov, V., Hall, I. J., Segel, J., ... Li, C. (2011). Estimated effects of the National Breast and Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program on breast cancer mortality. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 40(4), 397–404.
- Hoffmann, D. A., Morgeson, F. P., & Gerrass, S. J. (2003). Climate as a moderator of the relationship between leader-member exchange and content specific citizenship: Safety climate as an exemplar. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(1), 170–178.
- Horwitz, L. I., Meredith, T., Schuur, J. D., Shah, N. R., Kulkarni, R. G., & Jenq, G. Y. (2009). Dropping the baton: A qualitative analysis of failures during the transition from emergency department to inpatient care. *Annals of Emergency Medicine*, 53, 701–710.
- Hsieh, E., Bruscella, J., Zanin, A., & Kramer, E. M. (2016). "It's not like you need to live 10 or 20 years": Challenges to patient-centered care in gynecologic oncologist–patient interactions. *Qualitative Health Research*, 26(9), 1191–1202.
- Hyde, P., Harris, C., & Boaden, R. (2013) Pro-social organizational behavior of health care workers. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 24(16), 3115–3130.

- Institute of Medicine. (2001). *Crossing the quality chasm: A new health system for the 21st century*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- James, J. T. (2013). A new, evidence-based estimate of patient harms associated with hospital care. *Journal of Patient Safety*, 9(3), 122–128.
- Jeffs, L. P., Lingard, L., Berta, W., & Baker, G. R. (2012). Catching and correcting near misses: The collective vigilance and individual accountability trade-off. *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, 26, 121–126.
- Jones, A., & Kelly, D. (2014). Deafening silence? Time to reconsider whether organisations are silent or deaf when things go wrong. *BMJ Qual Saf*, 23(9), 709–713.
- Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica*, 47(2), 263–291.
- Kakkar, H., Tangirala, S., Srivastava, N. K., & Kamdar, D. (2016). The dispositional antecedents of promotive and prohibitive voice. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 101(9), 1342–1351.
- Kanter, R. M. (1986, February 5–6) Empowering people to act on ideas. *Executive Excellence*, 2, 5–6.
- Karassavidou, E., Glaveli, N., & Zafiropoulos, K. (2011). Assessing hospitals' readiness for clinical governance quality initiatives through organizational climate. *Journal of Health Organization & Management*, 25(2), 214–240.
- Katz, D., & Kahn, R. L. (1978). *The social psychology of organizations* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Keeling, D., Khan, A., & Newholm, T. (2013) Internet forums and negotiation of healthcare knowledge cultures. *Journal of Services Marketing*, 27(1), 59–75.
- Kessels, R. P. (2003). Patients' memory for medical information. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 96(5), 219–222.
- Kim, L., Lyder, C. H., McNeese-Smith, D., Leach, L. S., & Needleman, J. (2015). Defining attributes of patient safety through a concept analysis. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 71(11), 2490–2503.
- Klaas, B. S., Olson-Buchanan, J. B., & Ward, A. K. (2012). The determinants of alternative forms of workplace voice: An integrative perspective. *Journal of Management*, 38(1), 314–345.
- Kolbe, M., Burtscher, M. J., Wacker, J., Grande, B., Nohynkova, R., Manser, T., ... Grote, G. (2012). Speaking up is related to better team performance in simulated anesthesia inductions: An observational study. *Anesthesia & Analgesia*, 115, 1099–1108.
- Lachman, V. D. (2008). Whistleblowers: Troublemakers or virtuous nurses? *MEDSURG Nursing*, 17(2), 126–134.
- Lam, C. F., & Mayer, D. M. (2014). When do employees speak up for their customers? A model of voice in a customer service context. *Personnel Psychology*, 67(3), 637–666.
- Landgren, R., Alawadi, Z., Douma, C., Thomas, E. J., & Etchegaray, J. (2016). Barriers of pediatric residents to speaking up about patient safety. *Hospital Pediatrics*, 6(12), 738–743.
- Lawler, E. E. (1992). *The ultimate advantage: Creating the high-involvement organization*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lebel, R. D. (2016). Overcoming the fear factor: How perceptions of supervisor openness lead employees to speak up when fearing external threat. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 135, 10–21.
- LePine, J. A., & Van Dyne, L. (1998) Predicting voice behavior in work groups. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83(3), 853–868.

- Leroy, H., Dierynck, B., Anseel, F., Simons, T., Halbesleben, J. R., McCaughey, D., ... Sels, L. (2012). Behavioral integrity for safety, priority of safety, psychological safety, and patient safety: A team-level study. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 97*(6), 1273–1281.
- Liang, J., Farh, C. I. C., & Farh, J. L. (2012). Psychological antecedents of promotive and prohibitive voice: A two-wave examination. *Academy of Management Journal, 55*, 71–92.
- Lin, S. H. J., & Johnson, R. E. (2015). A suggestion to improve a day keeps your depletion away: Examining promotive and prohibitive voice behaviors within a regulatory focus and ego depletion framework. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 100*(5), 1381–1397.
- Lippman, S. A., & Rumelt, R. P. (1982). Uncertain imitability: An analysis of interfirm differences in efficiency under competition. *Bell Journal of Economics, 13*(2), 418–438.
- Locatelli, S. M., & LaVela, S. L. (2015). Professional quality of life of Veterans Affairs staff and providers in a patient-centered care environment. *The Health Care Manager, 34*(3), 246–254.
- Lockett, J. J., Barkley, L., Stichler, J., Palomo, J., Kik, B., Walker, C., ... O'Byrne, N. (2015). Defining peer-to-peer accountability from the nurse's perspective. *JONA: The Journal of Nursing Administration, 45*(11), 557–562.
- Lombarts, K. M., Plochg, T., Thompson, C. A., & Arah, O. A. (2014). Measuring professionalism in medicine and nursing: Results of a European survey. *PLOS One, 9*(5), e97069. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0097069
- Lyndon, A., Johnson, M. C., Bingham, D., Napolitano, P. G., Joseph, G., Maxfield, D. G., & O'Keeffe, D. F. (2015). Transforming communication and safety culture in intrapartum care: A multi-organization blueprint. *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic & Neonatal Nursing, 44*(3), 341–349.
- Madden, D. L. (2018). From a patient advocate's perspective: Does cancer immunotherapy represent a paradigm shift? *Current Oncology Reports, 20*(1), 8. doi:10.1007/s11912-018-0662-5
- Mahlmeister, L. R. (2007). Best practices in perinatal nursing: "Speaking up"—a positive approach to improving outcomes when obstetrical emergencies arise. *Journal of Perinatal Neonatal Nursing, 21*(3), 186–188.
- Manaouil, C., Manaouil, D., & Jardé, O. (2012). Surgical patient advocacy: Role and value in surgery. *Journal of Visceral Surgery, 149*(3), e165–e171.
- Martinez, W., Lehmann, L. S., Thomas, E. J., Etchegaray, J. M., Shelburne, J. T., Hickson, G. B., ... Bell, S. K. (2017). Speaking up about traditional and professionalism-related patient safety threats: A national survey of interns and residents. *BMJ Quality and Safety, 26*(11), 869–880.
- Martínez-Córcoles, M., Gracia, F. J., Tomás, I. & Peiró, J. M. (2014). Strengthening safety compliance in nuclear power operations: A role-based approach. *Risk Analysis, 34*(7), 1257–1269.
- Maryland, M., & Gonzalez, R. (2012). Patient advocacy in the community and legislative arena. *The Online Journal of Issues in Nursing, 17*(1).
- Matthews, J. H. (2012). Role of professional organizations in advocating for the nursing profession. *The Online Journal of Issues in Nursing, 17*(3).
- Mavridou, P., Manataki, A., Arnaoutoglou, E., & Damigos, D. (2017). A survey of patients' preoperative need for information about postoperative pain: Effect of previous surgery experience. *Journal of PeriAnesthesia Nursing, 32*(5), 438–444.



- Maxfield, D., Grenny, J., McMillan, R., Patterson, K., & Switzler, A. (2005). *Silence kills: The seven crucial conversations in healthcare*. A report published by the American Association of Critical-Care Nurses and VitalSmarts, L.C .
- Maynes, T. D., & Podsakoff, P. M. (2014). Speaking more broadly: An examination of the nature, antecedents, and consequences of an expanded set of employee voice behaviors. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 99*, 87–112.
- Mazurenko, O., Zemke, D. M., & Lefforge, N. (2016). Who is a hospital's "customer"? *Journal of Healthcare Management, 61*(5), 319–334.
- McCaughan, E. M., & Thompson, K. A. (2000). Information needs of cancer patients receiving chemotherapy at a day-case unit in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Clinical Nursing, 9*(6), 851–858.
- Mero, N. P., Guidice, R. M., & Werner, S. (2014). A field study of the antecedents and performance consequences of perceived accountability. *Journal of Management, 40*(6), 1627–1652.
- Michie, S., Miles, J., & Weinman, J. (2003). Patient-centredness in chronic illness: What is it and does it matter? *Patient Education and Counseling, 51*(3), 197–206.
- Milliken, F. J., Morrison, E. W., & Hewlin, P. (2003). An exploratory study of employee silence: Issues that employees don't communicate upward and why. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(6), 1453–1476.
- Mitchell, R. K., Agle, B. R., & Wood, D. J. (1997). Toward a theory of stakeholder identification and salience: Defining the principle of who and what really counts. *Academy of Management Review, 22*(4), 853–886.
- Mitchell, T. R., Holtom, B. C., Lee, T. W., Sablinski, C. J., & Erez, M. (2001). Why People Stay: Using Job Embeddedness to Predict Voluntary Turnover. *The Academy of Management Journal, 44*(6), 1102–1121.
- Morrison, E. W. (2011). Employee voice behavior: Integration and directions for future research. *Academy of Management Annals, 5*(1), 373–412.
- Morrison, E. W., & Milliken, F. J. (2000) Organizational silence: A barrier to change and development in a pluralistic world. *Academy of Management Review, 25*(4), 706–725.
- Morrison, E. W., & Phelps, C. C. (1999). Taking charge at work: Extrarole efforts to initiate workplace change. *Academy of Management Journal, 42*(4), 403–419.
- Munday, J., Kynoch, K., & Hines, S. (2015). Nurses' experiences of advocacy in the perioperative department: A systematic review. *JBIR Database of Systematic Reviews and Implementation Reports, 13*(8), 146–189.
- Near, J. P., Regh, M., Miceli, M. P., & Van Scotter, J. R. (2004). Developing a model of the whistle-blowing process: How does type of wrongdoing affect the process. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 14*(4), 219–242.
- Nembhard, I. M., Labao, I., & Savage, S. (2015) Breaking the silence: Determinants of voice for quality improvement in hospitals. *Health Care Management Review, 40*(3), 225–236.
- Newell, S., & Jordan, Z. (2015). The patient experience of patient-centered communication with nurses in the hospital setting: A qualitative systematic review protocol. *JBIR Database of Systematic Reviews and Implementation Reports, 13*(1), 76–87.
- Newton, E. H. (2017). Addressing overuse in emergency medicine: Evidence of a role for greater patient engagement. *Clinical and Experimental Emergency Medicine, 4*(4), 189–200.

- Ng, T. W., & Feldman, D. C. (2007). Organizational embeddedness and occupational embeddedness across career stages. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 70(2), 336–351.
- Ng, T. W., & Feldman, D. C. (2013). Changes in perceived supervisor embeddedness: Effects on employees' embeddedness, organizational trust, and voice behavior. *Personnel Psychology*, 66(3), 645–685.
- Ng, G. W. Y., Pun, J. K. H., So, E. H. K., Chiu, W. W. H., Leung, A. S. H., Chan, E. A. (2017). Speak-up culture in an intensive care unit in Hong Kong: a cross-sectional survey exploring the communication openness perceptions of Chinese doctors and nurses. *BMJ Open*, 7(8), e015721. doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2016-015721
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1974). The spiral of silence: A theory of public opinion. *Journal of Communication*, 24, 43–51.
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1985). *The spiral of silence: A response*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1991). The theory of public opinion: The concept of the spiral of silence. In J. A. Anderson (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook* (pp. 256–287). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Nouri, S. S., & Rudd, R. E. (2015). Health literacy in the "oral exchange": An important element of patient-provider communication. *Patient Education and Counseling*, 98(5), 565–571.
- Ogden, J., Morrison, K., & Hardee, K. (2014). Social capital to strengthen health policy and health systems. *Health Policy & Planning*, 29, 1075–1085.
- Okuyama, A., Wagner, C., & Bijnen, B. (2014). Speaking up for patient safety by hospital-based health care professionals: A literature review. *BMC Health Services Research*, 14, 61. doi:10.1186/1472-6963-14-61
- Olsen, A. Ø., Sofka W., & Grimpe, C. (2016). Coordinated exploration for grand challenges: The role of advocacy groups in search consortia. *Academy of Management Journal*, 59(6), 2232–2255.
- Olson-Buchanan, J. B. (1996). Voicing discontent: What happens to the grievance filed after the grievance? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81(1), 52–63.
- Olson-Buchanan, J. B., & Boswell, W. R. (2002). The role of employee loyalty and formality in voicing discontent. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(6), 1167–1174.
- Olver, I. N. (2005). Update on anti-emetics for chemotherapy-induced emesis. *Internal Medicine Journal*, 35(8), 478–481.
- Parker, R. G., Perez-Brumer, A., Garcia, J., Gavigan, K., Ramirez, A., Milnor, J., Terto, V. Jr. (2016). Prevention literacy: Community-based advocacy for access and ownership of the HIV prevention toolkit. *Journal of International Aids Society*, 19(1), 21092. doi:10.7448/IAS.19.1.21092
- Persaud, S. (2018). Addressing social determinants of health through advocacy. *Nursing Administration Quarterly*, 42(2), 123–128.
- Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1984). The effects of involvement on responses to argument quality and quantity: Central and peripheral routes to persuasion. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 84(1), 69–81.
- Premkumar, G., Ramamurthy, K., & Saunders, C. S. (2005). Information processing view of organizations: An exploratory examination of fit in the context of interorganizational relationships. *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 22(1), 257–294.
- Price, K. H., Lavelle, J. J., Henley, A. B., Cocchiara, F. K., & Buchanan, F. R. (2006). Judging the fairness of voice-based participation across multiple and interrelated stages of

- decision making. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 99(2), 212–226.
- Pronovost, P. J. (2010) Learning accountability for patient outcomes. *JAMA*, 304(2), 204–205.
- Rabøl, L. I., Andersen, M. L., Østergaard, D., Bjørn, B., Lilja, B., & Morgensen, T. (2011). Descriptions of verbal communication errors between staff. An analysis of 84 root cause analysis-reports from Danish hospitals. *BMJ Quality & Safety*, 20, 268–274.
- Ragas, D. M., Nonzee, N. J., Tom, L. S., Phisuthikul, A. M., Luu, T. H., Dong, X., & Simon, M. A. (2014). What women want: Patient recommendations for improving access to breast and cervical cancer screening and follow-up. *Women's Health Issues*, 24(5), 511–518.
- Rainer, J. (2015). Speaking up: Factors and issues in nurses advocating for patients when patients are in jeopardy. *Journal of Nursing Care Quality*, 30(1), 53–62.
- Reason, J. T. (1997). *Managing the risks of organisational accidents*. Ashgate, England: Ashgate Publishing.
- Roscoe, J. A., Jean-Pierre, P., Shelke, A. R., Kaufman, M. E., Bole, C., & Morrow, G. R. (2006). The role of patients' response expectancies in side effect development and control. *Current Problems in Cancer*, 2(30), 40–98.
- Salsberg, E., & Martiniano, R. (2018). Health care jobs projected to continue to grow far faster than jobs in the general economy. *Health Affairs Blog*, May 9. doi:10.1377/hblog20180502.984593
- Schillinger, D., Piette, J., Grumbach, K., Wang, F., Wilson, C., Daher, C., ... Bindman, A. B. (2003). Closing the loop: Physician communication with diabetic patients who have low health literacy. *Archives of Internal Medicine*, 163(1), 83–90.
- Schlenker, B. R. (1997). Personal responsibility: Applications of the triangle model. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 19, 241–301.
- Schlenker, B. R., Britt, T. W., Pennington, J., Murphy, R., & Doherty, K. (1994). The triangle model of responsibility. *Psychological Review*, 101(4), 632–652.
- Schneider, B. (1975). Organizational climates: An essay. *Personnel Psychology*, 28, 447–479.
- Schwappach, D. L. B., & Gehring, K. (2014a). Trade-offs between voice and silence: A qualitative exploration of oncology staff's decision to speak up about safety concerns. *BMC Health Services Research*, 14, 303. doi:10.1186/1472-6963-14-303
- Schwappach, D. L. B., & Gehring, K. (2014b). 'Saying it without words': A qualitative study of oncology staff's experiences with speaking up about safety concerns. *BMJ Open*, 4, e004740. doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2013-004740
- Schwappach, D. L. B., & Gehring, K. (2014c). Silence that can be dangerous: A vignette study to assess healthcare professionals' likelihood of speaking up about safety concerns. *PLOS One*, 9(8), e104720. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0104720
- Schwappach, D. L. B., & Gehring, K. (2015). Frequency of and predictors for withholding patient safety concerns among oncology staff: A survey study. *European Journal of Cancer Care*, 24, 395–403.
- Schwappach, D., & Richard, A. (2018). Speak up-related climate and its association with healthcare workers' speaking up and withholding voice behaviours: A cross-sectional survey in Switzerland. *BMJ Quality & Safety*, 27, 827–835.
- Sethi, M. K., Obremskey, A., Sathiyakumar, V., Gill, J. T., & Mather, R. C. (2013). The evolution of advocacy and orthopaedic surgery. *Clinical Orthopaedics and Related Research*, 471(6), 1873–1878.

- Shipley, L. J., Stelzner, S. M., Zenni, E. A., Hargunani, D., O'Keefe, J., Miller, C., ... Swigonski, N. (2005). Teaching community pediatrics to pediatric residents: Strategic approaches and successful models for education in community health and child advocacy. *Pediatrics*, 115(4), 1150–1157.
- Siewert, B., Swedeen, S., Brook, O. R., Eisenberg, R. L., & Hochman, M. (2018). Barriers to safety event reporting in an academic radiology department: Authority gradients and other human factors. *Radiology*, 288(3), 693–698.
- Sjöling, M., Nordahl, G., Olofsson, N., & Asplund, K. (2003). The impact of preoperative information on state anxiety, postoperative pain and satisfaction with pain management. *Patient Education and Counseling*, 51(2), 169–176.
- Slade, S. C., Molloy, E., & Keating, J. L. (2009). 'Listen to me, tell me': A qualitative study of partnership in care for people with non-specific chronic low back pain. *Clinical Rehabilitation*, 23(3), 270–280.
- Spencer, D. G. (1986). Employee voice and employee retention. *Academy of Management Journal*, 29(3), 488–502.
- Spreitzer, G. M. (1996). Social structural characteristics of psychological empowerment. *Academy of Management Journal*, 39(2), 483–504.
- Sundqvist, A.-S., Holmefur, M., Nilsson, U., & Anderzén-Carlsson, A. (2016). Perioperative patient advocacy: An integrative review. *Journal of PeriAnesthesia Nursing*, 31(5), 422–433.
- Sur, M. D., Schindler, N., Singh, P., Angelos, P., & Langerman, A. (2016). Young surgeons on speaking up: When and how surgical trainees voice concerns about supervisors' clinical decisions. *American Journal of Surgery*, 211(2), 437–444.
- Tangirala, S., Kamdar, D., Venkataramani, V., & Parke, M. R. (2013). Doing right versus getting ahead: The effects of duty and achievement orientations on employees' voice. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 98(6), 1040–1050.
- Tangirala, S., & Ramanujam, R. (2008). Exploring nonlinearity in employee voice: The effects of personal control and organizational identification. *Academy of Management Journal*, 51(6), 1189–1203.
- Tangirala, S., & Ramanujam, R. (2012). Ask and you shall hear (but not always): Examining the relationship between manager consultation and employee voice. *Personnel Psychology*, 65(2), 251–282.
- Tong, A., Lowe, A., Sainsbury, P., & Craig, J. C. (2008). Experiences of parents who have children with chronic kidney disease: A systematic review of qualitative studies. *Pediatrics*, 121(2), 349–360.
- Torpie, K. (2014). Customer service vs. patient care. *Patient Experience Journal*, 1(2), 6–8.
- Totman, J., Hundt, G. L., Wearn, E., Paul, M., & Johnson, S. (2011). Factors affecting staff morale on inpatient mental health wards in England: A qualitative investigation. *BMC Psychiatry*, 11, 68.
- Van Berckelaer, A., DiRocco, D., Ferguson, M., Gray, P., Marcus, N., & Day, S. (2012). Building a patient-centered medical home: Obtaining the patient's voice. *Journal of the American Board of Family Medicine*, 25, 192–198.
- Van Dyne, L., Ang, S., & Botero, I. C. (2003). Conceptualizing employee silence and employee voice as multidimensional constructs. *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(6), 1359–1392.
- Van Dyne, L., Cummings, L. L., & Parks, J. M. (1995). Extra-role behaviors: In pursuit of construct and definitional clarity (a bridge over muddied waters). *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 17, 215–285.

- Van Dyne, L., Graham, J. W., & Dienesch, R. M. (1994). Organizational citizenship behavior: Construct redefinition, measurement, and validation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 37(4), 765–802.
- Van Dyne, L., & LePine, J. A. (1998). Helping and voice extra-role behaviors: Evidence of construct and predictive validity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 41(1), 108–119.
- Vogus, T. J., & McClelland, L. E. (2016). When the customer is the patient: Lessons from healthcare research on patient satisfaction and service quality ratings. *Human Resource Management Review*, 26(1), 37–49.
- Vrangbaek, K. (2015). Patient involvement in Danish health care. *Journal of Health Organizational Management*, 29(5), 611–624.
- Waller, A., Forshaw, K., Bryant, J., & Mair, S. (2014). Interventions for preparing patients for chemotherapy and radiotherapy: A systematic review. *Supportive Care in Cancer*, 22(8), 2297–2308.
- Walls, J. L., Berrone, P., & Phan, P. H. (2012). Corporate governance and environmental performance: Is there really a link? *Strategic Management Journal*, 33(8), 885–913.
- Wang, D., Gan, C., & Wu, C. (2016). LMX and employee voice: A moderated mediation model of psychological empowerment and role clarity. *Personnel Review*, 45(3), 605–615.
- Wei, X., Zhang, Z.-X., & Chen, X.-P. (2015). I will speak up if my voice is socially desirable: A moderated mediating process of promotive versus prohibitive voice. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 100(5), 1641–1652.
- Weick, K. E. (1979). *The social psychology of organizing*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Welbourne, T. M. (2011). Editor-in-chief's note: 50 years of voice in HRM. *Human Resource Management*, 50(1), 1–2.
- West, E. (2000). Organisational sources of safety and danger: Sociological contributions to the study of adverse events. *Quality in Health Care*, 9(2), 120–126.
- Whiting, S. W., Maynes, T. D., Podsakoff, N. P., & Podsakoff, P. M. (2012). Effects of message, source, and context on evaluations of employee voice behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 97(1), 159–182.
- Wilkinson, A., & Fay, C. (2011). New times for employee voice? *Human Resource Management*, 50(1), 65–74.
- Windle, P. E., Mamaril, M., & Fossum, S. (2008). Perianesthesia nursing advocacy: An influential voice for patient safety. *Journal of PeriAnesthesia Nursing*, 23(3), 163–171.
- Wischmeyer, P. (2008). Research and advocacy in nutrition therapy: Our specialty needs you. *Journal of Parenteral and Enteral Nutrition*, 32(2), 210–212.
- Woods, W. J., Erwin, K., Lazarus, M., Serice, H., Grinstead, O., & Binson, D. (2008). Building stakeholder partnerships for an on-site HIV testing programme. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 10(3), 249–262.
- World Health Organization (WHO). (2017). Patient safety. Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/patientsafety/en/>. Accessed on January 1, 2019.

**All rights of reproduction in any form reserved**

**ISSN: 0742-7301/doi:10.1108/S0742-730120200000038007**

## CHAPTER 6

# DISCRETE INCIVILITY EVENTS AND TEAM PERFORMANCE: A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE ON A PERVASIVE HUMAN RESOURCE (HR) ISSUE

Arieh Riskin, Peter Bamberger, Amir Erez and Aya Zeiger

### **ABSTRACT**

*Incivility is widespread in the workplace and has been shown to have significant affective and behavioral consequences. However, the authors still have a limited understanding as to whether, how and when discrete incivility events impact team performance. Adopting a resource depletion perspective and focusing on the cognitive implications of such events, the authors introduce a multi-level model linking the adverse effects of such events on team members' working memory – the "workbench" of the cognitive system where most planning, analyses, and management of goals occur – to team effectiveness. The model which the authors develop proposes that that uncivil interpersonal behavior in general, and rudeness – a central manifestation of incivility – in particular, may place a significant drain on individuals' working memory*



*capacity, affecting team effectiveness via its effects on individual performance and coordination-related team emergent states and action-phase processes. In the context of this model, the authors offer an overarching framework for making sense of disparate findings regarding how, why and when incivility affects performance outcomes at multiple levels. More specifically, the authors use this framework to: (a) suggest how individual-level cognitive impairment and weakened coordinative team processes may mediate these incivility-based effects, and (b) explain how event, context, and individual difference factors moderators may attenuate or exacerbate these cognition-mediated effects.*

**Keywords:** Incivility; rudeness; teams; resource depletion; cognition; team processes; team performance; working memory; team emergent states

Workplace incivility – “low intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target, in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect (and that is) characteristically rude and discourteous” (Andersson & Pearson, 1999) – is both rampant and damaging (Appleby, 2010; Porath, 2015; Porath & Pearson, 2010, 2013; Rosenstein & O’Daniel, 2005, 2006, 2008; Schilpzand, de Pater, & Erez, 2016). Although research interest in workplace incivility has increased dramatically in recent years, most incivility studies are grounded on the assumption that it is the recurring nature of such low-intensity behaviors, serving as “daily hassles,” that have long-term emotional and motivational consequences and that ultimately harm individuals and the organizations employing them (Cortina, 2008; Hershcovis, 2011). Notably, and in contrast to this literature, a number of more recent studies indicate that such behavior takes a toll even if it is a non-recurring, one-time event. That is, even brief exposure to a discrete act of incivility, or simply witnessing a discrete incivility incident such as someone being rude to someone else, can

have direct performance implications, limiting individual creativity and complicating analytical processing and problem solving (Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009; Porath, Foulk, & Erez, 2015; Rafaeli et al., 2012; Riskin et al., 2015, 2017). Indeed, these studies suggest that discrete acts of incivility may be more insidious than initially thought, having immediate, albeit sub-conscious, cognitive implications well before the affective and emotional implications begin to be felt or become measurable (Porath et al., 2015; Rafaeli et al., 2012; Rosen, Koopman, Gabriel, & Johnson, 2016; Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld, & Walker, 2008; Sliter, Jex, Wolford, & McInnerney, 2010; van Jaarsveld, Walker, & Skarlicki, 2010).

Unfortunately, however, while work is increasingly structured around teams (Cohen & Bailey, 1997; Marks, Mathieu, & Zaccaro, 2001; Mathieu, Maynard, Rapp, & Gilson, 2008), we know little about the implications of discrete incivility acts such as rudeness, on team processes or outcomes. That is, while prior research suggests that the adverse emotional consequences of incivility can, over time “disrupt employee relationships and derail cooperation” (Lim, Cortina, & Magley, 2008), whether, how and under what conditions *discrete* incivility incidents affect *team* performance remains poorly understood. Indeed, because team-based work is grounded on members’ ability and motivation to compensate and cover for one another, one might assume that even if a team member’s exposure to an incivility incident takes an immediate toll on that individual’s performance, *team* performance will not suffer. On the other hand, because such exposure may also take a toll on the cognitive underpinnings of team emergent states (transactive memory systems or TMS; Hollingshead, 2001; Lewis & Herndon, 2011; Wegner, 1986) and action-phase processes (e.g., backing up, workload sharing, feedback sharing; Marks et al., 2001), such exposure may not only limit member compensatory action, but also degrade team members’ ability to collaborate and coordinate, and thus their collective performance more generally.

Accordingly, in the current chapter, we extend recent research on the individual-level, cognitive implications of discrete incivility events to the team level, developing a multi-level model explaining how and

when discrete incivility incidents can adversely affect team performance. More specifically, building on research suggesting that uncivil interpersonal behavior may place a significant drain on individuals' cognitive resources ([Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009, 2011](#); [Porath & Pearson, 2010](#); [Rafaeli et al., 2012](#)) and that such cognitive resource depletion may underlie many performance deficiencies in organizations, we propose a cognition-mediated link between low-intensity uncivil (i.e., rude) workplace behavior and team performance.

The multi-level framework which we propose below integrates and offers coherence to an increasing body of evidence regarding the cognitive implications of incivility exposure, and lays out directions for future research on the link between discrete acts of incivility and team performance. In doing so, it offers three major contributions to the research on workplace incivility. First, it raises the level of analysis for this highly prevalent workplace phenomenon (i.e., incivility), proposing that in the same way that discrete incivility exposure may have immediate individual-level consequences, so too may it have team-level effects. Second, with its focus on cognition and resource depletion, this model offers a nuanced perspective on the means by which even a seemingly benign, discrete exposure to an uncivil remark or act can have profound, adverse implications on team performance. Finally, the model offers some initial insights into the contextual factors potentially conditioning the magnitude of impact discrete incivility incidents have on individual cognition and team processes.

With regard to the association of cognition and performance, we focus our attention on the link between incivility and working memory because of working memory's prominent role in planning, goal management, timesharing between tasks, and selective attention to certain stimuli while ignoring others – all essential functions in performing tasks. As such, we review the main domains of the working memory and their effects on different aspects of performance ([Ashcraft & Radvansky, 2014](#); [Baddeley, 2012](#); [Bunting & Cowan, 2005](#); [Engle & Kane, 2004](#)) .

Next, we explore incivility and its implications to cognition ([Porath & Erez, 2007](#); [Rafaeli et al., 2012](#); [Rosen et al., 2016](#)). We use the results of laboratory and field studies to demonstrate how incivility may affect individuals' ability to remain focused on a task, juggle and integrate data, identify patterns, and plan and execute action, all of which provide a basis for performance ([Ashcraft & Radvansky, 2014](#)).

While there is an extensive literature on the motivational and emotional consequences of incivility, our proposed model is grounded on a largely cognitive perspective, emphasizing the implications of incivility to cognitive resources and processing in general, and working memory – often referred to as the “workbench of the brain” ([Ashcraft & Radvansky, 2014](#); [Engle & Kane, 2004](#); [Erez, Porath, & Foulk, 2014](#)) – in particular. We review how incivility depletes one's cognitive resources by affecting the three main components of working memory. Incivility causes inattention to details by disrupting the visual function of working memory, and interferes with its verbal function, thus reducing creativity ([Ashcraft & Radvansky, 2014](#); [Cohen & Bailey, 1997](#); [Engle & Kane, 2004](#); [Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009](#); [Porath et al., 2015](#)). But most severe of all is the way incivility hijacks the central executive aspect of working memory, thus hampering decision making, planning and problem solving, especially in complex tasks ([Riskin et al., 2015, 2017](#)).

Incivility's cognitive effects will be used as a platform for further exploring the implications of cognition on group processes. In this context, drawing from research on signal/cue detection, perspective taking and information recall and contextualization ([Gilbert & Hixon, 1991](#); [Gilbert & Krull, 1988](#); [Gilbert, Pelham, & Krull, 1988](#); [Lavie, 2010](#); [Rossmagel, 2000](#); [Stasser & Titus, 1985, 1987](#)), we pay particular attention to the links between cognitive overload ([Ashcraft & Radvansky, 2014](#); [Gilbert et al., 1988](#); [Milgram, 1970](#)), and such critical group processes as information and workload sharing ([Gigone & Hastie, 1997](#); [Mesmer-Magnus & Dechurch, 2009](#); [Vashdi, Bamberger, & Erez, 2013](#)), feedback seeking ([Ashford, 1986](#); [Ashford, Blatt, & VandeWalle, 2003](#)), and transactive memory ([Austin, 2003](#); [Hollingshead, 1998a, 1998b](#); [Moreland, Argote, & Krishnan, 1996](#)).

# INCIVILITY AND RUDENESS IN THE WORKPLACE

As noted earlier, workplace incivility is a form of low-intensity deviant organizational behavior that violates respectful workplace norms and whose injurious intent is ambiguous and vague ([Andersson & Pearson, 1999](#)). Rudeness serves as a highly prevalent, characteristic form of workplace incivility ([Andersson & Pearson, 1999](#)), manifesting for example in the form of vague, insulting comments, the ambiguous denigration of a target's work, and the displaying of bad manners. Inherently confrontational and disruptive to the social equilibrium ([Kasper, 1990](#)), rudeness is often expressed in speech that includes derogatory terms, rude phrases, or using a tone of voice that indicates disrespect for the other person.

## *Prevalence and Sources of Rudeness in the Workplace*

Rude behaviors are widely and increasingly prevalent in organizations ([Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001](#); [Schilpzand et al., 2016](#)). One-fourth of employees polled in 1998 said they were treated rudely once or more a week. In contrast, by 2005 that number had risen dramatically ([Porath & Pearson, 2010](#)), with half of customers surveyed reporting that it's not unusual to see employees treat their coworkers rudely ([Porath & Erez, 2011](#)). Other studies indicate that employees are commonly the targets of customers uncivil and rude behaviors ([Dollard, Dormann, Boyd, Winefield, & Winefield, 2003](#); [Grandey, Dickter, & Sin, 2004](#); [Harris & Reynolds, 2003](#); [Ringstad, 2005](#)). This is particularly true in high intensity, service-oriented organizations, such as law enforcement (75 per cent of a law enforcement sample reporting having encountered some form of uncivil behavior in recent years; [Cortina, Lonsway, & Magley, 2002](#)) and hospitals and health care facilities ([Blum et al., 1995](#); [Flin, 2010](#); [Joint, 2008](#); [Rosenstein & O'Daniel, 2005, 2006, 2008](#)). For example, in a survey of 391 National Health

Service (NHS) operating room staff in England, 66 per cent and 53 per cent of respondents indicated that they had been subject to uncivil behavior on the part of nurses and surgeons, respectively, during the previous 6 months (Coe & Gould, 2008).

More generally, research in medical and other settings (Coe & Gould, 2008; Flin, 2010; Keashly & Neuman, 2010; Kivimaki et al., 2003; Klein & Forni, 2011; McKenna, Smith, Poole, & Coverdale, 2003; Timmons & Tanner, 2005; Ulrich et al., 2006; Uzun, 2003) points to three major sources of workplace incivility, namely those with authority (referred to as hierarchical incivility; e.g., physicians), colleagues (referred to as peer incivility), and organization outsiders with whom employees interact (referred to as client incivility; e.g., customers, vendors, patients or patient family members).

While organizational leaders are likely to be viewed as establishing the cultural context in which such incivility may be generated or at least tolerated, particularly with regard to authority- and colleague-based incivility, partial responsibility may also reside within the human resource (HR) system. More specifically, a wide variety of HR practices (i.e., staffing, training, performance management and compensation) have the potential to facilitate the prevention of workplace incivility and/or address particular incivility problems and occurrences (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004; Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Handy, 2006; Harvey, Treadway, Heames, & Duke, 2009; Pilch & Turska, 2015). Competitive promotion and career advancement systems, resource shortages, lack of role clarity, issues with understaffing, excessive hours, role stress, perceptions of unfair pay and reward practices, and poor leadership training and development are just some of the HR-related factors that can contribute to a hostile work environment and an increased prevalence of incivility exposure at work (i.e., hierarchical incivility and peer incivility) (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004; Bowling & Beehr, 2006). Furthermore, HR policies and practices that result even in the unintentional trivializing of incivility events can reinforce implicit norms that are conducive to incivility. thus, potentially increasing the likelihood of incivility occurrence (Handy, 2006; Madera, Lee, & Kapoor, 2017; Yagil, 2008).



## *The Effects of Workplace Incivility*

As noted earlier, much of the research on incivility has focused on the cumulative impact of incivility on employee health and well-being (Lim et al., 2008; Pearson & Porath, 2005; Remington & Darden, 2002; Roberts, Scherer, & Bowyer, 2011), with much of this impact attributed to the affective and emotional consequences of incivility (i.e., negative mood, fear, anger, perceptions of injustice) (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Barling et al., 1996; Barling, Rogers, & Kelloway, 2001; Cortina et al., 2001). Cortina and colleagues (Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013; Cortina et al., 2001) argue that many uncivil acts may be framed by those experiencing and witnessing them as routine, daily hassles (Lazarus, 1999; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), which, while lacking the intensity of major life events, can – particularly when repeating on a frequent basis and accumulating – deplete physical and psychological resources like other workplace stressors, and thus generate a negative emotional state (Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2013, 2001).

These affective and emotional consequences of incivility have been found to adversely affect not only incivility targets and witnesses, but also the organizations employing them, and the other, innocent individuals with whom these employee targets and witnesses interact. More specifically, pervasive incivility has been linked to reduced levels of organizational commitment and job satisfaction, and higher rates of employee turnover (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Cortina et al., 2002, 2001; Lim & Cortina, 2005; Lim et al., 2008; Pearson, Andersson, & Porath, 2000; Pearson & Porath, 2005; Sliter et al., 2010; Sliter, Sliter, & Jex, 2012). It has also been linked to secondary incivility enacted by victims and witnesses of primary incivility toward others (Foulek, Woolum, & Erez, 2016).

*Cognitive Effects of Discrete Incivility Events:* More recent research indicates that in addition to these adverse affective and motivational consequences of pervasive incivility, there are also likely to be cognitive effects that are no less damaging to employees and their employers. Moreover, rather than emerging as a result of pervasive incivility, these sequelae appear to be largely elicited as a



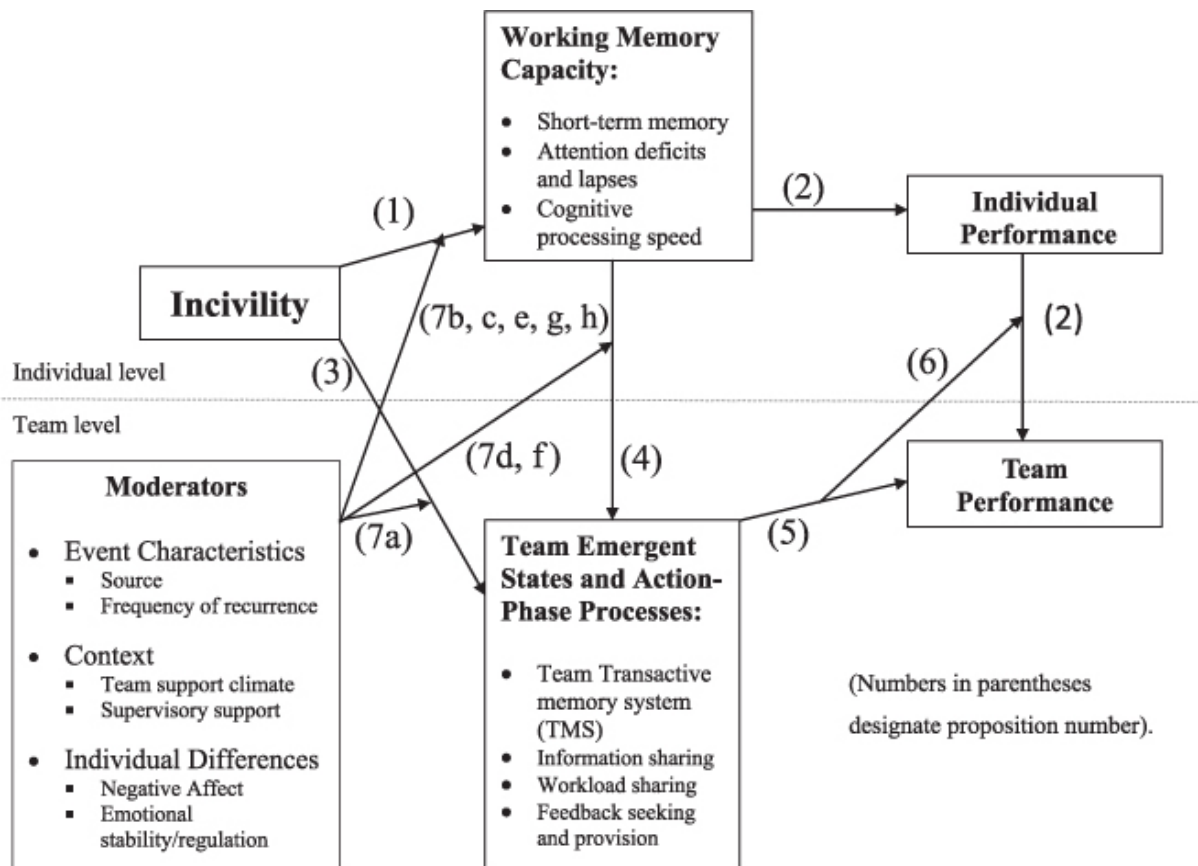
result of exposure to a discrete incivility event. Exposure to such events can elicit the perception of and preoccupation with threat, drawing cognitive capacity and, particularly in the context of an already demanding task context, potentially resulting in cognitive overload ([Ashcraft & Radvansky, 2014](#); [Gilbert et al., 1988](#)), or the redirection of cognitive resources away from the tasks at hand. For example, studies by [Porath and Erez \(2007, 2009, 2011\)](#) demonstrate that in comparison to controls, participants exposed to mildly rude behavior such as insensitive and unexpectedly disrespectful acts, or use of a disrespectful or humiliating tone (rather than slurs or insults, or abusive words and behaviors) performed poorly on cognitive tasks, exhibited reduced creativity and flexibility, and were less helpful and pro-social. Moreover, these effects extend beyond the target. Witnesses are affected in similar ways ([Porath & Erez, 2009](#)).

Most importantly, these effects were found to be fully mediated by the disruption of cognitive processes but not by negative affect or emotions related to retaliation ([Porath & Erez, 2007](#)). Similarly, beyond replicating the finding that isolated uncivil acts can cause performance decrements, Rafaeli and colleagues also found that these performance-related effects of incivility cannot be solely attributed to emotion alone, and that cognition plays a significant role ([Miron-Spektor & Rafaeli, 2012](#)). For example, in four lab experiments, [Rafaeli et al. \(2012\)](#) demonstrated that client incivility in a simulated call center reduced agents' recall of customers' requests, agent analytical skills, and the quality of their customer service performance ([Rafaeli et al., 2012](#)). In sum, these studies suggest that above and beyond the emotional or affective consequences of pervasive incivility, discrete acts of incivility can disrupt cognitive processes, resulting in diminished individual performance-related behavior even among those experiencing no emotional or affective reaction. But how does incivility exposure affect individual cognition, and how might this link to *team* performance?

## **WORKING MEMORY, TMS AND TEAM ACTION-PHASE PROCESSES**

The research reviewed above provides a strong basis for theorizing about the role that incivility's cognitive effects play in mediating the impact of discrete incivility events on team performance, which, following [Mathieu et al. \(2008\)](#), we conceive of as including both the quality of team performance behaviors (such as team cognitive performance or the degree to which a team's decisions or determinations parallel those of an expert committee) and outcomes (such as degree of goal accomplishment, efficiency, and error rate and severity). For example, in evaluating the performance of medical teams, one might examine the accuracy of diagnosis and the degree of protocol compliance, as well as medication/dosing/procedural errors ([Gray et al., 2006](#); [Suresh et al., 2004](#)).

In explicating the nature of these effects and identifying some of the factors likely to condition them, we will follow the model presented in [Fig. 1](#). We begin by explaining how incivility affects cognition, and why teams may be at risk when member cognition is impeded by incivility.



*Fig. 1. A Multi-level Model of the Effects of Discrete Incivility on Team Performance.*

### *Incivility, Working Memory, and Performance Decrements at the Individual Level*

Working memory is the term used to define the limited capacity part of the human memory system that is capable of briefly and temporarily storing and manipulating information involved in the performance of complex cognitive tasks such as reasoning, comprehension and certain types of learning. Working memory is distinct from both short-term memory (which, as an element of working memory, is limited to the storage – but not manipulation – of information) and long-term memory (a separate part of the memory system with a vast storage capacity that holds information in a more stable form). Working memory is unique in that it is

central to both the storage and manipulation of information, and thus has a significant role in complex cognition. According to the multi-component model of [Baddeley and Hitch \(1974\)](#), the working memory includes an executive controller, probably of limited attention capacity, that interacts with separate temporary short-term storage systems for auditory-verbal (the phonological loop) and visual-spatial information (the visuo-spatial sketchpad) ([Baddeley, 2012](#)). The fourth component of the model, the episodic buffer is assumed to be a temporary store of limited capacity that is capable of combining a range of different storage dimensions, allowing it to collate information from perception, from the visual-spatial and auditory-verbal subsystems and long-term memory.

Studies conducted by [Porath and Erez \(2007, 2009, 2011\)](#) offer a strong indication that working memory mediates the relationship between exposure to rudeness and poor (individual) performance on cognitive tasks. From a resource depletion perspective ([Giumetti, McKibben, Hatfield, Schroeder, & Kowalski, 2012](#); [Sliter et al., 2012](#)), a primary explanation for this is that incivility as an ambiguous form of threat, draws the attention and limited processing capacity of the working memory. Focused on assessing the threat implicit in a rude comment or gesture, the individual simply has less cognitive resources available to allocate to the task at hand.

Recent empirical evidence provides initial support for this explanation. For example, in a series of studies, [Foulk et al. \(2016\)](#) found that participants who witnessed rudeness or were primed to rudeness demonstrated decreased performance on cognitive tasks, with this performance effect mediated by decrements in the goal management domain of working memory (measured in terms of the time taken to make and execute decisions in a pyramid piling Brahma puzzle [i.e., Towers Of Hanoi]) ([Foulk et al., 2016](#)). In other studies, Erez has found evidence that rudeness can also affect other domains of the working memory, for example increasing the odds for attentional blindness (unpublished data, 2012). Combining these findings, it appears that goal-directed activity is disrupted by the brain's limited capacity to simultaneously interpret ambiguous but potentially threatening signals and maintain attention on the task at

hand. In other words, incivility exposure appears to drive a kind of non-voluntary, mind-wandering process that consumes limited working memory resources that would otherwise be attributed to the task at hand (Allen et al., 2013; Foulk et al., 2016; Smallwood, 2013; Smallwood, Brown, Baird, & Schooler, 2012; Smallwood & Schooler, 2006). This leads us to propose:

*P1. Discrete incivility exposure, whether as a target or witness, is associated with poorer working memory which may be manifested in terms of poorer short-term memory, greater attention deficits and lapses, and slower cognitive processing).*

### *Team Sensitivity to Reduced Member Working Memory Capacity*

While the impact of incivility exposure on individuals' working memory may offer an intuitively reasonable explanation for incivility's individual-level performance consequences, how may such a mechanism link incivility exposure to team performance? One way in which the cognitive implications of incivility may affect team performance is via the direct contribution made by individuals to the performance of the team. As noted above, recent evidence consistently links both direct and indirect (i.e., witnessing) incivility exposure to a reduction in working memory capacity, and as a result, poorer individual task performance (Foulk et al., 2016; Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009, 2011). Accordingly, as shown in Fig. 1, to the extent that incivility exposure adversely impacts the working memory of a team member, their individual performance – and hence contribution to the team's output – is likely to suffer. Given that what distinguishes a work group from a team is that in the case of the latter, tasks are highly interdependent, such a performance deficit on the part of any single team member has the potential to negatively impact team performance as a whole (Cohen & Bailey, 1997). Accordingly, we posit:

P2. Discrete incivility exposure adversely affects team performance via its debilitating effects on (a) working memory, and as a result, (b) individual task performance.

However, drawing from research on team processes ([Marks et al., 2001](#)), a second way that discrete incivility exposure may adversely affect team performance is via the debilitating effects that poorer short-term memory, greater attention deficits and lapses, and slower cognitive processing may have on performance-related, team emergent states such as team transactive memory systems (TMS) and team action-phase processes such as backing up, monitoring and providing feedback, and information/workload sharing, feedback sharing. A negative impact on these team emergent states and action-phase processes may debilitate team performance both by limiting the ability of team members to compensate for other members' performance deficiencies, and by more generally limiting their ability to synergistic coordinate their work with that of their teammates.

Clearly, if incivility stems from an internal source (i.e., fellow-team member), such behavior can generate a variety of negative emotions including anger and frustration, potentially prompting both passive (e.g., shirking; ignoring of help requests) and active (e.g., sabotage, incivility) forms of retaliation, all of which can promote team conflict and debilitate cooperation-oriented team action processes. Indeed, building on the notion of the "bad apple," Erez and Schilpzand (2010) found that a single rude team member increased team members' shirking and team conflict, and reduced cooperation in the team. The rude team member also had a contagion effects on the other team members and intensified their rudeness toward one another ([Schilpzand & Erez, 2010](#)). More recent research by Foulk et al. (2016) found that common low-intensity negative behaviors, such as rudeness, can spread easily, even based on single episodes, that anybody can be a carrier of, and have significant consequences for people in organizations. This contagious effect can even have second-order consequences for future interaction partners. Cognitively, rudeness activates a semantic network of related

concepts in individuals' minds, and this activation influences individuals' hostile behaviors (Foult et al., 2016). Taken together, these studies suggest that individual exposure to incivility can spiral in both breadth (spreading from one team member to the next) and intensity with the motivation to cooperate with one another diminishing as members increasingly behave uncivilly with one another (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). This suggests a second, motivationally driven, team-level direct effect of individual exposure to a discrete incident of uncivil behavior, namely:

*P3.* Discrete incivility exposure, whether experienced as a target or witness, is associated with lower frequency and efficacy of collaborate, team action-phase processes (such as workload, information and feedback sharing; helping and backing up behavior).

Regardless of whether the source of incivility is internal or external to the team, incivility can disrupt team action processes by debilitating the modes of coordination that make such inherently cooperative behavior potentially efficacious. Because team members are engaged in "interdependent acts that convert inputs to outcomes" (Marks et al., 2001), unless well-coordinated, rather than being efficacious, these cooperative behaviors may do little to promote team performance and instead, actually distract team members from core tasks, disrupt the flow of work, and ultimately diminish team effectiveness.

In order for these team action processes to facilitate team performance, these processes must be synergistic with the work of the team, or in other words occur: (a) at a time that is appropriate given the timing and sequencing of the other members' tasks at hand and (b) when these other team members are cognitively available to leverage the assistance or feedback being afforded to them. One way that such synergistic action may occur in teams is for team members to explicitly coordinate, with team members sharing tasks, assistance, information, or feedback, and negotiating over when and how such sharing should occur to maximize team



effectiveness (Beer, 2013; Chen, Lam, & Zhong, 2007; Chiocchio, 2007; Marks et al., 2001; Morrison, 1993; Sundstrom, DeMeuse, & Futrell, 1990; van Ginkel & van Knippenberg, 2009). But in many team contexts, particularly those in which team members lack the time or ability to verbally communicate (e.g., surgical teams, Navy Seal teams) (Fraher, Branicki, & Grint, 2017; Vashdi et al., 2013), such coordination must be more implicit in nature. Implicit coordination requires that team members anticipate the actions and needs of the team's other members by non-verbal communication and dynamically adjust their own behavior accordingly (Rico, Sanchez-Manzanares, Gil, & Gibson, 2008).

Explicit and implicit modes of team coordination each have their advantages and disadvantages. Explicit coordination is advantageous in that by relying on verbal communication, it reduces ambiguities increases the likelihood that actions will be synchronized. However, its reliance on conscious reflection and verbal communication can make it both time- and cognitive resource-consuming, which, in high velocity task situations, can be costly. Indeed, while explicit coordination can reduce the likelihood of error in high intensity situations, it is precisely in such situations that team members, focusing attention on the tasks at hand, may lack the cognitive capacity to engage in such conscious reflection and verbal communication. Implicit coordination offers an advantage in such situations in that by relying upon non-verbal signaling and automatic signal interpretation, it minimizes the demands on team members' time, energy and attention. But its ambiguous nature can also leave room for misunderstandings as to what's needed from whom and when (Espinosa, Lerch, & Kraut, 2004; Riethmuller, Fernandez, Eberhardt, Timmermann, & Boos, 2012), particularly when the team confronts complex, atypical and/or contextually stressful task situations (Xiao, Hunter, Mackenzie, Jefferies, & Horst, 1996; Xiao, Mackenzie, Patey, & Group, 1998).

Incivility exposure may complicate even routine coordination activities by generating a sense of threat and stress (Roberts et al., 2011) that limits the accuracy of members' transactive memory (Ellis, 2006) and/or cognitive availability to verbally communicate or

implicitly send and interpret signals ([Burtscher et al., 2011](#); [Entin & Serfaty, 1999](#); [Wahr et al., 2013](#)). As a result, members may waste valuable time and energy soliciting information, feedback or assistance from those team members not optimally positioned to offer it. Additionally, members may lack the cognitive ability to pick up on and accurately interpret teammates' need or even requests for assistance, information or feedback, even when these requests are made verbally. As a result, the wrong information and/or assistance may be offered or, even if appropriate, provided in an untimely manner (arriving too early to be effectively used or too late to be of any utility), and ultimately doing little other than drawing the recipients' attention away from the tasks at hand. In short, incivility, by eliciting a threat-based, stress response that draws from team members' limited cognitive capacity, may diminish members' ability to effectively engage in team action processes, and may in fact turn these action processes into activities that draw attention and resources away from the core work of the team, thus diminishing team performance and increasing the likelihood of error.

*P4.* The more severe the decline in one or more team members' working memory:

- a. The poorer the quality of the team transactive memory system (TMS), and
- b. The lower the frequency and efficacy of cooperative, team action-phase processes (such as workload, information and feedback sharing; helping and general backing up behavior).

Prior research indicates that both the quality of team transactive memory (TMS) and team action processes can influence team performance in two ways. First, because both TMS and team action-phase processes are central to the way that team members process information and coordinate their individual activity with others on the team, both can *directly* impact team performance. More specifically, TMS – framed as a team emergent state ([Marks et al., 2001](#)) reflecting the degree to which team members accurately understand

each team member's specialized knowledge and competencies – reflects the team's ability to effectively and collectively leverage this differentiated knowledge (Lewis, 2003; Wegner, 1986). As noted by Zhang, Hempel, Han, & Tjosvold, 2007: "TMS allows team members to know each other, to plan their work more sensibly, to assign tasks to members who are best capable, and thus to help teams solve problems more quickly and easily" (Zhang et al., 2007). Both lab (e.g., Hollingshead, 2001; Liang, Moreland, & Argote, 1995; Wegner, Erber, & Raymond, 1991) and field studies (Zhang et al., 2007) have demonstrated the contribution of TMS to team performance. Similarly, interactive team action-phase processes such as backing up and workload sharing, monitoring and information/feedback provision, and coordinating of interdependent tasks have been posited (Marks et al., 2001) and found (LePine, Piccolo, Jackson, Mathieu, & Saul, 2008) to enhance team performance. For example, in their meta-analysis of the association between team processes and performance, LePine et al. (2008) found team monitoring and coordination processes to each explain approximately 9 percent of the variance in team performance (90% confidence interval ranging from 0.22 to 0.37). Although the full causal chain shown in Fig. 1 has yet to be empirically demonstrated, research on intensive care teams offers some preliminary support for the idea that incivility exposure's effects on team processes are associated with both poorer team diagnostic and intervention performance Riskin et al. (2015, 2017). In sum, to the extent that discrete incivility events can – via their adverse effects on working memory – debilitate TMS and team action-phase processes, these findings regarding the effects of TMS and action-phase processes on team performance suggest that:

*P5. TMS and team action-phase processes mediate the effect of incivility-impacted working memory on team performance.*

Second, because both TMS and team action-phase processes are key to ensuring that individual action contributes to (rather than detracts from) individual performance, both can *indirectly* impact team performance by moderating the effects of individual

performance on team performance. In the context of interdependent tasks at the core of team-based work ([Kozlowski & Bell, 2003](#)), individual performance is only likely to contribute to team performance to the extent that it is well-coordinated with the performance of other, related tasks performed by other team members, and to the extent that it doesn't result in the misallocation of team time, expertise or energy resources away from their most pressing demands ([Reagans, Miron-Spektor, & Argote, 2016](#)). When TMS and action-phase processes are debilitated by diminished working memory capacity, teams may be at heightened risk that some of their members may engage in tasks that, rather than contributing to team performance, draw the attention of others away from the more pressing issues at hand, and thus potentially slow decision making or generate oversights and errors ([Kozlowski & Ilgen, 2006](#)). For example, in the context of medical teams, during the efforts to stabilize the condition of a bleeding trauma patient who is still breathing on his own, one of the team members who is an expert in intubation and ventilation not only utters a rude comment at his teammates about their lack of knowledge of the proper sequence of resuscitation steps, but also decides that he needs to intubate and ventilate the patient now, thus dragging part of the team to helping him and drawing the team's attention from their main immediate task that should be to get an intravenous access line first in order to give fluids and blood products before the patient will deteriorate into hemorrhagic shock ([Brindley, 2014](#)). Accordingly, we posit:

*P6. TMS and team action-phase processes moderate the impact of incivility-impacted working memory and hence individual performance on team performance, such that the benefit of individual task performance on team performance will be attenuated as a function of reduced accuracy of TMS and diminished team action-phase processes.*

## **FACTORS POTENTIALLY CONDITIONING INCIVILITY'S IMPACT**

Although scholars have examined a variety of factors potentially moderating the effects of uncivil environments on individual-level outcomes, to date we have a very limited understanding of how these and other factors may moderate the impact that discrete incivility events have on team-level outcomes. Nevertheless, this body of research offers insights into the primary types of factors likely to condition how and when discrete incivility events may do so, suggesting moderators relating to: (a) the nature of the uncivil behavior itself (e.g., source or perpetrator; frequency of behavior or degree of recurrence; [Hershcovis, 2011](#)), (b) the context in which the behavior occurs (e.g., team support climate, supervisor support; [Sakurai & Jex, 2012](#)), and (c) victim individual differences (e.g., negative affectivity (NA), emotional stability and regulatory capacity; [Penney & Spector, 2005](#); [Wang, Seibert, & Boles, 2011](#); [Wang, Shi, & Li, 2009](#)). Accordingly, we organize our theorizing around these three categories of potential moderators.

### *Nature of the Incident Itself*

Among the factors suggested by [Hershcovis \(2011\)](#) as moderating the effects of workplace aggression on victim affect and emotion, two relating to the nature of the incident itself are relevant when that aggression takes the form of a discrete, uncivil act.

*Source:* The first of these has to do with the source or perpetrator of the act. Findings with regard to incivility source or the nature of the perpetrator-victim relationship are inconsistent. On the one hand, Hershcovis and Barling's meta-analytic findings ([Hershcovis & Barling, 2010](#)) suggest that aggressive supervisory behavior has more robust implications on victim affect than aggressive peer or client/customer behavior. They argue that the determining factor is not so much the perpetrator's formal role, but rather the relative amount of power the victim perceives the perpetrator as having in

their relationship. On the other hand, research by [Riskin et al. \(2015, 2017\)](#) suggests that in medical teams, regardless of whether the incivility source is the patient's family or a well-respected, authority in the profession, the consequences of rudeness on team processes and outcomes are the same. How can these discrepant findings be reconciled?

The answer may lie in the nature of the antecedent. In the case of Hershcovis and Barling, that antecedent was the frequency of being victim to of a wide range of aggressive acts including but not limited to ambiguous and low-intensity aggressive acts such as incivility. As noted earlier, discrete uncivil acts such as a rude remark (as opposed to other, more intensive and unambiguous forms of aggression) – unless occurring with some frequency – may not even be recalled by the target, no less be consciously framed by the victim as affecting their emotional well-being. To the extent that the concern is with a discrete, uncivil act such as a rude remark, the evidence at the individual level suggests that the implications are more likely to be cognitive than affective ([Porath et al., 2015](#); [Rafaeli et al., 2012](#)), with the nature of the perpetrator making little difference with regard to the impact of the incivility event on the targets' and witness' working memory ([Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009](#); [Porath et al., 2015](#)). This suggests that incivility source is unlikely to moderate the impact of incivility on individual cognitive processes (Path 1 in [Fig. 1](#)).

However, incivility source may moderate the more motivational implications of incivility on team action-phase processes (Path 3 in [Fig. 1](#)). Recent evidence suggests that discrete rudeness incidents can generate a residual, contagion effect ([Fouk et al., 2016](#); [Woolum, Fouk, Lanaj, & Erez, 2017](#)), such that rather than dissipating over time, there is a higher probability that those exposed to the original rudeness event will themselves display rude behavior toward others on their team. Moreover, this residual effect may be exacerbated by increasingly problematic coordinative group processes, with team members "reciprocating" fellow-team members' rudeness by being less responsive to members' requests for assistance and less willing to share information.



To the extent that a single, uncivil incident can elicit further incivility among victims and targets in the same team, and thus weaken team members motivation to engage in those collaborative, action-phase processes essential for team effectiveness, it is possible that the source of the original uncivil incident may make a difference. This is because, while incivility perpetrated by one team member against another appears to spiral into more generalized incivility among group members ([Andersson & Pearson, 1999](#); [Foult et al., 2016](#)), when the perpetrator of the original uncivil behavior is external to the team, the incivility may actually boost team cohesion, and motivate the intensification of collaborative, action-phase team processes. Accordingly, we propose that:

*P7a:* The direct effect of discrete incivility exposure on collaborative, team action-phase processes is moderated by the incivility source such that these effects will be more severe when the source is internal (as opposed to external) to the team.

*Frequency or Recurrence of Exposure:* On the one hand, one might argue that the cognitive impact of a discrete uncivil event weakens to the extent that it occurs in the context of more frequent exposure to such events. Indeed, research on emotional labor suggests that individuals in a variety of service and caring occupations may learn to become “emotionally removed” from or “hardened” by the disturbing events to which they may be subject ([Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008](#); [Hochschild, 1979](#)). While some may view those more frequently exposed to rude behavior on the part of those with whom they work to be callous, such callousness may in fact be a learned response to more frequent exposure to uncivil events, affording the individual with greater protection from and hence lower vulnerability to the adverse emotional and cognitive consequences associated with such exposure.

On the other hand, studies by [Porath and Erez \(2007, 2009\)](#) and research on the effects of rudeness in the medical context ([Blum et al., 1995](#); [Coe & Gould, 2008](#); [Flin, 2010](#); [McKenna et al., 2003](#);



Rosenstein & O'Daniel, 2005, 2006, 2008; Timmons & Tanner, 2005; Ulrich et al., 2006), suggest the possibility of a dose-response effect of incivility, or in other words, that the effects of a discrete incivility event may be more robust when, rather than being an isolated event, they follow a series incivility events or a history of repeated incivility.

Such findings are consistent with kindling theory which was first used to describe how epileptic patients, if not treated, will have subsequent worse episodes (Bertram, 2007). Later extended to explain the exacerbation of depression and post-traumatic distress among those who experience multiple traumatic events (Bender & Alloy, 2011), kindling theory suggests that among those experiencing recurrent episodes of some traumatic event, the emotional consequences of each such event become increasingly severe and more difficult to treat. One possible explanation for this is that such exposure reinforces specific neural networks (particularly in the stress response systems of the brain), amplifying individual sensitivity to internal and external stimuli activating intrusive thoughts and memories of earlier traumatic events, and exacerbating exposure-related symptoms (Benight, 2012). Extending this theory to repeated employee exposure to workplace critical incidents, research suggests that relative to those with no prior exposure, even less intense events are more likely to trigger distress and intrusive reactions among those exposed to similar types of experiences in the past (Bacharach, Bamberger, & Doveh, 2008; Bamberger, 2005).

Conservation of resources theory (Hobfoll, 1989) offers a similar explanation for these findings, with implicitly threatening events depleting resources, and thus increasing individual vulnerability to the adverse cognitive effects of incivility exposure. Conservation of resources theory suggests that the more frequent incivility incidents, the lower the probability of post-exposure resource recovery, and thus the greater the likelihood of a downward spiral of resource depletion. As we have posited that many of the team-related consequences of discrete incivility exposure stem from excessive demands on cognitive resources and the adverse implications this

can have on working memory, resource depletion stemming from recurrent incivility may expose individuals and their teams to heightened vulnerability. In other words, rather than “hardening” a victim or witness, a discrete incivility event occurring in the context of more repeated or frequent incivility exposure is likely to exacerbate the adverse performance-related consequences noted above for both the individual and the team of which they are a member. Accordingly, we posit that:

*P7b:* The effect of discrete incivility exposure on individual cognitive processes (i.e., working memory) is moderated by incivility recurrence or the frequency with which incivility has occurred in the recent past such that these effects will be more severe when the source is more (as opposed to less) recurrent.

### *Contextual Characteristics*

Research on the potential contextual moderators of incivility’s effects is limited and has primarily focused on contextual factors such as supervisory support potentially conditioning the impact of incivility-driven negative emotional states on individual performance and counter-productive work behaviors. For example, grounded on social exchange theory, [Sakurai and Jex \(2012\)](#) propose that supervisor support – communications that reflect caring, empathy, and esteem-building (i.e., *emotional support*) and the assistance in problem solving by means of tangible help or instrumental information (i.e., *instrumental support*; [House, 1981](#)) – buffers the adverse effect of incivility-driven negative emotional states on individual performance and counter-productive work behaviors as such support boosts the sense of employee obligation to the supervisor, thus attenuating any tendency of more frequent incivility exposure to lower work effort or engage in counter-productive work behaviors. However, we are unaware of any research proposing or demonstrating how support from any work-based source might *directly* mitigate the adverse

consequences of an uncivil work environment, no less of a discrete incivility incident.

Given the resource depletion perspective upon which we ground our theorizing, we propose that a more supportive work context may potentially attenuate: (a) the drain that a discrete incivility event may have on the working memory capacity of team members and (b) the direct and indirect (via team emergent states and action-phase processes) effects of a discrete incivility event on individual and team performance. We examine these support-related buffering effects using a team-based lens, focusing on two support-based constructs, namely team support climate and supervisory support, both of which, as we discuss below, are likely to be influenced by a variety of HR policies and practices ([Bamberger, Biron, & Meshoulam, 2014](#)). In doing so, we assume that the support source is distinct from the incivility perpetrator (i.e., in examining the buffering effect of supervisory or team support, the perpetrator is someone other than the supervisor or outside of the team).

*Team support climate:* Team support climate relates to the degree to which unit members (i.e., team-based peers) collectively experience the sense that team members try to assist one another, instrumentally and/or emotionally, whenever necessary. Previous research has found that the adverse impact of involvement in acute and highly threatening (i.e., traumatic) events such as 9–11 on firefighters' post-exposure emotional state is mitigated among those assigned to work units characterized by a more supportive team climate ([Bacharach & Bamberger, 2007](#); [Bacharach et al., 2008](#)).

The notion that a team support climate may buffer the effects of discrete incivility on individual and team performance is based on a relatively extensive literature examining the buffering effects of social support on individual-level stressor–strain relations ([Cohen & Wills, 1985](#); [House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988](#); [Nahum-Shani & Bamberger, 2011](#); [Nahum-Shani, Bamberger, & Bacharach, 2011](#)). Social support is considered a key resource from which people may draw when handling demanding and stressful circumstances ([Hobfoll, 2001](#)). From a resource conservation perspective, a more supportive team climate may both attenuate incivility's impact on

members' working memory, as well as buffer the effects of any of the consequences of reduced working memory capacity on individual and team performance.

A more supportive team climate may reduce the drain on working memory in two ways. First, a more supportive team climate may afford team members the ability to "voice out" their concerns following incivility exposure and win quick reassurance from their peers that the uncivil utterance or behavior was misunderstood, the result of poor tact, or simply not worth concern. Such collective reassurance may reduce the sense of threat experienced by the target, and thus more quickly redirect working memory capacity to the tasks at hand or to team action-phase processes ([Abraham, 2004](#); [DeChurch & Mesmer-Magnus, 2010](#); [Kozlowski & Ilgen, 2006](#)). For example, the working memory of medical professionals may be adversely affected when exposed to a rude comment from any source, with the result potentially being a heightened risk of involvement in an iatrogenic event (e.g., miscalculating dosage). However, words of encouragement from a teammate or peer may confirm that the rude comment was uncalled for and in fact out of place. Such behaviors – indicative of a more supportive team climate – might allow the professional to more quickly "move on," either dismissing the incident entirely, or coding it as non-threatening and something not worthy of her attention, thus decreasing the chances for iatrogenic event ([Morley & Cashell, 2017](#)).

Second, a more supportive team climate may also buffer the consequences of diminished member working memory on team action-phase processes, thereby further mitigating the adverse effects of incivility on individual and team performance. One way that the effects of diminished working memory on team action-phase processes may be mitigated in more supportive team contexts is that in such contexts, these highly supportive process may be so prevalent and well-practiced ([Liu & Fu, 2011](#); [Xue, Bradley, & Liang, 2011](#)) that they become more implicit and automatic, requiring far less cognitive capacity to execute ([Furuta et al., 2010](#)), and far less subject to a reduction in working memory capacity. To the extent that the demands on working memory associated with team action-

phase processes may be diminished in teams characterized by a more supportive climate, any reduction in capacity driven by incivility is likely to take less of a toll. This in turn leaves such teams less exposed to the secondary effects of incivility on individual and team performance generated by weaker team processes.

Taken together, the discussion above suggests:

*P7c:* The effect of discrete incivility exposure on individual cognitive processes (i.e., working memory) is moderated by team support climate such that these effects will be attenuated in teams characterized by a more supportive team climate.

*P7d:* The impact of any incivility-driven reduction in team members' working memory capacity on team action-phase processes is moderated by team support climate such that these effects will be attenuated in teams characterized by a more supportive team climate.

*The Role of HR:* Strategic HR management research suggests that various HR policies and practices can create, support and impact the employee attitudes and behaviors that serve as the basis for less or more supportive team climates (Boxall, Ang, & Bartram, 2011; Collins & Clark, 2003; Wright, Dunford, & Snell, 2001). More specifically, research suggests that HR practices emphasizing team-based pay-for-performance, internal labor markets and career development opportunities, and multi-source feedback systems (providing employees with the opportunity to encourage supportive behavior and sanction negative interpersonal interactions) may facilitate more supportive team climates (Bamberger et al., 2014; Collins & Smith, 2006; Ma, Long, Zhang, Zhang, & Lam, 2017). For example, Bamberger and Levi (2009) found that performance-based pay grounded on group outcomes tends to facilitate helping and supportive behavior among team members. Similarly, Ellis, Bell, Ployhart, Hollenbeck, & Ilgen (2005) established that team trainings had a significant positive effect on teamwork competencies such as coordination, collaborative, communication skills and support behaviors. In addition, Rai and Singh (2013) found that 360°

feedback is positively related to perceived social support. Thus, team-oriented HR practices, by enhancing a team's support climate, may attenuate the adverse impact of discrete incivility events on team action-phase and individual cognitive processes.

*Supervisor support:* The emotional and instrumental support provided by supervisors may also limit the severity of impact that a discrete incivility event has on team performance in that such support is often manifested in terms of higher levels of developmental feedback, interactional justice and trust (George & Zhou, 2007). Leveraging these three aspects of supervisory support, the adverse impact of discrete incivility events on team performance may be mitigated in two ways. First, to the degree that supervisory support is manifested in the form of higher levels of developmental feedback, the impact of an incivility event on the working memory of incivility targets and witnesses may be diminished. According to George and Zhou (2007), such feedback puts subordinates, "into a learning and improvement mode." And to the degree that more supportive supervision elicits such a proactive, challenge-focused mindset, team members exposed to incivility may tend to reframe the incident less as a threat and more of a challenge, thus placing a reduced and less immediate demand on working memory capacity (Crum, Corbin, Brownell, & Salovey, 2011; Crum, Leibowitz, & Verghese, 2017; Pennebaker, 1999; Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999). The higher levels of interactional justice and trust associated with supportive supervision may further reduce the implicit sense of threat associated with the rude remark in that those working under more supportive supervisors are likely to view that individual as giving them the benefit of the doubt and backing them in any rudeness-related dispute (Wang et al., 2013). More specifically, the interactional justice associated with supportive supervision likely gives subordinates a sense that they will not be unfairly blamed for whatever may have elicited the incivility event (George & Zhou, 2007).

Taking the above discussion into account, we propose:



*P7e:* The effect of discrete incivility exposure on individual cognitive processes (i.e., working memory) is moderated by supervisory support such that these effects will be attenuated in teams characterized by more supportive supervision.

Second, supervisor support in the form of developmental feedback may buffer the impact of any diminished working memory capacity on individual performance and team action-phase processes. In both cases, the developmental feedback at the core of supervisor support may allow team members to compensate for diminished working memory capacity by prompting employees to systematically focus on the information at hand, question preexisting assumptions and schemas, and develop a deeper understanding of both the current situation and how it can be improved. (George & Zhou, 2007)

Such supervisor-elicited reflection may facilitate compensatory behaviors ultimately buffering the impact of diminished working memory capacity on both individual performance and team action-phases processes. Accordingly, we posit:

*P7f:* The impact of any incivility-driven reduction in team members' working memory capacity on members' individual performance and team action-phase processes is moderated by supportive supervision such that these effects will be attenuated in teams characterized by more supportive supervision.

*The Role of HR:* Scholars have suggested that a number of HR practices can play a key role in boosting employee perceptions of supervisory support (Allen, Shore, & Griffeth, 2003; Rhoades, Eisenberger, & Armeli, 2001). These practices typically include training managers in coaching and mentoring skills in general, and emotional intelligence (EQ) in particular, facilitating employee voicing, and taking greater consideration of EQ when selecting individuals for supervisory positions (Dvir, Eden, Avolio, & Shamir, 2002; Ladegard & Gjerde, 2014; Shenhar, 1993). For example,



empirical research has demonstrated a relationship between a variety of individual traits and characteristics, including EQ and conscientiousness, and supervisory support, thus suggesting that supervisory selection processes taking such attributes into consideration may provide a more solid foundation for the emergence of supervisory support ([Benson, Zigarmi, & Nimon, 2012](#); [Carless, Wearing, & Mann, 2000](#); [Jawahar & Carr, 2007](#)). Such attributes can be strengthened by incorporating EQ and coaching skills into leadership development programs as means by which to further enhance interpersonal trust and elicit a collective sense among employees that supervisors are supportive of them ([Goleman, Boyatzis, & McKee, 2002](#); [Ladegard & Gjerde, 2014](#)). Furthermore, studies indicate that the facilitation of employee voicing, by facilitating more open communication between managers and their employees, may also boost employees' perceptions of organizational caring and supervisory support ([Liu, Tangirala, & Ramanujam, 2013](#); [Van Dyne, Kamdar, & Joireman, 2008](#)). In sum, there is a substantial body of research suggesting that by adopting policies and practices aimed at boosting supervisory support, HR systems may play a key, albeit indirect, role in mitigating the adverse impact of discrete incivility events on individual and team performance.

### *Characteristics of the Target or Witness*

Although most of the research on incivility and individual differences has, following [Andersson & Pearson \(1999\)](#), focused on how certain characteristics can "inhibit or facilitate aggressive exchange," a number of studies have identified victim characteristics as potentially moderating the impact of incivility exposure on its outcomes, and in particular, victim-enacted retaliatory and/or counter-productive work behaviors ([Chi, Tsai, & Tseng, 2013](#); [Penney & Spector, 2005](#); [Walker, van Jaarsveld, & Skarlicki, 2014](#); [Wang, Liao, Zhan, & Shi, 2011](#)). These studies focus on two key individual difference factors,

namely negative affect and emotional stability/self-regulation self-efficacy.

Scholars have found NA – an individual's tendency or predisposition to experience negative mood states such as anger and frustration ([Watson & Clark, 1984](#); [Watson, Pennebaker, & Folger, 1987](#); [Watson & Pennebaker, 1989](#)) – to exacerbate the effects of uncivil work contexts ([Penney & Spector, 2005](#)), and discrete incivility events ([Walker et al., 2014](#)) on victim affect and counter-productive work behavior. According to [Penney and Spector \(2005\)](#), this exacerbation effect may stem from the tendency of high-NA employees to more automatically “ascribe malicious motives,” rather than ambiguous motives, to incivility perpetrators. Indeed, prior research has found that high-NA employees are particularly reactant to mistreatment events ([Skarlicki, Folger, & Tesluk, 1999](#); [Skarlicki et al., 2008](#); [Walker et al., 2014](#); [Wang, Liao, et al., 2011](#)). Aside from increasing the likelihood of retaliation, the tendency of high-NA individuals to ascribe to such acts more malicious motives suggests that these individuals are also more likely to view such acts as more threatening, thus demanding that they shift more cognitive capacity (working memory) to the management of such incidents. As a result, it is logical to expect that the impact of discrete incivility events on the working memory and cognitive processing of those targeted by or witnessing such events is likely to be greater to the extent that these targets or witnesses are higher in NA.

Other studies have found emotional self-regulation capacity and emotional stability as moderating individual's reactions to uncivil events. For example, [Wang, Liao, et al. \(2011\)](#) found self-efficacy for emotional regulation, the degree to which “people believe that they are able to successfully regulate their emotions,” to attenuate the impact of customer mistreatment on employee retaliatory behavior. Similarly, [Chi et al. \(2013\)](#) found the adverse effect of customer incivility on the state hostility of Taiwanese hairstylists to be amplified among those hairstylists higher in neuroticism (i.e., lower in emotional stability). One explanation may be that higher ability and/or self-efficacy for performing emotion work reduces the risk of victims or witnesses misinterpreting such ambiguous events as more

malicious or threatening as it is in fact. As a result, as in the case of lower NA, such individuals may be able to limit the demands on their working memory for processing capacity needed to in order to interpret the threat and weigh alternative response strategies. Accordingly, we posit:

*P7g.* The effect of discrete incivility exposure on individual cognitive processes (i.e., working memory) is moderated by negative affect such that these effects will be amplified among members higher in negative affect.

*P7h.* The effect of discrete incivility exposure on individual cognitive processes (i.e., working memory) is moderated by emotional self-regulation capacity and emotional stability such that these effects will be attenuated among members higher in emotional self-regulation capacity or emotional stability.

## **DISCUSSION**

Arguing that individual cognitive processing and team coordination-related emergent states and action-phase processes are adversely affected when team members are victims of or witnesses to discrete incivility events enacted by others, we proposed a multi-level model explaining how and when such discrete acts may impact team performance. While taking into account the potential for affect-driven motivational effects, the model which we proposed is distinct from affect-driven models of incivility and workplace aggression in that it focuses on *discrete* incivility events, and is driven by the research on *cognitive* resource depletion. More specifically, it provides a nuanced perspective on how the incivility-based depletion of team members' working memory capacity can debilitate the ability of a team to function effectively. Additionally, our model highlighted three sets of factors – namely those relating to the nature of the event itself, the surrounding context, and the characteristics of those exposed to the event – as likely to moderate the severity of impact

that discrete acts of incivility may have on individual cognition and team action-phase processes and hence, on team performance.

The proposed model offers three primary contributions to research and theorizing on workplace incivility. First, it extends our understanding of the consequences of workplace incivility from the individual level to the level of the team. This is important in that work is increasingly group- or team-based, with organizational work processes increasingly interdependent and collaborative (Adler, 2003; Nancarrow et al., 2013). In such contexts, even the most individually targeted incivility, even if witnessed by no other team member, can still have team-level consequences. The model which we proposed above offers a nuanced explication of how and when such consequences may emerge.

Second, in contrast to the vast majority of studies examining the affective and emotional consequences of uncivil work contexts, with its focus on *discrete* incivility events and their impact on target and witness *cognitive* resource depletion, this model offers a nuanced perspective on the means by which even a seemingly benign, one-time exposure to an uncivil remark or act can have profound, adverse implications on team performance. This is important in that there is increasing evidence that beyond its adverse, affective and emotional consequences, incivility can have more immediate and subtle cognitive effects that are no less devastating. That is, in contrast to the cumulative, affective and emotional consequences that have been more widely studied, these immediate, cognition-driven effects, may not be consciously noticeable to incivility targets and witnesses. Understanding how and when discrete incivility events affect individual cognition and the team-based processes affected by it is also key to developing a “grand theory” of incivility, explaining its immediate and cumulative effects at multiple levels of analysis. Additionally, the insights our model offers into the cognitive implications of discrete incivility events is important in that it may guide more efficacious policies and interventions aimed at mitigating the wicked consequences of these widely prevalent but hard-to-prevent occurrences at work. For example, to the extent that incivility-driven cognitive resource depletion is more severe when

victims and witnesses ascribe a higher level of threat to such events, researchers might work toward developing applied cognitive engineering interventions designed to “train” the brain to be less quick in automatically interpreting an ambiguous remark as a threat ([Bar-Haim, 2010](#); [Gopher, Weil, & Siegel, 1989](#); [Riskin et al., 2017](#)).

Finally, the model developed above offers initial insights into three distinct sets of factors potentially conditioning the magnitude of impact that discrete incivility incidents may have on individual cognition and team processes. This is important in that while incivility scholars are increasingly examining the conditioning effects of target individual differences on incivility’s consequences ([Wang, Liao, et al., 2011](#)), we remain quite far from understanding those factors likely to moderate incivility’s effects. Our model, and in particular, its specification of three sets of potential conditioning factors, moves us closer toward appreciating how the nature of the event itself, the context in which it occurred and the characteristics of those exposed to it might each individually attenuate or amplify the event’s individual and team-level consequences. A deepening of our understanding of these and other potential conditioning factors is critical not only in order for us to more precisely predict the consequences of particular incivility events, but also to design interventions that might potentially mitigate their adverse consequences. Indeed, from a practical sense, it may be easier to address workplace incivility by focusing on those more easily-affected contextual circumstances potentially mitigating its adverse consequences, than trying to prevent it altogether.

### *Limitations*

Paralleling these important contributions, there are several limitations to the model we have proposed. Several of these limitations have to do with our approach to modeling the factors potentially conditioning the impact of discrete incivility on performance. First, our model focuses strictly on moderators of the impact of incivility on individual cognitive processes (i.e., working

memory) and team action-phase processes (i.e., stage 1 moderators). Clearly, there are a myriad of factors likely to condition the effects of: (a) individual cognitive processes on individual performance and the latter's effects on team performance, (b) team action-phase processes on team performance. Given the extensive literature on both of these topics and an interest in model parsimony, we focused our attention on the stage 1 moderators only. Second, while we sought to identify from the extant research on moderators of individual-level incivility those factors likely to have the most robust moderating effects at multiple levels, we acknowledge that our model is far from comprehensive. For example, although it is possible that through a process of implicit "hardening" the impact of a particular type of discrete incivility event may have more robust events in one cultural context (e.g., one in which civility is the norm) than in another (e.g., in which incivility is the norm). Moreover, while we theorized how each moderator may individually condition the effects of discrete incivility events, it is possible (even probable) that these factors interact with one another, and may even operate in the context of configurations. For example, rather than each contextual factor operating as an independent moderator, it may make more sense to identify contextual configurations, each capturing multiple dimensions of the incivility context, and using these to better understand when and with what degree of impact, discrete incivility events may affect individuals and the groups and teams to which they belong.

Another set of limitations has to do with the temporal implications of discrete incivility events on individuals and teams. As our intent was to model discrete incivility incidents, our concern was with the immediate performance implications. Although we did consider the potential moderating effects of incivility frequency and hence the degree to which a particular event occurs in the context of other prior events, we did not take into consideration the duration of impact. One possibility is that, indeed and as modeled, the implications are rather immediate, with the impact being manifested within the moments or minutes following incivility exposure. However, it is entirely possible that even in the absence of additional

incivility exposure, discrete exposure's cognitive implications may linger for several hours or even days, particularly if it elicits rumination away from the workplace (e.g., at night). Exploration of such lingering effects is complex in that it requires isolating victims and witnesses from additional exposure in order to minimize the risk of contamination and confounds. While we turn to how these and other such factors and effects may be explored in the next section, it is important that those interested in examining these latency effects explore the incident-, context- and individual difference-related factors that might extend or limit the latency of the insult.

### *Theoretical and Empirical Implications: The Next Steps for HR Researchers*

Our application of a cognitive perspective to better understand the implications of incivility at work on individual and team performance has important theoretical and empirical implications. With regard to theory, the approach adopted in this chapter should encourage HR researchers to more extensively consider how cognitive factors, and particularly more automatic processes, may underlie the employee attitudes and behaviors they study. While the focus of our interest in the current chapter was on discrete incivility events, there may be a wide set of discrete events that, aside from driving attitudes and behavior through motivated, reflective action, drive the same more automatically through cognitive processes. For example, direct and indirect exposure to even relatively minor workplace injuries and accidents may affect cognition much like rudeness as they too can serve as an ambiguous source of threat. Pay-related communications may do the same, particularly if employees receive information about their rewards that suggests a reward lower than their expectations. For example, Meuris and Leana (2018) found that financial precarity adversely affects cognitive capacity (working memory), and in turn has a robust, adverse effect on truck driver performance.



Additionally, while HR scholars have begun to look at how HR systems and human capital resources relate to team-based work processes, the focus has typically been more on ensuring that teams have the capabilities to act (e.g., [Gerrard & Lockett, 2018](#); [Ployhart & Moliterno, 2011](#)) and less on facilitating synergy. The cognitive insights offered by our analysis suggest a need to focus on how events and contexts may affect the cognitive infrastructure underlying synergy and synergistic team behaviors. Building on this perspective, HR researchers may want to develop and test models examining how HR practices create the kind of implicit mindsets and cognitive frames that facilitate (or disrupt) more effective team action processes. For example, following the work of [Rico et al. \(2008\)](#) and [Vashdi et al. \(2013\)](#), HR scholars may want to examine how might feedback affect the kind of employee self-monitoring needed for timely and meaningful social interaction.

The current model also offers a useful guide to multi-level, empirical research on the consequences of discrete incivility events, and the role of individual cognition and team emergent states and processes in explaining these effects. However, the nature of this model suggests that conventional incivility study designs are unlikely to be effective in testing hypotheses derived from this model. This is because conventional incivility study designs typically assess the degree to which individuals are exposed to incivility from particular sources or in general. The model which we offer, by focusing on discrete incivility events, demands study designs in which such events can be isolated. Two types of study designs are likely to be most suitable for empirically testing this model and its embedded propositions.

The first of these involves experimental and quasi-experimental designs. Using this approach, researchers might take baseline measures of both individual cognitive and team action-phase processes and performance. Following the team's exposure to a discrete incivility event (the nature of this event subject to experimental manipulation), subsequent assessments of individual cognitive and team action-phase processes, as well as individual and team performance would then be taken. In two studies, [Riskin et al.](#)

(2015, 2017) adopted such a design in order to examine the effects of incivility on individual and team performance among members of NICU teams. In the first study, 24 NICU teams participating in a training simulation were randomly assigned to either exposure to rudeness (in which the observing expert's comments included mildly rude statements completely unrelated to the team's performance) or control (neutral comments). Independent judges (blinded to team exposure) evaluated the videotaped simulation sessions using structured questionnaires to assess team performance (Riskin et al., 2015). Using a medical simulation center, in the second study, four NICU teams had to perform a full day's worth of five emergency scenarios. Three of the teams started their day confronted by an actress playing "mother" who accused them of misdiagnosing her child. The fourth team served as a control group, and was not exposed to rudeness. Simulation sessions were evaluated by two independent judges, blind to team exposure, from an adjacent control room with one-way mirrors and multiple video monitors allowing for close-up observation (Riskin et al., 2017). Building on this basic, experimental design, it may be possible to monitor any changes in individual and team performance over the course of the day, and in particular, well after the individual was exposed to the incivility incident.

Additionally, it may be possible to understand the mechanisms underlying the proposed effects by testing the sensitivity of both the interim (e.g., processing speed) and final endogenous (e.g., diagnostic performance) variables to particular interventions. For example, to the extent that the impact of a discrete incivility event on individual working memory is a function of the threat the individual implicitly ascribes to the event, the degree of impact should be sensitive to whether or not study participants are pre-treated by a cognitive "training" app designed to reframe individuals' immediate ascriptions of threat. Adopting such an approach, Riskin et al. tested this in their study of NICU teams described above (2017). One of the three teams exposed to rudeness received no preparation for this encounter. But, the second team took part in a 20-minute computer game beforehand that exposed them to angry

and happy faces, providing feedback that made them less sensitive to hostile emotions. The members of the third team were asked to write a narrative about the rude event after it had occurred, to possibly diminish any lasting effect it might have on them ([Riskin et al., 2017](#)).

A major strength of such experiments is that they can be conducted in a simulated workplace setting with organic teams, allowing systematic manipulation of the rudeness. But, while the simulated setting is one step closer to the field than the lab-based studies conducted to date ([Porath & Erez, 2007, 2009](#); [Porath et al., 2015](#)), its generalizability to the real life setting may still be limited, in part due to experimental demand characteristics (such as the knowledge that their performance is being observed and monitored).

The second of these approaches offers a potential solution to this problem by using field-based, experience sampling. Such designs have been used in a number of studies (e.g., [Walker et al., 2014](#); [Wang, Liao, et al., 2011](#)), typically with the aim of monitoring how the frequency of incivility within a set time framework (e.g., workday) might affect well-being on the same or subsequent day. But by having participants focus on a particular incivility event in a short period of time (e.g., past two hours), including measures on the nature of the particular event, and then using real-time, phone-based assessments of cognitive function, supervisor assessment of team processes and perhaps archival team or group performance data, it may be possible to test the model's propositions in a non-simulated context. Furthermore, this approach might allow for easier assessment of the impact of particular types of incivility events in varying contextual conditions (e.g., a context in which incivility is frequent vs. rare). That is, such designs allow the researcher to parcel out the extent to which any adverse incivility consequences are the result of a single exposure, versus the compounded effect of multiple exposures occurring closely together in time ([Riskin et al., 2019](#)).

### *Implications for Practice*

Considering our model, there are several practical implications that HR practitioners might adopt in order to address the causes or consequences of workplace incivility. First, operative trainings can diminish the effect of discrete incivility events on team and individual cognition. For example, self-regulation and self-management training have been found to mitigate bullying and unethical behaviors at workplace ([McAllister & Perrewe, 2018](#)). Furthermore, certain types of training have been found to increase individual resilience to incivility exposure ([Vancouver & Day, 2005](#)). For example, [Riskin et al. \(2017\)](#) used cognitive bias modification (CBM) as a means by which to re-calibrate unconscious categorizations of behavior as threatening, and thus mitigate the adverse effects of rudeness on NICU teams' performance. Based on these findings, HR managers might consider adopting interventions that increase people's resiliency to attention-diverting stressors (e.g., discrete incivility event), and "immunize" their cognitive abilities from being adversely affected by incivility exposure.

Job redesign, supervisory training, and normative engineering are additional strategies that HR and organizational practitioners might consider. To the extent that the cognitive depletion generated by an incivility incident may be exacerbated by certain individual differences, jobs may be designed to incorporate compensatory mechanisms. For example, those identified as being at particular risk (due to limited cognitive capacity or low resilience to ambiguity or uncertainty; [Park & Kim, 2013](#)) may be trained and encouraged to take notes and/or use checklists ([Walker, Reshamwalla, & Wilson, 2012](#)). Additionally, to the extent that support climate may mitigate the adverse effects of discrete incivility, using EQ as a criterion for supervisory selection, and/or boosting supervisory skills in offering emotional support through training may also offer an effective means by which to mitigate the adverse impact of discrete incivility on individual and team performance ([Clarke, 2006](#); [Thory, 2013](#)). Finally, HR leaders may work to take steps to better define organizational norms and values that reduce the incidence of incivility (at least from internal sources), and design selection mechanisms to ensure that those hired meet these normative

expectations (Porath & Pearson, 2013; Valentine, Hollingworth, & Eidsness, 2014).

## CONCLUSION

Although there is a rich literature consistently demonstrating how and when incivility impacts individual affect and emotion, and can even impair individual performance, our understanding of the consequences of discrete incivility exposure on team-level processes and outcomes, and the role played by cognition in governing these consequences, is limited. Therefore, our intent in developing the model explicated above was to provide an integrative framework for investigating these multi-level, cognition-driven effects.

Understanding the impact of incivility on performance and the probability of performance-related errors, and the mechanisms by which these effects operate is critical in order for researchers and practitioners to develop interventions aimed at enhancing performance improvements, worker safety, and client satisfaction. Such interventions should aim at enhancing safety by means of buffering teams and their members from incivility where possible, and bolstering their defenses against it when buffering is not possible.

## REFERENCES

- Abraham, R. (2004). Emotional competence as antecedent to performance: A contingency framework. *Genetic Social and General Psychology Monographs*, 130(2), 117–143. doi: 10.3200/Mono.130.2.117-145
- Adler, P. S. (2003). Towards collaborative interdependence: A century of change in the organization of work. In B. E. Kaufman, R. A. Beaumont & R. B. Helfgott (Eds.), *Industrial relations to human resources and beyond: The evolving process of employee relations management* (1st ed., pp. 353–399). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp.
- Allen, D. G., Shore, L. M., & Griffeth, R. W. (2003). The role of perceived organizational support and supportive human resource practices in the turnover process. *Journal of Management*, 29(1), 99–118. PII: S0149-2063(02)00222-2. doi:10.1016/S0149-2063(02)00222-2

- Allen, M., Smallwood, J., Christensen, J., Gramm, D., Rasmussen, B., Jensen, C. G., ... Lutz, A. (2013). The balanced mind: the variability of task-unrelated thoughts predicts error monitoring. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 7, 743. doi:10.3389/fnhum.2013.00743
- Andersson, L. M., & Pearson, C. M. (1999). Tit for tat? The spiraling effect of incivility in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review*, 24(3), 452–471. doi:10.5465/Amr.1999.2202131
- Appleby, C. (2010). The cost of bad behavior: How incivility is damaging your business and what to do about it. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 23(2), 197–202. doi:10.1108/09534811011031373
- 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(6), 1023–1034. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.89.6.1023
- Ashcraft, M. H., & Radvansky, G. A. (2014). *Cognition* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Ashford, S. J. (1986). Feedback-seeking in individual adaptation: A resource perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, 29(3), 465–487. doi: 10.2307/256219
- Ashford, S. J., Blatt, R., & VandeWalle, D. (2003). Reflections on the looking glass: A review of research on feedback-seeking behavior in organizations. *Journal of Management*, 29(6), 773–799. doi:10.1016/S0149-2063(03)00079-5
- Austin, J. R. (2003). Transactive memory in organizational groups: the effects of content, consensus, specialization, and accuracy on group performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(5), 866–878.
- Bacharach, S. B., & Bamberger, P. A. (2007). 9/11 and New York City firefighters' post hoc unit support and control climates: A context theory of the consequences of involvement in traumatic work-related events. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(4), 849–868.
- Bacharach, S. B., Bamberger, P. A., & Doveh, E. (2008). Firefighters, critical incidents, and drinking to cope: The adequacy of unit-level performance resources as a source of vulnerability and protection. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(1), 155–169.
- Baddeley, A. (2012). Working memory: Theories, models, and controversies. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 63, 1–29.
- Baddeley, A. D., & Hitch, G. J. (1974). Working memory. In G. H. Bower (Ed.), *The psychology of learning and motivation* (Vol. 8, pp. 47–89). New York: Academic Press.
- Bamberger, P. A. (2005). Work-based critical incidents and problem drinking. *Work and Occupations*, 32(3), 257–289.
- Bamberger, P. A., Biron, M., & Meshoulam, I. (2014). *Human resource strategy: Formulation, implementation, and impact* (2nd ed. Vol. 1). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bamberger, P. A., & Levi, R. (2009). Team-based reward allocation structures and the helping behaviors of outcome-interdependent team members. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 24(4), 300–327. doi:10.1108/02683940910952705
- Bar-Haim, Y. (2010). Research review: Attention bias modification (ABM): a novel treatment for anxiety disorders. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 51(8), 859–870.
- Barling, J., Dekker, I., Loughlin, C., Kelloway, E., Fullagar, C., & Johnson, D. (1996). Prediction and replication of the organizational and personal consequences of workplace sexual harassment. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 11, 4–25.

- Barling, J., Rogers, A., & Kelloway, E. (2001). Behind closed doors: In-home workers' experience of sexual harassment and workplace violence. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 6, 255–269.
- Beer, M. (2013). Silent killers of team performance: How honest, collective, public conversations can overcome them. In E. Salas, S. I. Tannenbaum, D. Cohen, & G. Latham (Eds.), *Developing and enhancing teamwork in organizations: Evidence-based best practice and guidelines* (pp. 27–47). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, Wiley. (Reprinted from: NOT IN FILE).
- Bender, R. E., & Alloy, L. B. (2011). Life stress and kindling in bipolar disorder: review of the evidence and integration with emerging biopsychosocial theories. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 31(3), 383–398.
- Benight, C. C. (2012). Understanding human adaptation to traumatic stress exposure: Beyond the medical model. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 4(1), 1–8.
- Benson, J., Zigarmi, D., & Nimon, K. (2012). Manager's emotional intelligence, their perceived use of directive and supportive leader behaviors and resultant employee satisfaction. *Journal of Business Administration Research*, 1(2), 30–50. doi:10.5430/jbar.v1n2p30
- Bertram, E. (2007). The relevance of kindling for human epilepsy. *Epilepsia*, 48(Suppl 2), 65–74.
- Blum, L. A., Hunt, D. W., Hanks, J., Nordberg, M., Goldstein, S. N., Spiro, D. C., & Ludwig, G. G. (1995). Rude awakenings. *Emergency Medical Services*, 24(5), 31–35.
- 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(5), 998–1012. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.91.5.998
- Boxall, P., Ang, S. H., & Bartram, T. (2011). Analysing the 'Black Box' of HRM: Uncovering HR goals, mediators, and outcomes in a standardized service environment. *Journal of Management Studies*, 48(7), 1504–1532. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6486.2010.00973.x
- Brindley, P. G. (2014). Improving teamwork in anaesthesia and critical care: many lessons still to learn. *British Journal of Anaesthesia*, 112(3), 399–401. doi:10.1093/bja/aet334
- Bunting, M. F., & Cowan, N. (2005). Working memory and flexibility in awareness and attention. *Psychological Research*, 69(5-6), 412–419.
- Burtscher, M. J., Manser, T., Kolbe, M., Grote, G., Grande, B., Spahn, D. R., & Wacker, J. (2011). Adaptation in anaesthesia team coordination in response to a simulated critical event and its relationship to clinical performance. *British Journal of Anaesthesia*, 106(6), 801–806.
- Carless, S. A., Wearing, A. J., & Mann, L. (2000). A short measure of transformational leadership. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 14(3), 389–405. doi: 10.1023/A:1022991115523
- 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.
- Chi, N. W., Tsai, W. C., & Tseng, S. M. (2013). Customer negative events and employee service sabotage: The roles of employee hostility, personality and group affective tone. *Work and Stress*, 27(3), 298–319. doi:10.1080/02678373.2013.819046
- Chiocchio, F. (2007). Project team performance: A study of electronic task and coordination communication. *Project Management Journal*, 38(1), 97–109.



- Clarke, N. (2006). Emotional intelligence training: A case of caveat emptor. *Human Resource Development Review*, 5(4), 422–441. doi:10.1177%2F1534484306293844
- Coe, R., & Gould, D. (2008). Disagreement and aggression in the operating theatre. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 61(6), 609–618.
- Cohen, S. G., & Bailey, D. E. (1997). What makes teams work: Group effectiveness research from the shop floor to the executive suite. *Journal of Management*, 23(3), 239–290.
- Cohen, S., & Wills, T. A. (1985). Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 98(2), 310–357.
- Collins, C. J., & Clark, K. D. (2003). Strategic human resource practices, top management team social networks, and firm performance: The role of human resource practices in creating organizational competitive advantage. *Academy of Management Journal*, 46(6), 740–751. doi:10.2307/30040665
- Collins, C. J., & Smith, K. G. (2006). Knowledge exchange and combination: The role of human resource practices in the performance of high-technology firms. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(3), 544–560. doi: 10.5465/Amj.2006.21794671
- Cortina, L. M. (2008). Unseen injustice: Incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 33(1), 55–75.
- Cortina, L. M., Kabat-Farr, D., Leskinen, E. A., Huerta, M., & Magley, V. J. (2013). Selective Incivility as modern discrimination in organizations: Evidence and impact. *Journal of Management*, 39(6), 1579–1605. doi:10.1177/0149206311418835
- Cortina, L. M., Lonsway, K. A., Magley, V. J., Freeman, L. V., Collinsworth, L. L., Hunter, M., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2002). What's gender got to do with it? Incivility in the federal courts. *Law and Social Inquiry*, 27(2), 235–270. doi:10.1111/j.1747-4469.2002.tb00804.x
- 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(1), 64–80.
- Crum, A. J., Corbin, W. R., Brownell, K. D., & Salovey, P. (2011). Mind over milkshakes: mindsets, not just nutrients, determine ghrelin response. *Health Psychology*, 30(4), 424–429.
- Crum, A. J., Leibowitz, K. A., & Verghese, A. (2017). Making mindset matter. *Bmj-British Medical Journal*, 356. doi:ARTN j674 10.1136/bmj.j674
- DeChurch, L. A., & Mesmer-Magnus, J. R. (2010). The cognitive underpinnings of effective teamwork: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95(1), 32–53. doi:10.1037/a0017328
- Dollard, M. F., Dormann, C., Boyd, C. M., Winefield, H. R., & Winefield, A. H. (2003). Unique aspects of stress in human service work. *Australian Psychologist*, 38(2), 84–91.
- Dvir, T., Eden, D., Avolio, B. J., & Shamir, B. (2002). Impact of transformational leadership on follower development and performance: A field experiment. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45(4), 735–744. doi: 10.2307/3069307
- Ellis, A. P. J. (2006). System breakdown: The role of mental models and transactive memory in the relationship between acute stress and team performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(3), 576–589.
- Ellis, A. P. J., Bell, B. S., Ployhart, R. E., Hollenbeck, J. R., & Ilgen, D. R. (2005). An evaluation of generic teamwork skills training with action teams: Effects on cognitive and skill-based outcomes. *Personnel Psychology*, 58(3), 641–672. doi: 10.1111/j.1744-6570.2005.00617.x

- Engle, R. W., & Kane, M. J. (2004). Executive attention, working memory capacity, and a two-factor theory of cognitive control. In B. Ross (Ed.), *The psychology of learning and motivation* (Vol. 44, pp. 145–199). New York, NY: Elsevier.
- Entin, E. E., & Serfaty, D. (1999). Adaptive team coordination. *Human Factors*, 41(2), 312–325.
- Erez, A., Porath, C. L., & Foulk, T. (2014). Even if it's only on your mind: The cognitive toll of incivility. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- Espinosa, J. A., Lerch, F. J., & Kraut, R. E. (2004). Explicit vs. implicit coordination mechanisms and task dependencies: One size does not fit all. In E. Salas & S. M. Fiore (Eds.), *Team cognition: Understanding the factors that drive process and performance* (pp. 107–129). Washington, DC: APA Books. (Reprinted from: NOT IN FILE).
- Flin, R. (2010). Rudeness at work: A threat to patient safety and quality of care. *BMJ*, 340, c2480.
- Foulk, T., Woolum, A., & Erez, A. (2016). Catching rudeness is like catching a cold: The contagion effects of low-intensity negative behaviors. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 101(1), 50–67. doi:10.1037/apl0000037
- Fraher, A. L., Branicki, L. J., & Grint, K. (2017). Mindfulness in action: Discovering how U.S. navy seals build capacity for mindfulness in high-reliability organizations (HROS). *Academy of Management Discoveries*, 3(3), 239–261. doi:10.5465/amd.2014.0146
- Furuta, K., Soraji, Y., Kanno, T., Aoyama, H., Inoue, S., Karikawa, D., & Takahashi, M. (2010). Cognitive model of team cooperation in en-route air traffic control. *Reliability, Risk and Safety: Theory and Applications*, 1–3, 1811–1816.
- George, J. M., & Zhou, J. (2007). Dual tuning in a supportive context: Joint contributions of positive mood, negative mood, and supervisory behaviors to employee creativity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(3), 605–622. doi:10.5465/Amj.2007.25525934
- Gerrard, B., & Lockett, A. (2018). Team-specific human capital and performance. *British Journal of Management*, 29(1), 10–25. doi: 10.1111/1467-8551.12173
- Gigone, D., & Hastie, R. (1997). The impact of information on small group choice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72(1), 132–140. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.72.1.132
- Gilbert, D. T., & Hixon, J. G. (1991). The trouble of thinking: Activation and application of stereotypic beliefs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(4), 509–517. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.60.4.509
- Gilbert, D. T., & Krull, D. S. (1988). Seeing less and knowing more: The benefits of perceptual ignorance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54(2), 193–202. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.54.2.193
- Gilbert, D. T., Pelham, B. W., & Krull, D. S. (1988). On cognitive busyness: When person perceivers meet persons perceived. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54(5), 733–740. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.54.5.733
- Giumetti, G. W., McKibben, E. S., Hatfield, A. L., Schroeder, A. N., & Kowalski, R. M. (2012). Cyber Incivility @ Work: The new age of interpersonal deviance. *Cyberpsychology Behavior and Social Networking*, 15(3), 148–154. doi:10.1089/cyber.2011.0336
- Goleman, D., Boyatzis, R., & McKee, A. (2002). *The new leaders: Transforming the art of leadership into the science of results* (Vol. 1). London: Little, Brown.
- Gopher, D., Weil, M., & Siegel, D. (1989). Practice under changing priorities: An approach to the training of complex skills. *Acta Psychologica*, 71(1-3), 147–177.

- Grandey, A. A., Dickter, D. N., & Sin, H. (2004). The customer is not always right: Customer aggression and emotion regulation of service employees. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25(3), 397–418.
- Gray, J. E., Suresh, G., Ursprung, R., Edwards, W. H., Nickerson, J., Shiono, P. H., ... Horbar, J. (2006). Patient misidentification in the neonatal intensive care unit: quantification of risk. *Pediatrics*, 117(1), e43–e47.
- Guy, M. E., Newman, M. A., & Mastracci, S. H. (2008). *Emotional Labor: Putting the Service in Public Service*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Handy, J. (2006). Sexual harassment in small-town New Zealand: A qualitative study of three contrasting organizations. *Gender Work and Organization*, 13(1), 1–24. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0432.2006.00293.x
- Harris, L. C., & Reynolds, K. L. (2003). The consequences of dysfunctional customer behavior. *Journal of Service Research*, 6(2), 144–161.
- Harvey, M., Treadway, D., Heames, J., & Duke, A. (2009). Bullying in the 21st century global organization: An ethical perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 85(1), 27–40. doi:10.1007/s10551-008-9746-8
- Herscovis, M. S. (2011). "Incivility, social undermining, bullying ... oh my!": A call to reconcile constructs within workplace aggression research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 32(3), 499–519. doi:10.1002/job.689
- Herscovis, 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(1), 24–44. doi:10.1002/job.621
- Hobfoll, S. E. (1989). Conservation of resources. A new attempt at conceptualizing stress. *American Psychologist*, 44(3), 513–524.
- Hobfoll, S. E. (2001). The influence of culture, community, and the nested-self in the stress process: Advancing conservation of resources theory. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 50(3), 337–421.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social-structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(3), 551–575. doi: 10.1086/227049
- Hollingshead, A. B. (1998a). Communication, learning, and retrieval in transactive memory systems. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 34(5), 423–442. doi: 10.1006/jesp.1998.1358
- Hollingshead, A. B. (1998b). Retrieval processes in transactive memory systems. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(3), 659–671. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.74.3.659
- Hollingshead, A. B. (2001). Cognitive interdependence and convergent expectations in transactive memory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81(6), 1080–1089. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.81.6.1080
- House, J. S. (1981). *Work stress and social support* (Vol. 4). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- House, J. S., Umberson, D., & Landis, K. R. (1988). Structures and processes of social support. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 14, 293–318.
- Jawahar, I. M., & Carr, D. (2007). Conscientiousness and contextual performance: The compensatory effects of perceived organizational support and leader-member exchange. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 22(4), 330–349. doi: 10.1108/02683940710745923
- Joint, C. (2008). Behaving badly? *The American Nurse*, 1–12.
- Kasper, G. (1990). Linguistic politeness: Current research issues. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, 193–218.

- Keashly, L., & Neuman, J. H. (2010). Faculty experiences with bullying in higher education. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 32(1), 48–70.
- Kivimäki, M., Virtanen, M., Vartiainen, M., Elovainio, M., Vahtera, J., & Keltikangas-Järvinen, L. (2003). Workplace bullying and the risk of cardiovascular disease and depression. *Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 60(10), 779–783.
- Klein, A. S., & Forni, P. M. (2011). Barbers of civility. *Archives of Surgery*, 146(7), 774–777.
- Kozlowski, S. W. J., & Bell, B. S. (2003). Work Groups and Teams in Organizations. In W. C. Borman, D. R. Ilgen & R. J. Klimoski (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Industrial and organizational psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 333–375). New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Kozlowski, S. W. J., & Ilgen, D. R. (2006). Enhancing the effectiveness of work groups and teams. *Psychological Science*, 77–124. doi: 10.1111/j.1529-1006.2006.00030.x
- Ladegard, G., & Gjerde, S. (2014). Leadership coaching, leader role-efficacy, and trust in subordinates. A mixed methods study assessing leadership coaching as a leadership development tool. *Leadership Quarterly*, 25(4), 631–646. doi:10.1016/j.leaqua.2014.02.002
- Lavie, N. (2010). Attention, distraction, and cognitive control under load. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 19(3), 143–148. doi:10.1177/0963721410370295
- Lazarus, R. S. (1999). *Stress and emotion: A new synthesis*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.
- LePine, J. A., Piccolo, R. F., Jackson, C. L., Mathieu, J. E., & Saul, J. R. (2008). A meta-analysis of teamwork processes: Tests of a multidimensional model and relationships with team effectiveness criteria. *Personnel Psychology*, 61(2), 273–307. doi: 10.1111/j.1744-6570.2008.00114.x
- Lewis, K. (2003). Measuring transactive memory systems in the field: Scale development and validation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(4), 587–604. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.88.4.587
- Lewis, K., & Herndon, B. (2011). Transactive memory systems: Current issues and future research directions. *Organization Science*, 22(5), 1254–1265. doi:10.1287/orsc.1110.0647
- Liang, D. W., Moreland, R., & Argote, L. (1995). Group versus individual training and group-performance: The mediating role of transactive memory. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 21(4), 384–393. doi: 10.1177/0146167295214009
- 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
- Lim, S., Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2008). Personal and workgroup incivility: Impact on work and health outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(1), 95–107.
- Liu, D., & Fu, P. P. (2011). Motivating proteges' personal learning in teams: A multilevel investigation of autonomy support and autonomy orientation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 96(6), 1195–208.
- Liu, W., Tangirala, S., & Ramanujam, R. (2013). The relational antecedents of voice targeted at different leaders. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 98(5), 841–851. doi:10.1037/a0032913
- Ma, Z. X., Long, L. R., Zhang, Y., Zhang, J. W., & Lam, C. K. (2017). Why do high-performance human resource practices matter for team creativity? The mediating

- role of collective efficacy and knowledge sharing. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 34(3), 565–586. doi:10.1007/s10490-017-9508-1
- Madera, J. M., Lee, L., & Kapoor, C. E. (2017). Wait! What about customer-based subtle discrimination? *Industrial and Organizational Psychology-Perspectives on Science and Practice*, 10(1), 107–111. doi:10.1017/iop.2016.110
- Marks, M. A., Mathieu, J. E., & Zaccaro, S. J. (2001). A temporally based framework and taxonomy of team processes. *Academy of Management Review*, 28(3), 356–376.
- Mathieu, J., Maynard, M. T., Rapp, T., & Gilson, L. (2008). Team effectiveness 1997-2007: A review of recent advancements and a glimpse into the future. *Journal of Management*, 34(3), 410–476. doi:10.1177/0149206308316061
- McAllister, C. P., & Perrewe, P. L. (2018). About to Burst: How state self-regulation affects the enactment of bullying behaviors. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 153(3), 877–888. doi:10.1007/s10551-016-3424-z
- McKenna, B. G., Smith, N. A., Poole, S. J., & Coverdale, J. H. (2003). Horizontal violence: Experiences of registered Nurses in their first year of practice. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 42(1), 90–96.
- Mesmer-Magnus, J. R., & Dechurch, L. A. (2009). Information sharing and team performance: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(2), 535–546. doi:10.1037/a0013773
- Meuris, J., & Leana, C. (2018). The price of financial precarity: Organizational costs of employees' financial concerns. *Organization Science*, 29(3), 398–417. doi:10.1287/orsc.2017.1187
- Milgram, S. (1970). The experience of living in cities. *Science*, 167(3924), 1461–1468.
- Miron-Spektor, E., & Rafaeli, A. (2012). The effects of anger in the workplace: When, where, and why observing anger enhances or hinders performance. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 28, 153–178.
- Moreland, R. L., Argote, L., & Krishnan, R. (1996). Socially shared cognition at work: Transactive memory and group performance. In J. L. Nye & A. M. Brower (Eds.), *What's social about social cognition? Research on socially shared cognition in small groups* (pp. 57–84). Thousand Parks, CA: SAGE.
- Morley, L., & Cashell, A. (2017). Collaboration in Health Care. *Journal of Medical Imaging and Radiation Sciences*, 48(2), 207–214. doi:10.1016/j.jmir.2017.02.071
- Morrison, E. W. (1993). Newcomer information seeking: Exploring types, modes, sources, and outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*, 35(3), 557–589.
- Nahum-Shani, I., & Bamberger, P. A. (2011). Explaining the variable effects of social support on work-based stressor-strain relations: The role of perceived pattern of support exchange. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 114(1), 49–63.
- Nahum-Shani, I., Bamberger, P. A., & Bacharach, S. B. (2011). Social support and employee well-being: the conditioning effect of perceived patterns of supportive exchange. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 52(1), 123–139.
- Nancarrow, S. A., Booth, A., Ariss, S., Smith, T., Enderby, P., & Roots, A. (2013). Ten principles of good interdisciplinary team work. *Human Resources for Health*, 11. doi: Artn 19 10.1186/1478-4491-11-19
- Park, Y. M., & Kim, S. Y. (2013). Impacts of job stress and cognitive failure on patient safety incidents among hospital nurses. *Safety and health at work*, 4(4), 210–215. doi: 10.1016%2Fj.shaw.2013.10.003
- Pearson, C. M., Andersson, L. M., & Porath, C. L. (2000). Assessing and attacking workplace incivility. *Organizational Dynamics*, 29(2), 123–137.

- Pearson, C. M., & Porath, C. L. (2005). On the nature, consequences and remedies of workplace incivility: No time for "nice"? Think again. *Academy of Management Executive*, 19(1), 7–18.
- Pennebaker, J. W. (1999). The effects of traumatic disclosure on physical and mental health: the values of writing and talking about upsetting events. *International Journal of Emergency Mental Health*, 1(1), 9–18.
- Pennebaker, J. W., & Seagal, J. D. (1999). Forming a story: the health benefits of narrative. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 55(10), 1243–1254.
- 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(7), 777–796. doi:10.1002/job.336
- Pilch, I., & Turska, E. (2015). Relationships between machiavellianism, organizational culture, and workplace bullying: Emotional abuse from the target's and the perpetrator's perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 128(1), 83–93. doi:10.1007/s10551-014-2081-3
- Ployhart, R. E., & Moliterno, T. P. (2011). Emergence of the human capital resource: A multilevel model. *Academy of Management Review*, 36(1), 127–150. doi:10.5465/amr.2009.0318
- Porath, C. L. (2015). The costs of bad behavior: And what leaders and organizations can do to manage it. *Organizational Dynamics*, 44(4), 254–257. doi:10.1016/j.orgdyn.2015.09.001
- Porath, C. L., & Erez, A. (2007). Does rudeness really matter? The effects of rudeness on task performance and helpfulness. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(5), 1181–1197.
- Porath, C. L., & Erez, A. (2009). Overlooked but not untouched: How rudeness reduces onlookers' performance on routine and creative tasks. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 109, 29–44.
- Porath, C. L., & Erez, A. (2011). How rudeness takes its toll. *The Psychologist*, 24(7), 508–511.
- Porath, C. L., Foulk, T., & Erez, A. (2015). How incivility hijacks performance: It robs cognitive resources, increases dysfunctional behavior, and infects team dynamics and functioning. *Organizational Dynamics*, 44(4), 258–265. doi:10.1016/j.orgdyn.2015.09.002
- Porath, C. L., & Pearson, C. M. (2010). The Cost of Bad Behavior. *Organizational Dynamics*, 39(1), 64–71. doi:10.1016/j.orgdyn.2009.10.006
- Porath, C. L., & Pearson, C. M. (2013). The price of incivility. *Harvard Business Review*, 91(1-2), 115–121.
- Rafaeli, A., Erez, A., Ravid, S., Derfler-Rozin, R., Treister, D. E., & Scheyer, R. (2012). When customers exhibit verbal aggression, employees pay cognitive costs. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 97(5), 931–950.
- Rai, H., & Singh, M. (2013). A study of mediating variables of the relationship between 360° feedback and employee performance. *Human Resource Development International*, 16(1), 56–73. doi: 10.1080/13678868.2012.740797
- Reagans, R., Miron-Spektor, E., & Argote, L. (2016). Knowledge Utilization, Coordination, and Team Performance. *Organization Science*, 27(5), 1108–1124. doi:10.1287/orsc.2016.1078
- Remington, R., & Darden, M. (2002). *Aggravating circumstances: A status report on rudeness in America*. New York, NY: Public Agenda.

- Rhoades, L., Eisenberger, R., & Armeli, S. (2001). Affective commitment to the organization: The contribution of perceived organizational support. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(5), 825–836. doi:10.1037//0021-9010.86.5.825
- Rico, R., Sanchez-Manzanares, M., Gil, F., & Gibson, C. (2008). Team implicit coordination processes: A team knowledge-based approach. *Academy of Management Review, 33*(1), 163–184.
- Riethmuller, M., Fernandez, C. E., Eberhardt, I., Timmermann, A., & Boos, M. (2012). Adaptive coordination development in student anaesthesia teams: A longitudinal study. *Ergonomics, 55*(1), 55–68.
- Ringstad, R. (2005). Conflict in the workplace: Social workers as victims and perpetrators. *Social Work, 50*(4), 305–313.
- Riskin, A., Bamberger, P., Erez, A., Foulk, T., Cooper, B., Peterfreund, I., ... Bamberger, E. (2019). Incivility and patient safety: A longitudinal study of rudeness, protocol compliance and adverse events. *Joint Commission Journal on Quality and Patient Safety, 45*(5), 358–367.
- Riskin, A., Erez, A., Foulk, T. A., Kugelman, A., Gover, A., Shoris, I., ... Bamberger, P. A. (2015). The impact of rudeness on medical team performance: A randomized trial. *Pediatrics, 136*(3), 487–495. doi:10.1542/peds.2015-1385
- Riskin, A., Erez, A., Foulk, T. A., Riskin-Geuz, K. S., Ziv, A., Sela, R., ... Bamberger, P. A. (2017). Rudeness and medical team performance. *Pediatrics, 139*(2). doi: ARTN e20162305 10.1542/peds.2016-2305
- Roberts, S. J., Scherer, L. L., & Bowyer, C. J. (2011). Job stress and incivility: What role does psychological capital play? *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies, 18*(4), 449–458.
- Rosen, C. C., Koopman, J., Gabriel, A. S., & Johnson, R. E. (2016). Who strikes back? A daily investigation of when and why incivility begets incivility. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 101*(11), 1620–1634. doi:10.1037/apl0000140
- Rosenstein, A. H., & O'Daniel, M. (2005). Disruptive behavior and clinical outcomes: Perceptions of nurses and physicians. *American Journal of Nursing, 105*(1), 54–64.
- Rosenstein, A. H., & O'Daniel, M. (2006). Impact and implications of disruptive behavior in the perioperative arena. *Journal of the American College of Surgeons, 203*(1), 96–105.
- Rosenstein, A. H., & O'Daniel, M. (2008). A survey of the impact of disruptive behaviors and communication defects on patient safety. *Joint Commission Journal on Quality and Patient Safety, 34*(8), 464–471.
- Rossnagel, C. (2000). Cognitive load and perspective-taking: applying the automatic-controlled distinction to verbal communication. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 30*(3), 429–445.
- Sakurai, K., & Jex, S. M. (2012). Coworker incivility and incivility targets' work effort and counterproductive work behaviors: The moderating role of supervisor social support. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 17*(2), 150–161. doi:10.1037/a0027350
- Schilpzand, P., de Pater, I. E., & Erez, A. (2016). Workplace incivility: A review of the literature and agenda for future research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 37*, S57–S88. doi:10.1002/job.1976
- Schilpzand, P., & Erez, A. (2010). How one rude apple can spoil the barrel. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Annual Meeting, Montréal, Canada.
- Shenhar, A. (1993). Keeping management's door open: How to establish an open-door policy that works. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 14*(2), 8–12. doi:



10.1108/01437739310032665

- Skarlicki, D. P., Folger, R., & Tesluk, P. (1999). Personality as a moderator in the relationship between fairness and retaliation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 42(1), 100–108. doi: 10.2307/256877
- Skarlicki, D. P., van Jaarsveld, D. D., & Walker, D. D. (2008). Getting even for customer mistreatment: the role of moral identity in the relationship between customer interpersonal injustice and employee sabotage. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(6), 1335–1347.
- Sliter, M., Jex, S., Wolford, K., & McInnerney, J. (2010). How rude! Emotional labor as a mediator between customer incivility and employee outcomes. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 15(4), 468–481.
- Sliter, M., Sliter, K., & Jex, S. (2012). The employee as a punching bag: The effect of multiple sources of incivility on employee withdrawal behavior and sales performance. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 33(1), 121–139. doi:10.1002/job.767
- Smallwood, J. (2013). Distinguishing how from why the mind wanders: A process-occurrence framework for self-generated mental activity. *Psychological Bulletin*, 139(3), 519–535. doi:10.1037/a0030010
- Smallwood, J., Brown, K., Baird, B., & Schooler, J. W. (2012). Cooperation between the default mode network and the frontal-parietal network in the production of an internal train of thought. *Brain Research*, 1428, 60–70. doi:10.1016/j.brainres.2011.03.072
- Smallwood, J., & Schooler, J. W. (2006). The restless mind. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132(6), 946–958. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.132.6.946
- Stasser, G., & Titus, W. (1985). Pooling of unshared information in group decision-making: Biased information sampling during discussion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48(6), 1467–1478. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.48.6.1467
- Stasser, G., & Titus, W. (1987). Effects of Information Load and Percentage of Shared Information on the Dissemination of Unshared Information during Group Discussion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53(1), 81–93. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.53.1.81
- Sundstrom, E., DeMeuse, K. P., & Futrell, D. (1990). Work teams: Application and effectiveness. *American Psychologist*, 45(2), 120–133.
- Suresh, G., Horbar, J. D., Plsek, P., Gray, J., Edwards, W. H., Shiono, P. H., ... Goldmann, D. (2004). Voluntary anonymous reporting of medical errors for neonatal intensive care. *Pediatrics*, 113(6), 1609–1618.
- Thory, K. (2013). Teaching managers to regulate their emotions better: Insights from emotional intelligence training and work-based application. *Human Resource Development International*, 16(1), 4–21. doi:10.1080/13678868.2012.738473
- Timmons, S., & Tanner, J. (2005). Operating theatre nurses: Emotional labour and the hostess role. *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 11(2), 85–91.
- Ulrich, B. T., Lavandero, R., Hart, K. A., Woods, D., Leggett, J., & Taylor, D. (2006). Critical care nurses' work environments: a baseline status report. *Critical Care Nurse*, 26(5), 46–47.
- Uzun, O. (2003). Perceptions and experiences of nurses in Turkey about verbal abuse in clinical settings. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 35(1), 81–85.
- Valentine, S., Hollingworth, D., & Eidsness, B. (2014). Ethics-related selection and reduced ethical conflict as drivers of positive work attitudes: Delivering on employees'

- expectations for an ethical workplace. *Personnel Review*, 43(5), 692–716. doi:10.1108/Pr-12-2012-0207
- Van Dyne, L., Kamdar, D., & Joireman, J. (2008). In-role perceptions buffer the negative impact of low LMX on helping and enhance the positive impact of high LMX on voice. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(6), 1195–1207. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.93.6.1195
- van Ginkel, W. P., & van Knippenberg, D. (2009). Knowledge about the distribution of information and group decision making: When and why does it work? *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 108(2), 218–229.
- van Jaarsveld, D. D., Walker, D. D., & Skarlicki, D. P. (2010). The role of job demands and emotional exhaustion in the relationship between customer and employee incivility. *Journal of Management*, 36(6), 1486–1504.
- Vancouver, J. B., & Day, D. V. (2005). Industrial and organisation research on self-regulation: From constructs to applications. *Applied Psychology-an International Review-Psychologie Appliquee-Revue Internationale*, 54(2), 155–185. doi: 10.1111/j.1464-0597.2005.00202.x
- Vashdi, D. R., Bamberger, P. A., & Erez, M. (2013). Can surgical teams ever learn? Towards a theory of transitive team learning in action teams. *Academy of Management Journal*, 56, 945–971.
- Wahr, J. A., Prager, R. L., Abernathy, J. H., III, Martinez, E. A., Salas, E., Seifert, P. C., ... Nussmeier, N. A. (2013). Patient safety in the cardiac operating room: human factors and teamwork: a scientific statement from the American heart association. *Circulation*, 128(10), 1139–1169.
- Walker, I. A., Reshamwalla, S., & Wilson, I. H. (2012). Surgical safety checklists: Do they improve outcomes? *British Journal of Anaesthesia*, 109(1), 47–54. doi:10.1093/bja/aes175
- Walker, D. D., van Jaarsveld, D. D., & Skarlicki, D. P. (2014). Exploring the effects of individual customer incivility encounters on employee incivility: The moderating roles of entity (in) civility and negative affectivity. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 99(1), 151–161. doi:10.1037/a0034350
- Wang, M., Liao, H., Zhan, Y. J., & Shi, J. Q. (2011). Daily customer mistreatment and employee sabotage against customers: Examining emotion and resource perspectives. *Academy of Management Journal*, 54(2), 312–334. doi: 10.5465/Amj.2011.60263093
- Wang, M., Liu, S. Q., Liao, H., Gong, Y. P., Kammeyer-Mueller, J., & Shi, J. Q. (2013). Can't get it out of my mind: employee rumination after customer mistreatment and negative mood in the next morning. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 98(6), 989–1004. doi:10.1037/a0033656
- Wang, G., Seibert, S. E., & Boles, T. L. (2011). Synthesizing what we know and looking ahead: A meta-analytical review of 30 years of emotional labor research. In C. E. J. Härtel, N. M. Ashkanasy & W. J. Zerbe (Eds.), *Research on emotion in organizations* (Vol. 7, pp. 15–43). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Wang, L., Shi, Z. B., & Li, H. H. (2009). Neuroticism, extraversion, emotion regulation, negative affect and positive affect: The mediating roles of reappraisal and suppression. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 37(2), 193–194. doi:10.2224/sbp.2009.37.2.193
- Watson, D., & Clark, L. A. (1984). Negative affectivity: The disposition to experience aversive emotional states. *Psychological Bulletin*, 96(3), 465–490. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.96.3.465

- Watson, D., & Pennebaker, J. W. (1989). Health complaints, stress, and distress: Exploring the central role of negative affectivity. *Psychological Review*, 96(2), 234–254. doi:10.1037//0033-295x.96.2.234
- Watson, D., Pennebaker, J., & Folger, R. (1987). Beyond negative affectivity: Measuring stress and satisfaction in the workplace. *Journal of Organizational Behavior Management*, 8(2), 141–157. doi:10.1300/J075v08n02\_09
- Wegner, D. M. (1986). Transactive memory: A contemporary analysis of the group mind. In B. Mullen & G. R. Goethals (Eds.), *Theories of group behavior* (pp. 185–205). New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Wegner, D. M., Erber, R., & Raymond, P. (1991). Transactive memory in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 61(6), 923–929.
- Woolum, A., Foulk, T., Lanaj, K., & Erez, A. (2017). Rude color glasses: The contaminating effects of witnessed morning rudeness on perceptions and behaviors throughout the workday. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 102(12), 1658–1672. doi:10.1037/apl0000247
- Wright, P. M., Dunford, B. B., & Snell, S. A. (2001). Human resources and the resource based view of the firm. *Journal of Management*, 27(6), 701–721. doi:10.1177/014920630102700607
- Xiao, Y., Hunter, W. A., Mackenzie, C. F., Jefferies, N. J., & Horst, R. L. (1996). Task complexity in emergency medical care and its implications for team coordination. LOTAS Group. Level One Trauma Anesthesia Simulation. *Human Factors*, 38(4), 636–645.
- Xiao, Y., Mackenzie, C. F., Patey, R., & Group, L. (1998, October). Team coordination and breakdowns in a real-life stressful environment. Paper presented at the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society Annual Meeting.
- Xue, Y., Bradley, J., & Liang, H. (2011). Team climate, empowering leadership, and knowledge sharing. *Journal of Knowledge Management*, 15(2), 299–312.
- Yagil, D. (2008). When the customer is wrong: A review of research on aggression and sexual harassment in service encounters. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 13(2), 141–152. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2008.03.002
- Zhang, Z. X., Hempel, P. S., Han, Y. L., & Tjosvold, D. (2007). Transactive memory system links work team characteristics and performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(6), 1722–1730.

---

**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management**

**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Volume 38, 223–258**

**Copyright © 2020 by Emerald Publishing Limited**

**All rights of reproduction in any form reserved**

**ISSN: 0742-7301/doi:10.1108/S0742-730120200000038008**

## CHAPTER 7

# HR RESEARCH AND PRACTICE FROM A DEONANCE PERSPECTIVE

Robert Folger and Steven W. Whiting

### ABSTRACT

*In this chapter, the authors present a theoretical model useful for analyzing people's perceptions of what they should do, should not do, and should be allowed to do at work. These perceptions create powerful motivational forces that shape workplace behavior. The authors describe various aspects of this model – a deonance perspective – as it relates to rights (permissible behavior) and responsibilities (behavioral prescriptions and proscriptions). The authors demonstrate how it offers new insights beyond those available from existing theoretical models, and the authors outline its implications for research and the practice of human resource management.*

**Keywords:** Deonance; ethics; moral; trust; motivation; values

Various understandings of what constitutes morally appropriate (and inappropriate) conduct can play a critical role in guiding, limiting and influencing what happens at work. In this chapter, we adopt a

psychological perspective on issues of moral conduct rather than advancing arguments from ethical philosophy. We propose a framework for analyzing people's *perceptions* about what they should do, should not do, and should be allowed to do at work. These perceptions constitute powerful motivational forces that shape workplace behavior. In the sections that follow, we outline this framework – a *deonance* perspective – as it relates to rights (permissible behavior) and responsibilities (behavioral prescriptions and proscriptions). We demonstrate how it offers new insights beyond those available from existing theoretical models, and we outline implications of this model for research and the practice of human resource (HR) management.

## **FUNDAMENTALS OF THE DEONANCE CONSTRUCT**

In linguistics (e.g., [Palmer, 1979](#)) and logic (e.g., [McNamara, 2010](#)), rights and responsibilities are called *deontic* (from the Greek, *deon*, translated *duty*, *needful*, and the like). In cognitive psychology “deontic thinking is what we are doing when we are trying to decide which actions we must (should or ought to) or may perform [or should not]” ([Manktelow & Over, 1995](#), p. 91). [Folger \(2001\)](#) coined the term *deonance* to label a psychological state in which such concerns influence a person's attitudes and behavior. We extend previous treatments of this perspective ([Folger, 2012](#); [Folger, Ganegoda, Rice, Taylor, & Wo, 2013](#); [Folger & Glerum, 2015](#); [Folger & Stein, 2017](#)) to the arena of rights and responsibilities in the workplace.

Workplace rights involve privileges bounded by prescriptions and proscriptions; the inter-relationships of rights and responsibilities, therefore, involve perceptions of what is required (should be done), forbidden (should not be done), and discretionary (may be done but need not be). This means that along with the *responsibility* to act appropriately and not inappropriately, there are explicit and implicit

understandings about what employees have a *right* to feel free to do or not do at work. If workplace responsibilities seem overly coercive, resistance can occur because of presumptions about “free behaviors” based on “experience, ... general custom, or ... formal agreement” (Brehm, 1966, pp. 3–4; see also Folger et al., 2013; Folger & Stein, 2017, on Brehm’s reactance theory and deonance).

However, rights and responsibilities need not necessarily conflict with one another. The assigned responsibilities included in a job description obviously co-exist with having been granted the right to perform those duties. We propose a theory of deonance that addresses both types of situations, namely when workplace norms about rights and responsibilities influence behavior in mutually consistent ways or have conflicting implications. In both cases, the analysis focuses on (a) the frame of reference of such norms – in relation to the past, present, and future and (b) their motivational strength – in relation to the types of reasons for supporting (or opposing) them and the extent of the support.

The notion of a norm’s motivating strength aligns with Heider’s (1958) notion of *ought forces* as adapted from Lewin’s (1943) concept of a force-field analysis:

[W]hen [someone] has the conviction that he ought to do *x*, he recognized a vector in the environment, a vector which is like ... a demand or a requirement ....[namely] standards independent of the individual’s wishes. (Heider, 1958, p. 219)

A deonance analysis focuses on the relative strength of moral-motivation forces (bearing on prescribed and proscribed responsibilities and on permitted rights), and how combinations of them (as motivational vectors) influence attitudes and behaviors.

Heider (1958) referred to ought forces when behavior is influenced by conceptions of proper and improper conduct. Deonance theory thus describes forces that motivate workplace behavior based on perceptions of what constitutes moral conduct. These forces can vary in strength and salience depending on the situation at hand. The manner in which employees interpret these forces will drive their decisions and behavior, so it is important to understand how people make sense of, perceive, and make decisions

in situations where these forces either align or are in conflict with one another. When the forces are mutually reinforcing, people have significant reasons to behave in accordance with them. When the forces do not align, however, they can suggest conflicting courses of action. Analyzing these aligned and non-aligned situations is critical to understanding behavior in organizations, particularly when ethical considerations might be relevant, and currently available models do not fully inform the challenges these situations present.

## **THE NATURE OF ETHICALLY MOTIVATING FORCES**

In keeping with [Folger and Stein \(2017\)](#), we propose that forces motivating ethical behavior reflect variations on two basic kinds of influence. One such form of influence acquires motivational force based on *connotations* associated with certain features of a given behavior. If people perceive a behavior as having a risk component, for example, the motivation to engage in it might stem from construing it as an act of courage – taking an action that could risk being fired, and having the courage to face such risks simply “because it’s just the right thing to do.” The motivation to behave a certain way in this case represents an attitude about the behavior in-and-of-itself, consistent with functional theories of attitudes (e.g., [Katz, 1960](#); [Kelman, 1961](#); [Smith, Bruner, & White, 1956](#)). [Katz \(1960\)](#), for example, referred to a *value-expressive* function of attitudes that motivates engaging in an action because of an association with a system of values. Similarly, [Kelman \(1961\)](#) argued that an attitude can function to motivate behavior out of a concern for the “value congruence” of the behavior ([Insko, 1967](#), 339). When a behavior is construed as an attitude object, therefore, these functional conceptualizations point to a tendency “to be motivated by, and to act toward a class of objects in a predictable manner” ([Smith et al., 1956](#), p. 39). Classifying behaviors (or some of their



key features) in that value-laden manner serves as a *stand-alone* basis for the motivation to engage in those behaviors.

Stand-alone forces can thus motivate a given behavior because of ethical values associated with it directly. That is to say, people sometimes categorize behaviors as nasty or nice, good or evil, virtue or vice. For example, Boy Scouts are taught to be trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent – and the connotations associated with these are that behaviors representative of those categories are good, appropriate, or praiseworthy. In contrast, the Seven Deadly Sins – pride, greed, lust, envy, gluttony, anger, and sloth – are on the opposite side of the continuum as connotatively proscribed vices. Similarly, an HR manager might assign stand-alone value to certain ways of making decisions (e.g., providing “voice”) because he or she categorizes these as inherently representative of a value such as fairness. Hiring based on the values of diversity and inclusion further illustrates stand-alone motivation.

A second form of ethically motivating force results from viewing behaviors in terms of how they might contribute to subsequent “good” versus “bad” states of the world, especially in terms of the interests or well-being of potentially affected parties. That is, these *interest-regarding* motives relate to perceptions about the actual or anticipated contributions of a behavior to future conditions. The motivational force of interest-regarding considerations involves perceiving a behavior or some of its features instrumentally in positive or negative terms depending on the presumed capability of bringing about future desirable or undesirable states. When HR managers feel morally obligated to look out for the financial well-being of a business, for example, that particular interest-regarding motive might influence the kinds of selection criteria that go into hiring decisions. Rather than an emphasis on diversity and inclusiveness, for example, those criteria might place more emphasis on demonstrated levels of the knowledge, skills, and ability of applicants.

Interest-regarding forces deal with judgments about future states and the likelihood that given behaviors will enhance, maintain, or

erode that future state. By contrast, stand-alone forces have value attached to the behavior itself in the current time or in a previous time period. Their value is not determined by a calculation of their potential to contribute to some end state, but rather is determined in the present by moral connotations of the behavior itself.

This difference in the temporal frame of reference, therefore, helps to mark one of the key distinctions between stand-alone and interest-regarding deontic motives. Stand-alone values acquire their potential for motivation influence by associating a specific behavioral option in the present with the way other instances of such behaviors have been linked to norms of conduct in the past. HR managers who advocate for diversity training despite resistance from the executive suite, for example, might construe that advocacy by framing it in any number of ways. In part it could be seen as “standing up for what I believe in.” That particular construal focuses on the type of conduct (e.g., anti-sycophancy; willingness to play Devil’s Advocate). At the same time, it could also invite a construal regarding the advocated value as a matter of substance.

This example of HR diversity advocacy illustrates stand-alone motivation based on the qualitative labels that could be applied to characterize a behavior *before* knowing what its effects might be. Regardless of what might happen as a result of challenging top management, the act of voicing a contrary opinion (cf. [Morrison, 2014](#)) invites such counterfactual categories as cowardice, lack of independent thought, and the like. Similarly, to advocate for any program related to diversity obviously involves the cognitive categorization of such programs in terms of a value judgment. HR managers who take up that challenge might think of it as a duty, whether that is a matter of personal dedication or because of a belief in it as one of the organization’s key responsibilities.

The same might hold true when HR managers construe potential courses of action in terms of employee rights. The stand-alone temporal frame of reference – focused on how present actions relate to past value commitments – allows for judgments about rights that in some sense can “trump” considerations of what effects those actions might bring about (cf. [Dworkin, 1984](#)). Think of the analogy

to constitutionally guaranteed rights such as freedom of speech, religion, and assembly. Along those lines, some HR managers might oppose random drug testing of employees (and might even work covertly to undermine such a policy if implemented) simply because of ways they categorize that specific form of action (drug tests) vis-à-vis a general value category (employee right to privacy).

Stand-alone values provide a basis for evaluating actions, and a basis for motivational influence, detached from expectations about what the future might hold. Although some value categorizations of actions can have motivating properties independent of future considerations, that does not make those actions' potential effects irrelevant. The defining feature of some types of moral dilemmas, in fact, involves the simultaneous construal of an action as "right" from the perspective of the values it embodies but "wrong" from the perspective of the impact it might have on the future welfare of various constituencies.

Indeed, the deonance-theoretic constructs of stand-alone and interest-regarding motivational forces can help make sense of ways various moral dilemmas differ from one another. When HR managers face choices involving how to implement organizational policy, for example, they might feel conflicted because of opposing stand-alone implications regarding the rights of corporations and the rights of employees. Alternatively, two interest-regarding construals might conflict with one another because a given course of action's likely future effects are positive for one constituency (e.g., shareholders) but negative for another (e.g., employees).

Rather than address all possible ways of categorizing moral dilemmas in terms of conflicting combinations of stand-alone and interest-regarding construals, we draw from recent deonance research to illustrate two types of situations in particular.

## **MOTIVATION FROM CONSTRUALS OF BEHAVIOR: THE EXAMPLE OF TRUST**

We begin by considering a single stand-alone source of potential influence – the norm of reciprocity – and how the strength of it as an ought force can align with interest-regarding motivation relating to the material well-being of another person. Our analysis focuses on how people respond to someone who trusts them to reciprocate an action that will benefit them materially but that makes the trusting person vulnerable to a lack of reciprocity.

This research adapted a transaction known in the economics literature ([Berg, Dickhaut, & McCabe, 1995](#)) and social psychology literature (e.g., [Dunning, 2017](#)) as a “trust game.” In a standard version, anonymously paired subjects can earn money determined by the nature of a game’s decision-making structure. They face a situation that begins when one of them has a choice about how the game will proceed, as illustrated in [Fig. 1\(a\)](#). This person – Player 1 – can choose the “Does Not Trust” option, which ends the game with Player 1 receiving \$5 and Player 2 receiving nothing. Player 1’s other option is to make the “Trusts” move. That turns decision-making authority of how to divide \$20 over to Player 2. This second person can then choose between “Reciprocates” and “Violates,” producing the even-split (\$10/\$10) versus the Player 2-advantaged results (0/\$20) shown in [Fig. 1\(a\)](#).

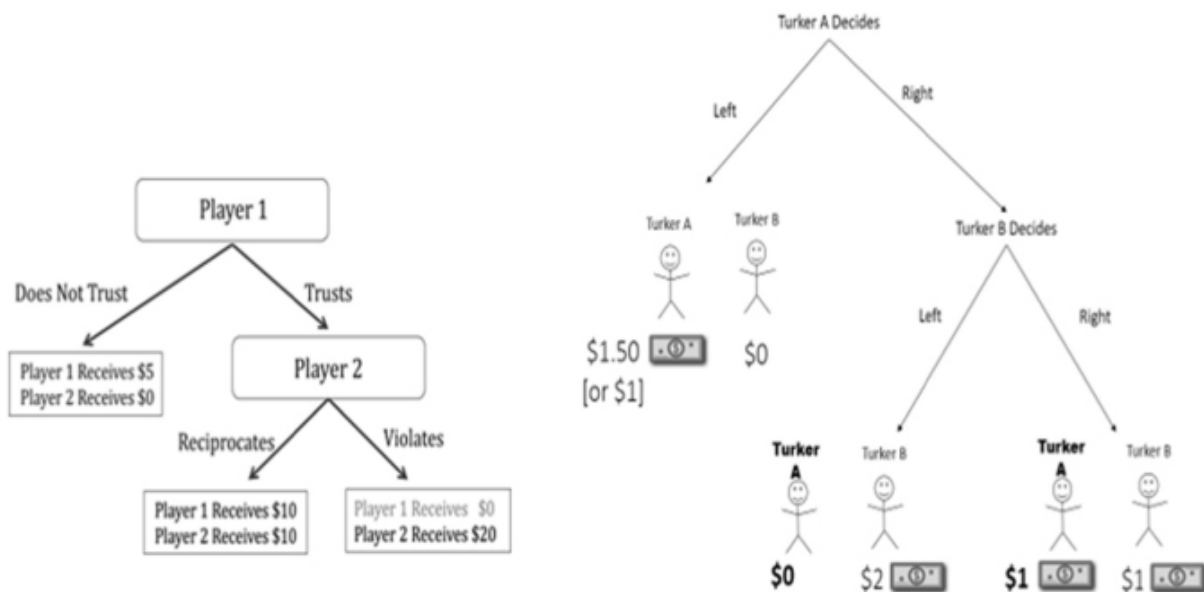


Fig. 1. (a) Based on [Dunning \(2017\)](#). (b) Two Versions of Message from A Not Shown.

A similar version of the trust game was included as one of four economic games in research that [Amir, Rand, and Gal \(2012\)](#) conducted using Amazon Mechanical Turk subjects ("Turkers"). They were able to show that although Turkers played for substantially reduced stakes, the results across all games mirrored those in the relevant literatures. For the trust game in particular, a meta-analysis of Player 2 responses ([Johnson & Mislin, 2011](#)) showed that 36.5% of funds transferred by Player 1 produced reciprocation, and the Amir et al. results were 40.1%.

We were intrigued by what seemed to us to be a low rate of reciprocity. If reciprocity is a universal norm ([Gouldner, 1960](#)), why wasn't reciprocity by Player 2 in the literature any higher? One feature of the standard format (e.g., [Fig. 1\(a\)](#)) suggested an explanation, namely the possible ambiguity of Player 1's motives as attributed by Player 2. Reciprocity would make sense if Player 1 had a purely altruistic motive for allowing Player 2 to make the payoff decision, but more than one attribution seems plausible. In particular, note from [Fig. 1\(a\)](#) that Player 1 has a *chance to gain money* by transferring the decision-making authority to Player 2, namely going from \$5 to \$10. This payoff potential for Player 1 makes that player's motives suspect: The decision to pass to Player 2 might stem from the goodness of Player 1's heart (so Player 2 gets something rather than nothing), or from Player 1's own self-interest, or both.

We created the design shown in [Fig. 1\(b\)](#) to study deontic tradeoffs in which the first person ("Turker A") would *never have any chance of obtaining more money* from passing to Turker B than from taking the "Left" option. Our full design was actually a  $2 \times 2$  because, as indicated by the bracketed amount for Turker A-Left, half of our conditions presented options in which Turker A could leave the game with \$1.50 and half made the opt-out only \$1. The better of the two possible outcomes for Turker A was always the \$1

if Turker B chose Right (in which case Turker B also obtained \$1). This meant that no gain at all was possible when Turker A started with Left = \$1, and Turker A *at best* would be *losing* 50 cents. Moreover, in both cases Turker A would leave with *nothing* if Turker B chose Left.

The two levels of our cross-cutting factor were based on pilot testing. We administered an online survey to a different set of Turkers and asked what they would say if they were playing as Turker A and chose Right, ceding control over the payoffs to Turker B. They were instructed to write short messages trying to encourage reciprocity (e.g., "Dear Turker B, please choose Right because..."). Among these, a common theme emerged in which *both* and *together* appeared frequently. Based on the samples obtained, therefore, we decided that a Turker A (bogus) message could have a chance of enhancing reciprocation tendencies if it said "I chose Right because I figure we're really in this together. Hopefully you'll do the same."

For a contrasting message, we used "If I had chosen Left you would have gotten nothing, so you really owe me. Choose Right!" The idea in this case was that indicating an option as being an ought-to-do behavior might induce a sense of duty consistent with a stand-alone influence, but it might instead – or also – induce the psychological state of reactance ([Brehm, 1966](#)), as noted in the discussion of deonance theory by [Folger and Stein \(2017\)](#); see also [Folger & Glerum, 2015](#)). The tone and style of the owe-me message, in other words, seemed as if it might be construed as the manifestation of an entitlement mentality and hence confrontational enough to have a chance of creating some resentment rather than reciprocation. Our study thus addressed the possibility that even if the multiple-motives confound of the rest of the literature were removed, there might be another type of factor that would curtail reciprocity.

We reasoned that if *any* two conditions might differ in this  $2 \times 2$  design, it would be the \$1.50/together versus the \$1.00/owe-me conditions. In a unique fashion, those two conditions illustrate how stand-alone *and* interest-regarding forces – aligned in combination

with one another – might offset the self-interested pull toward achieving an increased profit at another person's expense. Note specifically that the interest-regarding ought factor of another person's welfare would align with any stand-alone pressure against self-interest in both cases (i.e., regardless of the message used). Furthermore, it would be acting jointly in combination with the strongest stand-alone influence when the message was the one considered most effective by our pilot subjects, the appeal to togetherness. In other words, the considerations other than self-interest were all consistent with one another when the togetherness message combined with Player A's relatively larger sacrifice (the indication of a willingness to risk losing \$1.50, rather than \$1.00).

We designed the contrasting \$1.00/owe-me condition to provide an interest-regarding force that – although opposed to self-interest – would produce a *weaker* opposition to self-interested motives than when there was a willingness to sacrifice \$1.50. Put another way, the less Player A stood to lose, the easier for Player B to think of the harm to that person's welfare as not being so bad. In addition, the owe-me message was designed as a test of circumstances under which self-interest might be reinforced by *reactance* tendencies (Brehm & Cole, 1966; Folger et al., 2013; Folger & Stein, 2017). Indeed, more than half of the Turker B participants in that condition kept all the money for themselves (vs only about one-third in the \$1.50/together condition).

## **REACTANCE AND RESISTANCE TO STAND-ALONE AND INTEREST-REGARDING PRESSURES**

Our deonance framework links the ought-force strength of *permissibility* (rights) with Brehm's (1966) reactance theory and "free behaviors" as a source of resistance to pressure. The deonance formulation treats this as a vector-of-forces issue: Sometimes the strength of permissible rights (e.g., to pursue a given course of



action) overrides the opposing strength of stand-alone and/or interest-regarding forces that bear on one's responsibilities (e.g., to perform required activities, avoid forbidden activities, or contribute to others' welfare). The effect of our "you owe me" message is one illustration, and in this section we provide other examples.

One such instance was revealed in the findings summarized in [Elias, Lacetera, and Macis \(2015a, 2015b\)](#). Their survey conditions manipulated what we have interpreted as an interest-regarding-force element by providing information about the *benefits* of allowing organs for transplantation to be sold. Testing for the generalizability of their results, they found that a similar message about the benefits of legalizing indoor prostitution failed to produce any positive attitude change. They also found in a sub-group analysis that when women and those who described themselves as religious rather than atheist/agnostic read legalization-benefit material, their attitudes actually revealed a negative (boomerang) tendency. This was interpreted as a reactance tendency, summarized as follows:

For certain individuals, therefore, being exposed to information on the costs and benefits of legalizing morally controversial trades might trigger even a deeper opposition for that particular trade or even for others. ([Elias et al., 2015a](#), p. 3)

A related finding comes from research on the public's attitudes and beliefs regarding vaccination against the flu. In attempts to increase support for flu shots by countering beliefs that the flu vaccine can cause that illness, [Nyhan and Reifler \(2015\)](#) adapted Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website material. They found in general that the information was effective in reducing myths about the vaccine and thereby alleviating the concerns of a majority of the people. Again a sub-group analysis showed evidence for reactance effects, however, such that the information "significantly reduced intent to vaccinate among respondents with high levels of concern about vaccine side effects – a response that was not observed among those with low levels of concern" ([Nyhan & Reifler, 2015](#), p. 459). We suggest that (a) health-related messages can boomerang to the extent that permissibility-rights regarding one's body are activated and (b) this might offset interest-regarding

(responsibility-related) ought forces about the general public's enhanced well-being from widespread vaccination adoption. Note that in our research on the reciprocity norm, we *varied* the message, whereas the messages providing information supportive of vaccination and legalized prostitution showed that the *same* message can have varying effects. Thus all ought forces are not created equal, and a given ought force need not produce equal results in all contexts!

Research even more directly relevant to deonance formulations has been found with respect to cultural differences. [Kim, Baek, Yoon, Oh, and Choi \(2017\)](#) studied the effects of messages given to Americans and to South Koreans regarding environmental issues such as recycling. Half of the respondents read a message that contained the words *must*, *should*, and *ought* (e.g., "You must recycle as much as possible..."; [Kim et al., 2017](#), p. 554), whereas the remainder read a message using alternative words such as *could* and *might want to*. South Korean participants responded positively to both, whereas only the latter messages were effective when read by Americans. The replication studies provided evidence for threat to freedom (cf. permissible rights) and politeness (cf. authorities' responsibility not to infringe those) as mediators of the culturally differential effects.

Such research addresses the framing effects of language when deontic terms are used explicitly. Indeed, [Kim et al. \(2017\)](#) adapted their message-framing language from similar usage in research by [Miller, Lane, Deatrick, Young, and Potts \(2007\)](#), who in turn referred to a supporting literature (e.g., [Lanceley, 1985](#); [McLaughlin, Shutz, & White, 1980](#); [Vansteenkiste, Lens, & Deci, 2006](#)). In that prior work, the guiding theme had been the contrast between "controlling terms such as 'should,' 'ought,' 'must,' and 'need,' or, alternatively, using noncontrolling, autonomy-supportive terms such as 'could,' 'can,' 'may,' and 'might want to'" ([Miller et al., 2007](#), p. 229). The negative impact of the owe-me communication suggests the need for caution in how HR policies are written and conveyed.

## *Applying the Contour Principle*

From the standpoint of a deonance analysis, we also note the applicability of a *contour effect* regarding the contrast between “controlling” versus “noncontrolling” perceptions: When the same words produce different effects in different contexts, whether cultural or otherwise, the result is not so much a product of language per se as it is an effect produced by perceptions of rights, responsibilities, and their interrelationships. The contour principle in turn relates to the deonance concept of *bounded autonomy* (e.g., [Folger et al., 2013](#); [Folger & Stein, 2017](#)), first described as follows:

[B]ounded autonomy refers to socially constructed and sanctioned constraints as contours of human freedom. The flip side of constraint is autonomy (residual freedom and discretion – a reason for pairing *autonomy* with *bounded*). ([Folger, 1998](#), p. 26)

Put another way, the unfettered discretion of permitted rights ends where responsibility begins.

An employee on break, for example, might feel free to do a number of things not otherwise allowed during normal working hours when job responsibilities need to be fulfilled. Some behaviors might fall into a gray area where in essence a latitude of acceptability operates (cf. [Sherif & Sherif, 1967](#)). The employee and the employer might disagree about the scope of activities falling into the category of OK-on-break (and also on the job!), for example, such that the latitude is wider for the former than for the latter. The largest concern for the employer, of course, is where employees draw the line when it comes to such matters as taking supplies home or spending time on a company computer for personal use. Similarly, employees might want a greater degree of privacy than employers would like to permit when security and safety are seen by the employer as warranting surveillance as a right (perhaps even as a responsibility), whereas employees might feel some methods of checking up on them infringe on rights of privacy.

Bounded autonomy and acceptability latitudes at the edge of contours are also related to research on ethical behavior involving

honesty versus cheating, especially in light of findings by [Mazar, Amir, and Ariely \(2008b\)](#) regarding how most people are on the one hand generally honest but on the other hand will be inclined to cheat *somewhat* (i.e., to a relatively small degree) when circumstances allow getting away with it. Moreover, in discussing that effect (as part of a rejoinder to commentaries on their original article; [Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008a](#)) they explicitly addressed how circumstances can lead to an expanded scope of dishonesty. We interpret this as consistent with the contour principle. Moreover, that principle provides an addition to the self-concept maintenance theory those researchers proposed to interpret their data. Contour and self-concept are two sides of the same coin: To say that a little bit of cheating does not make one a dishonest person under a given set of circumstances is, in deontic terms, equivalent to perceiving that the situation allows a latitude of self-interest to be exercised without violating the responsibility of honesty.

Put another way, it is as if the experimenter's willingness to forego surveillance (which constitutes the circumstances that make cheating possible) signals that what's at stake is more trivial than of vital importance. After all, people who take paperclips or pencils home from work do not have to perform mental gymnastics to defend their sense of self as being virtuous; when small stakes are involved (e.g., making duplicates of personal material on the company copier), it is a matter of no consequence to view some self-interested actions as permissible exceptions to an otherwise applicable deontic norm about one's responsibility for adhering to that norm.

## **THE ROLE(S) OF IDENTITY**

Our trust-game results have a bearing on issues of self-identity in relation to ought-force motivation. In particular, recall the increase in positive responses by Turker B to Turker A's behavior when the latter emphasized the in-it-together nature of their roles. Certainly such effects might illustrate ways in which self-identity perceptions

provide a source of motivational influence. Before hearing the appeal to togetherness, Turker B might have self-identified in a “self-employed, independent contractor” manner, which would presumably have justified taking advantage of any and all opportunities for self-aggrandizement.

Considering identity issues, however, raises many unanswered questions that should call for additional theorizing and much more research. Identities associated with roles (e.g., employee as HR manager) can bring their own set of motivations into play. In the case of certain kinds of self-identities that become salient and are valued highly, however, employees who have these identities might enact identity-congruent behaviors that could work at cross-purposes from other constraints of the role. Employees who have salient identities might enact identity-congruent behaviors that could work at cross-current from other constraints of the role. For example, [Baur and Buckley \(2016\)](#) found that employees with salient empowerment-role identities engaged in more prosocial behaviors to help others even when those actions violated the rules and norms of the organization (cf. prosocial rule-breaking; [Morrison, 2006](#)).

Consider also our earlier example of HR managers who oppose policies formulated by top management. Sometimes opposition might stem from either or both of two types of threats to self-identity. First, some such threats might relate to anticipated self-denigration associated with failing to act courageously (e.g., the anticipated shame from being labeled as a “coward” by oneself or others). Second, the threatened self-identity might relate more specifically to self-professed values, such as fairness. Empirical work on the effects of measured and manipulated moral self-identity ([Aquino & Reed, 2002](#)) is consistent with those ideas.

On the other hand, neither stand-alone nor interest-regarding forces are inherently tied to issues of self-identity. These forces have motivating potential because of their value-laden nature, but there are two ways to think about the role of values as influences on behavior. The concept of actor/observer attributional biases helps make the point ([Nisbett, Legant, & Marecek, 1973](#)). The basic idea is that actors are more inclined to make situational attributions,

whereas observers will tend to make trait-like attributions to the actor. Even something so common as reactions to jokes can invite those diverging perspectives. Actor: "I laughed because that joke was so funny" (attribution to the environmental stimulus); observer: "You laughed because you are so easily amused" (attribution to a characteristic of this actor relative to others). If HR managers were to feel motivated on a value-laden basis as a function of self-identity threat, that would imply the attribution that "this is *my* personal value; it is a central part of who *I am*" – an attribution more commonly made by observers instead.

We argue, therefore, that the motivational impact of stand-alone and interest-regarding forces does not require self-identity threats as a mediating cognitive mechanism. That principle holds even as regards strength. Imagine, on the one hand, HR managers who resist spine-as-jelly self-identity attributions. Certainly that would provide stand-alone strength for the motivation to act on the courage of one's convictions. On the other hand, other HR managers might resist pressure from top management not because they feared being considered spineless by themselves or others, but because they perceive that certain types of policies involve matters of principle that should be of concern to *anyone*, not just themselves.

Another implication of this analysis is that theoretical explanations in terms of role identities should not be conflated with explanations in terms of self-identity. Part of what it means to take on a role is to accept responsibilities that might *not* be central to one's self-identity. HR managers, for example, might be told to conduct layoffs in a fashion they find personally distasteful. Given such justifications by management as the importance of secrecy, however, those managers might feel it is their *job* to conduct the layoff as management requires. In other words, some HR managers might think it is their role to take on management's values rather than allowing their own to hold sway – that segmenting self-identity concerns apart from role responsibilities "comes with the territory" of the job of HR manager.

Having said that, we do not wish to deny the ways that self-identity can play a key part of motivational influence. Sometimes

personally held values – values held with deep conviction precisely because they are so important to “who I am” – can supply the motivation that decides how moral conflicts get resolved. We urge theorists and researchers to explore the nuances of motivational influences that are and are not linked crucially to self-identity concerns as a way of extending the deontance analysis of stand-alone and interest-regarding forces.

## **CONSTRUALS AS DEFAULTS AND OVERRIDES**

Stand-alone and interest-regarding motivations can interact to produce complex force vectors. Multiple features of the same behavior can come into play, such as when a behavior categorized as the “right thing to do” on stand-alone grounds also has the interest-regarding prospect of providing for the well-being of affected parties. More interesting cases, however, involve what happens when the two types of forces work at cross-purposes to one another. Here, we address these as situations in which the pre-existing strength of one force or set of forces (based on antecedent considerations) faces the potential of being overpowered by the strength of a second force or set of forces. We refer to the former as the *default* strength associated with a behavior in a given context, versus the latter as an *override* strength. For example, the stand-alone force that would motivate taking one type of action might be overridden by an interest-regarding force that favors a different action instead.

In some such situations, people might follow a norm up to a point (a threshold), until dire circumstances pressure them to act otherwise. An example would be “don’t waterboard – unless necessary to avoid catastrophic horror.” In the context of confronting specific choices, situational factors in opposition to the deontic default can override it. That is, the possible results of actions (e.g., cost-benefit analyses as an interest-regarding consideration) can replace the stand-alone default as a motivator.

Note also that self-interested motives – such as a CEO’s desire to earn a bonus – can coincide with interest-regarding motives



regarding the welfare of other parties. As Milton Friedman famously noted, for example, profit-seeking can reflect a fiduciary duty to a company's shareholders: "There is one and only one social responsibility of business – to ...increase its profits" (Friedman, 1962, p. 133). Thus profit-seeking as an ethical obligation of fiduciaries on interest-regarding grounds might compete with a stand-alone moral duty to act in accord with an opposing behavioral norm (Folger & Stein, 2017). Friedman actually referred to this in the concluding part of the quotation: "to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, ... [namely] engages in open and free competition without deception or fraud" (p. 133). Thus, it is easy to imagine (particularly in organizational settings) situations where one cannot maximize both stand-alone and interest-regarding factors, and choices will have to be made that favor one or the other. We refer to such situations as deontic tradeoffs.

Our deonance research on tradeoffs (Folger, Stein, & Whiting, 2017) took Friedman's message as the basis for an interest-regarding motivation in fiduciary terms; that is, the motivation to treat profit-seeking as a means of fulfilling the social responsibility of acting on behalf of shareholders' interests. To investigate deontic tradeoffs, we based stand-alone motives on concepts with moral connotations invoked by the "fair-trade" movement (e.g., fair-trade coffee, fair-trade clothing). We pitted these against the competing interest-regarding motive of honoring fiduciary duty to shareholders by making corporate decisions based on cost-savings or return on investment. Manipulating the strength of each force allowed us to study when interest-regarding motives would override stand-alone motives. We thereby undertook investigations of factors that can determine the strength of competing values and how deontic tradeoffs are resolved.

We began with four fair-trade terms as stand-alone defaults: fairness, sustainability, transparency, and participativeness. We assessed the strength of these four terms with vignettes involving a cotton purchasing agent choosing between suppliers that differed with respect to two of the terms (e.g., one superior on fairness, the other on participativeness). Cotton was chosen as a context because

it was unlikely that participants would have specialized knowledge of the industry, but its supply chain is simple to understand. Choices were presented in six pairs as shown in [Table 1](#). Fairness was defined as “the extent to which farmers, growers and co-ops are provided a fair price for their labor and cotton.” Sustainability was defined as “the supplier only sells cotton that is farmed/processed in a manner that is ecologically friendly.” Transparency was defined as “the supplier openly provides information about their operations through all levels of the supply chain.” Finally, participativeness was defined as “the supplier only buys from co-ops that are run using participative values.” These definitions came from fair-trade websites.

The participants for this pilot study were 59 students (54.8% male) enrolled in undergraduate courses at a southeastern university in the United States. In the role of “purchasing agent for a large clothing manufacturing firm,” they gave answers to “Which of these two suppliers would you recommend your company adopt as your cotton supplier?” on a scale with 0 in the middle (labeled “Tie”) and 1 through 10 on each side (“there is no way you would ever choose Supplier 2 over Supplier 1,” and vice versa). The results, outlined in [Table 1](#), indicated that fairness was the most preferred fair-trade value (i.e., most override-resistant of these sources of stand-alone motives), and participativeness was the least preferred.

Because the pairings in this first pilot study always presented fairness first and participative last, we collected data from additional participants (29 MBA students, 12% male) in which order was controlled. With two levels of each default attribute (certified vs. not), we had 16 fully crossed within-subject conditions, rated separately on a 7-point scale for the likelihood of recommending it. Results from a repeated measures ANOVA, and particularly effect sizes in the form of partial eta-squared, indicated once again that fairness was the most important value to participants, and participativeness was the least.

**Table 1.** Deontic Defaults for Cotton Suppliers.

Comparison Pair	Preferred Term	Preference Margin
Fairness vs Sustainability	Fairness	1.83
Fair vs Transparent	Fairness	1.98
Fair vs Participative	Fairness	5.43
Sustainability vs Transparent	Sustainability	1.76
Sustainability vs Participative	Sustainability	3.68
Transparency vs Participative	Transparency	3.26

N = 59.

To build a platform for an adaptable line of research involving stand-alone duties played off against interest-regarding duties, we limited the stand-alone manipulation to fair versus participative (the most- and least-preferred attributes) and concentrated on two aspects in which an interest-regarding factor can vary: (a) level of cost-savings (choice-determining strength) and (b) metric used to denote that level (strength indicator). We varied the latter simply based on the methodological consideration that differences in levels (weakest to strongest) might have different degrees of impact depending on how cost-savings were represented.

We varied interest-regarding motivational strength based on the level of cost-savings available in switching from the existing supplier to a new, lower-cost supplier:

Although you are satisfied with the firm that you are currently purchasing cotton from, you regularly keep an eye on all available suppliers .... In doing so, you discovered a supplier who could provide you with the same quantity and quality of cotton as your current supplier, but could do so for lower costs.

To manipulate the cost-savings metric, we varied the ending of the following sentence: "By switching to the new supplier your costs would be reduced by...." The ending was (a) the costs based on the existing supplier (\$100k) relative to savings obtained by switching to the alternative supplier (\$99k, \$91k, \$83k, or \$75k); or (b) savings expressed as a percentage (1%, 9%, 17%, or 25% lower than existing supplier); or (c) a reduction whose verbal label was "trivial," "moderate," "a lot," or "an extraordinary amount" (based on rough interval equivalence indicated by [Bass, Cascio, & O'Connor, 1974](#)).

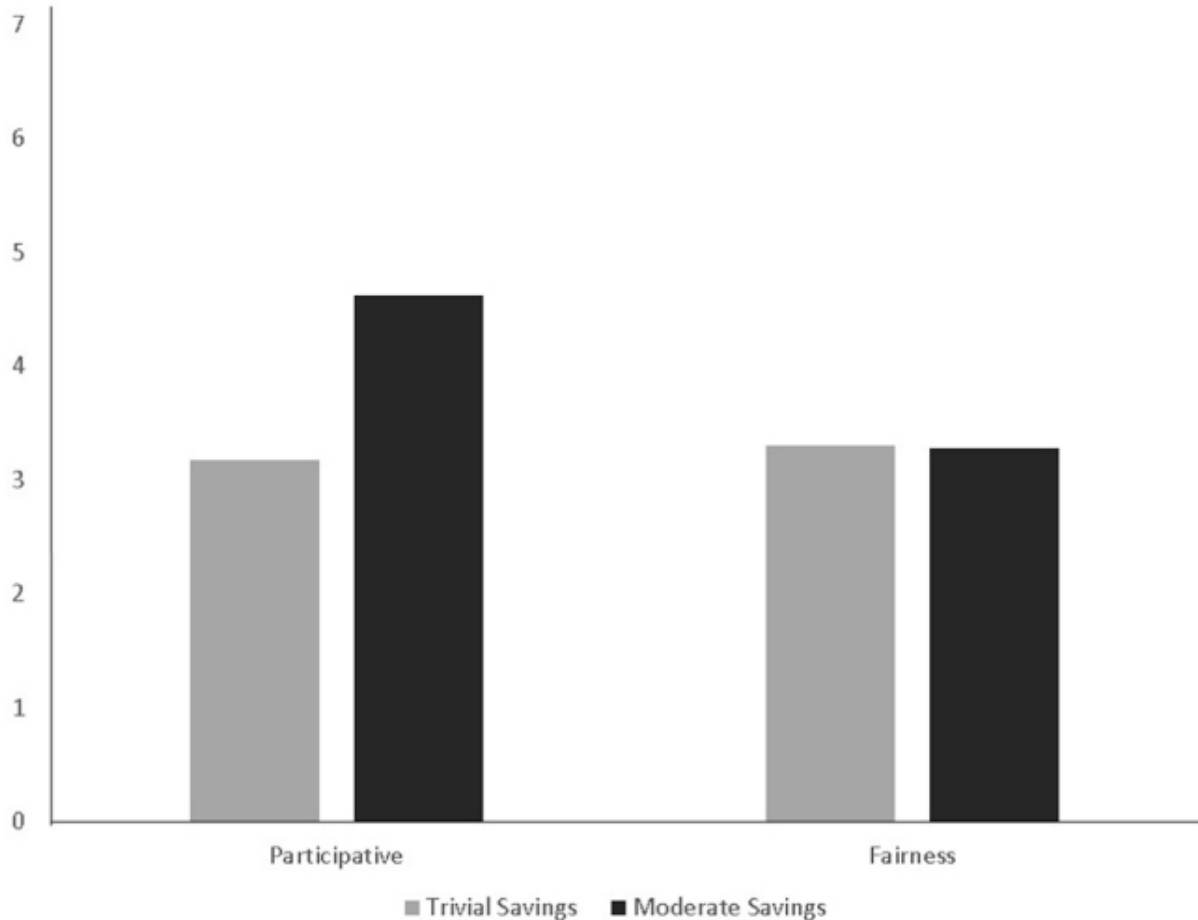
Deonance theory proposes that stand-alone and interest-regarding forces jointly influence such tradeoffs, so we expected the weaker stand-alone attribute associated with the existing supplier (participative) to be overridden by increases in the interest-regarding strength of the new supplier more easily than would be the case with the stronger stand-alone attribute (fair). In other words, we predicted that differences in levels of interest-regarding benefits to shareholders (cost-savings amounts) would have a greater impact (preference for low-cost supplier) in the case of an existing “participative” supplier relative to a “fair” supplier.

We made no prediction regarding the savings metric used to indicate different levels of cost-savings (i.e., expressed in words vs. dollars vs. percentages), hoping for roughly the same patterns regardless. Whatever the metric results, however, we planned to continue with follow-up studies based on the clearest pattern. Moreover, we hoped that the data would be especially supportive of our prediction based on the verbal-labels metric (e.g., trivial, moderate). Such labels not only are more “transportable” for future research but also are recommended because results based on verbal labels are more reproducible (e.g., relative to designations such as dollars; [Sunstein, Kahneman, Schkade, & Ritov, 2002](#)).

We obtained data from 535 mTurk respondents each paid \$0.75 for answering a brief survey. By self-identification 57.3% were male, 83% white, 7.4% Black or African-American, 6.6% Asian, 66.3% working full-time, and 12.2% working part-time. The average age was 34.3 years. The design was a 2 (stand-alone factor: fair vs. participative)  $\times$  3 (descriptor: verbal, %, or \$)  $\times$  4 (magnitude of savings: e.g., 1%, 9%, 17%, or 25%) between-subjects factorial.

The results supported our prediction. A clear pattern emerged that is best illustrated in the case of verbal labels and the differences between “trivial” and “moderate” amounts of savings (see [Fig. 2](#)). The greater tendency to switch from a *participative* supplier because of the lower-cost alternative’s “moderate” savings contribution ( $M = 4.63$ ), relative to “trivial” savings ( $M = 3.18$ ), was significant  $t(1,31) = 2.61$ ,  $p < .05$ . When the existing supplier was *fair* there was

essentially no difference between the “moderate” (3.28) and “trivial” (3.31) conditions (*n.s.*).



*Fig. 2.* Purchasing Agent Means.

Thus, participativeness was weaker and fairness was stronger in resistance to the interest-regarding override based on levels of cost-savings. In other words, participativeness had a lower price-point than fairness: its stand-alone default was overridden by the very first rise in levels of interest-regarding improvement (e.g., from “trivial” to “moderate” cost-savings). This illustrates a contribution of the deonance model, which allows for a *continuum* of stand-alone potency across various value-laden attributes of behavioral choices

(e.g., participativeness vs fairness). In contrast, other perspectives treat a concept similar to stand-alone defaults (viz., “sacred” or “protected” values; see, e.g., [Baron & Spranca, 1997](#); [Fiske & Tetlock, 1997](#)) as a dichotomous, either/or factor. That is, those perspectives treat the presence of adherence to such values as a rigid source of extreme or even infinite resistance to override factors, whereas only respondents who do not consider such values as sacred or protected are hypothesized as being susceptible to influence from interest-regarding factors.

Of course, defaults can be overridden by contributions to self-interest as well as to the interests of others. For example, switching to the lower-cost supplier might reflect serving the company’s and shareholders’ interests (by improving the profit margin), but it could also serve the purchasing agent’s self-interest in the form of improved evaluations, raises, prospects for promotion, and so on. In additional research, therefore, we deliberately manipulated self-versus other-benefit. In the self-benefit condition, participants read

You are the owner of a mutual fund company and it is your job to select which companies your firm invests in. You want to diversify your investment portfolio and would like to invest in one of two cotton companies. You are the only person who has the power to make this decision in your company.

Those receiving the other-benefit manipulation read

You are the fund manager for a large mutual fund group and it is your job to select which companies your firm invests in. You are about to change careers and the following is one of the remaining tasks you must complete before you can leave the company. Your group has decided that they would like to invest in one of two cotton companies. The board has met and the vote came back as 50/50. In cases like this, you are the tie breaker.

Furthermore, the manipulations in this study focused on which of two companies the participant would choose to invest in (i.e., there was no status quo), whereas the manipulation in the preceding research had involved *switching* suppliers to achieve a cost-savings.

We obtained data from 242 mTurk respondents paid \$1.00 for answering a brief survey. By self-identification 62% were male, 77%

white, 8% Black or African-American, 8% Asian, 73% working full-time, and 17% working part-time. The average age was 33 years.

**Table 2.** Fund Manager Conditions and Means.

Condition	Mean	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower	Upper
Participative, Trivial, Other-Benefit	0.94	0.65	10.22
Participative, Moderate, Other-Benefit	0.56	0.25	0.87
Participative, Trivial, Self-Benefit	0.73	0.45	10.02
Participative, Moderate, Self-Benefit	0.59	0.26	0.93
Fairness, Trivial, Other-Benefit	0.92	0.67	1.18
Fairness, Moderate, Other-Benefit	0.90	0.61	1.19
Fairness, Trivial, Self-Benefit	0.85	0.58	1.12
Fairness, Moderate, Self-Benefit	0.66	0.36	0.95

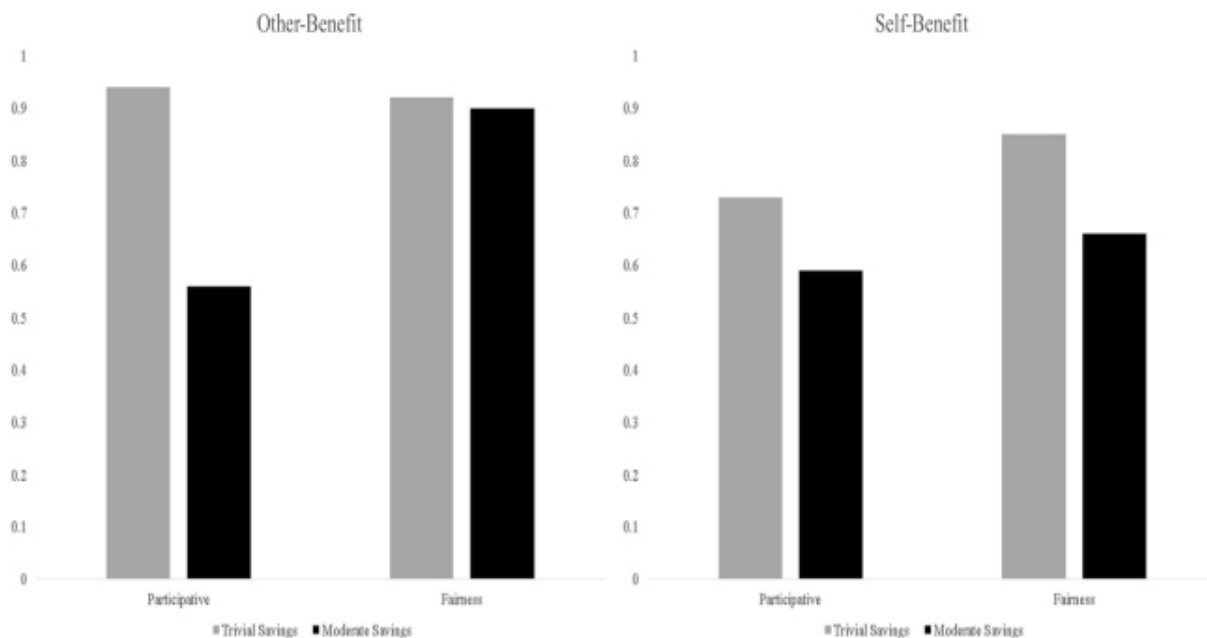
N = 241.

On a between-subjects basis, the design was a 2 (stand-alone factor: fair vs participative)  $\times$  2 (stand-alone-company investment returns: lower by a trivial amount vs lower by a moderate amount [in both cases, relative to returns from an interest-based choice])  $\times$  2 (self-benefit vs other-benefit). Respondents were asked “Which company would you choose to invest in?” and given the option to select company A (with lower returns but *certified* on the stand-alone value – either fair or participative) or company B (with higher returns but *not* certified on the stand-alone value). We coded their selections as 0 = “not certified on the stand-alone value” and 1 = “certified on the stand-alone value.” For example, a mean of 1 would indicate that all respondents chose the company certified in the manipulated stand-alone factor (fairness or participativeness) rather than the company not certified in the stand-alone factor, yet with higher returns (of the manipulated amount). By contrast, a mean of 0 would indicate that all participants chose the firm with higher returns, but not certified in the given stand-alone factor (fairness or participativeness). Thus, this measure can be thought of as the



percentage of participants choosing the stand-alone value over economic returns.

Conditions and their respective means are outlined in [Table 2](#) and displayed in [Fig. 3](#). First consider the data from the case in which others (and not the self) will be the beneficiaries. These indicate that once again, the deonance prediction was confirmed. In addition, the replication of the same basic pattern as we obtained in the purchasing-agent study provides some evidence that those prior results were not affected by self-interest (note that the difference in sign is due to *switching* away from a participative supplier in that study as opposed to *selecting* a participative company in the fund-manager case). That is, to the extent that the purchasing-agent role might have made participants want to recommend a cost-savings because it would make them look good, such thinking seems not to have played a substantial role in how they responded. Obviously, however, more research is needed to investigate the various motives that can come into play in such situations and how they can be disentangled methodologically. With the data from the purchasing-agent study and the other-benefit conditions of the fund-manager study in hand, however, that research trajectory looks promising.



### *Fig. 3. Fund Manager Means.*

The self-benefit conditions of this study also provide interesting material as the basis for a more extended program of research along the lines begun here. Note first that there clearly is an *overall* impact of self-interest: In every instance except one, the means in the self-benefit conditions were lower (i.e., in the direction of the non-certified but better ROI firm) than in the other-benefit conditions; the means in the remaining (participative/moderate) case are virtually identical, perhaps indicating something of a floor effect.

Another indication from the self- vs other-benefit comparison is that the preference order of values – fair greater than participative – shows up even in the self-benefit case. This shows that a “mere” stand-alone value (the “moral” connotations of a word) can have surprisingly strong effects (e.g., fair/trivial = 0.85), and such effects have been shown to generalize across three different situations – namely from the purchasing-agent study and the two variations that involved role-playing a fund manager.

One other finding calls for additional study, namely that the tendency to shift from a stand-alone default value (due to the interest-regarding strength) was of roughly the same magnitude for both fair and participative in the self-benefit conditions, whereas a sizable shift was seen only in the participative case in the other-benefit conditions. (Notably, this tendency is consistent with other pilot data, not reported here, in which we varied default strengths across the four different stand-alone values mentioned earlier – participative, fair, sustainability, and transparency.)

In our discussion of the trust studies we raised some issues regarding the role of self-identity concerns. Another part of the trust-game discussion referred to resistance and reactance because of the negative impact of the owe-me message. We can elaborate on the implications of this research by relating it to various boundary conditions and moderator variables to which we alluded in earlier noting cultural differences in studies about recycling. At that point, we mentioned how the appeal to the value of re-cycling had a

different impact based on two factors in that research example. One was the use of so-called *controlling* language versus appeals to the same value that instead use “noncontrolling, autonomy-supportive terms” (Miller et al., 2007, p. 229). We return to that example here because of the additional relevance of the second factor, a moderator variable: presentation to South Korean versus American participants in research by Kim et al. (2017). The moderator effect was attributed to presumed cultural differences that led South Koreans to respond in an equally positive way to both versions of the recycling appeal, whereas positive responses by Americans were greatly attenuated when the appeal used the controlling-language terms.

The exploration of cultural differences as moderator variables would enrich research on stand-alone and interest-regarding motivations for moral evaluation and action. Cultural differences can also be conceptualized along the lines of individual-difference moderators. For example, the research by Kim et al. (2017) focused on South Korean versus American respondents because of the presumed differences across those cultures in the values of individualism versus collectivism. A related individual-difference variable involves the distinction between independent versus interdependent self-construals. The latter is the type of self-construal found most commonly in collectivist cultures. What remains to be discovered is the underlying psychological processes that are linked to (i.e., correlated with) such individual-difference variables.

Regardless of when, why, and how these and other cultural and individual-difference variables can come into play, the investigation of their influence in areas such as recycling will become increasingly important as more and more companies go “green” and pursue policies related to the theme of corporate social responsibility (CSR). The link to our fair-trade studies is striking: As companies strive to “do well by doing good” (i.e., sustain a healthy bottom-line by engaging in activities viewed favorably by customers, shareholders, and the general public), the types of tradeoffs we studied will become a more common occurrence. Deonance theory thus provides

a useful starting point for conceptualizing the variables to study in research addressing such issues.

## **IMPLICATIONS FOR HR AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

The contour principle and the concept of deontic defaults and overrides have considerable potential for application to HR environments that could inform how HR managers and employees behave, as well as in suggesting avenues for future research. HR managers are in an interesting position where they are often expected to protect and promote the interests of employees but are also responsible for enhancing organizational performance by properly deploying and developing the organization's human resources. This creates the immediate possibility of conflicting interests that must be resolved by the HR function. Additionally, it is reasonable to propose that HR managers might regularly encounter powerful stand-alone forces that reinforce or conflict with the various forces implicated in promoting employee and organizational interests.

In particular, the value of "fairness" encountered in our override studies is likely to be a prominent stand-alone force in HR settings. Although we do not have data regarding the strength of this value in an HR setting, our respondents endorsed it more strongly than any other value. Given the manner in which HR managers regularly interact with employees and are often called upon to promote the interests of employees, fairness and treating employees fairly is likely to be a powerful stand-alone force. Whether considering HR functions such as selection, performance management, training and development, employee assistance programs, compensation decisions and analysis, or benefit administration, the stand-alone force of fairness is likely to wield substantial power. At times, this fairness force might be aligned with organizational practices and

objectives but at others it might conflict with recommended or appropriate HR practice.

For example, [Highhouse \(2008\)](#) has noted the “stubborn reliance” of HR managers on intuition and subjectivity when making selection decisions and a seeming distaste for selection data obtained via “paper and pencil” tests. Empirical research on this topic demonstrated that HR decision makers had a preference for information obtained via subjective judgments (unstructured interviews) rather than objective “paper and pencil” scores ([Lievens, Highhouse, & De Corte, 2005](#)). That is to say, decision makers preferred information about personality to information about cognitive ability when the personality information was subjective in nature (coming from an unstructured interview) and the cognitive ability score came from a paper and pencil test. However, this preference was reversed and decision makers preferred information about cognitive ability once it was purported to come from a subjective evaluation as opposed to a paper and pencil personality test. We find this odd pattern consistent with the analysis of motivations, defaults and overrides that we’ve outlined in this chapter and propose that the powerful stand-alone value of fairness might help explain this “stubborn reliance” on subjectivity. “Paper and pencil” selection measures might simply feel unfair. Reducing fellow human beings, with all of their complexity and nuance, to a simple score seems to violate the fairness principle, and many might long for a fairer, “holistic” assessment of employee ability that is presumed to be captured from subjective assessments. Ironically, the evidence to date suggests that the use of unstructured selection assessments will create selection decisions that are less fair, but this does not necessarily impact the motivational force that decision makers face when considering the fairness principle in concert with preferred selection information.

In [Table 3](#), we provide examples, like the selection example discussed above, of issues from each of several areas of HR that might be informed by a deontance perspective. Notably, a deontance perspective might at times suggest a given diagnosis (i.e., “paper and pencil” selection measures feel unfair, and the fairness value has

considerable stand-alone force), and might at other times suggest a given treatment. For example, in the case of “stubborn reliance” in selection, rather than appealing to the validity and predictive power of structured assessments and their potential to improve organizational performance (an interest-promoting force) a more successful strategy might be to appeal to the unfairness created by unstructured judgments (thereby countering a stand-alone force with an equal/opposite stand-alone force) and the lack of a diverse, inclusive workplace created by such judgments (adding a second stand-alone force to the equation). In [Table 3](#), we provide thoughts on some possible problems with deonance diagnoses or treatments across the areas of selection and recruitment, training and development, performance management, and compensation and benefits.

**Table 3.** HR Challenges and Deonance Implications.

	Selection & Recruitment	Training & Development	Compensation & Benefits
HR-Issue	Preference for non-standardized selection information	How to motivate employee compliance with new programs/policies	Persistent gender inequality of pay
Organizational Outcome	Suboptimal selection + Increased bias in selection decisions	Resistance to organizational initiatives (cf., regarding diversity and inclusion)	Decreased access to opportunities for women
Deonance Implications	Over-ride strength of fairness (stand-alone) resists the strength of organizational performance appeal (interest-regarding)	Alternative interpretations of management motives: legal compliance (interest-regarding) vs human dignity (stand-alone)	Interest-regarding forces of negotiation and organizational performance dominate over a “fairness” or “equality” stand-alone value that has not been sufficiently activated

Furthermore, our studies of deontic defaults and overrides might be of value to the study of HR particularly regarding two of the values investigated: fairness and participativeness. Although these studies were designed using values from the fair-trade movement,

and were not specifically designed to test HR-related values, we find these two to be of particular interest to HR. Notably, participativeness is a value that we believe is likely to be a prized one in HR settings by HR managers and employees. Although we cannot know if our results would generalize from a purchasing setting to an employment setting, it is interesting that participativeness was the least important of the values we investigated (lower than fairness, transparency, and sustainability). In our view this points to two important potential issues. First, if our results on participativeness generalize to HR settings, this might represent an important shift in thinking for HR practitioners. We doubt that systematic data currently exists on such a question, but it seems possible to us that HR practitioners might over-value the force of participativeness. Of course, in work settings, participativeness might relate to judgments of fairness (cf., a lack of voice indicating an unfair work-setting, [Morrison, 2014](#)), but to the extent that HR practitioners make appeals to the value of participativeness this might have less force than expected given the relative weakness of this value when compared to fairness. At the very least, this suggests that appeals to inclusiveness or participativeness by themselves might not have as much force as practitioners might hope. Second, it is possible that force strength could vary across situations, suggesting that a search for boundary variables could be an important part of developing deonance models. For example, it could be the case that participativeness might be held in little regard as a stand-alone force in a purchasing setting, but perhaps this value would have greater stand-alone force in an employment setting.

Our research using the “trust game” also has HR implications. In particular, we studied the effect of a decision-maker’s willingness to display trust on the extent of trustworthiness elicited from a second person in return. The deonance analysis and the obtained results extend beyond what has heretofore been used to characterize aspects of psychological contracts in organizations (e.g., [Rousseau, 1995](#)). From the psychological contract perspective, employees look to see whether what they have received falls in line with what they



were led to expect. From the deonance perspective, the nature of employee responses in that context is more nuanced.

One way to see that difference is through an economic lens based on another experimental game, the “gift exchange.” Economists who have used this game paradigm have interpreted their findings as showing that when one player’s generosity exceeds what might be expected, recipients of such largesse will reciprocate accordingly. Generalizing to the workplace, it’s as if an employer’s generosity will elicit better performance and higher levels of organizational citizenship behaviors ([Organ, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2006](#)). We instead examined what might happen when employees also take into account the possible motives for generosity on management’s part. Such attributions might, in turn, be affected by aspects of the HR function as related to the recruitment, training, and socialization of employees.

Specifically, our trust paradigm put Player 2 in a role analogous to the role of employees receiving benefits (e.g., promotion ladders) from management but not knowing definitively what might have motivated those benefits. We predicted that the willingness of Player 1 to take a risk by trusting Player 2 would be affected not simply based on what the latter stood to gain, but also the extent of sacrifice Player 1 was willing to undertake. Similarly, employees who presume their employer could well afford to treat them more generously (e.g., in light of enormous net profits or perceptions about a CEO’s extravagant salary) might in turn not feel much of an obligation to perform well. The amount of money that Player 2 received was held constant, so the analogous implication in the workplace is that employees consider more than simply their own contractual obligations (or those of their employers) in terms of absolute amounts such as reflected in a paycheck. Rather, they will ask themselves such questions as whether they believe an HR manager’s representations of management’s motives – and not only in pay policies, but also in the entire variety of policies that might be contained in an employee handbook as conveyed by messages from HR.

Even more to the point is how the deonance perspective takes into account employees' perceptions about their own rights as well as their employers' responsibilities. The analogy here pertains to the two types of messages we used in our trust-game studies. Recall that one referred to mutual interest ("in this together"), whereas the other framed reciprocity in a heavy-handed manner that insisted on payback as an obligation ("you owe me"). The latter is consistent with HR messages that convey a transactional outlook on management's part, complete with the implication of adherence to employment policies on the basis of a demand for compliance. Put another way, HR messages that convey management's willingness to trust employees (especially when reciprocity cannot be forced) stand the best chance of motivating trustworthy behavior by employees in return.

Similarly, results from our trust research has important implications for HR in several other areas including labor relations and negotiations, individual salary negotiations, when HR has responsibility for managing the work-force after a merger or acquisition, and so forth. Naturally, labor relations has great potential to present situations that are adversarial, zero-sum, or competitive in nature in terms of negotiations, despite the fact that management and labor must find ways to negotiate and work together in an ongoing fashion for either party to obtain outcomes they desire. Importantly, our deonance perspective outlines and suggests that appeals (from either side) to powerful stand-alone forces ("in it together") might meet with better success than appeals to interest-promoting forces. Our "in it together" generated significantly greater reciprocity, and it seems reasonable to suggest that actions on management's part that communicate this "in it together" message could go a long way toward building trust and a foundation for fruitful negotiations (perhaps further than appeals to mutual gain/value enhancement).

## **CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, we've outlined a deontic perspective on decision-making motivations in contexts where behavior can have ethical or moral implications. This perspective addresses two broad forms of motivations: (a) those that have stand-alone force and thereby suggest engaging in the behavior in question (e.g., be fair, be honest) simply because it is the right thing to do and (b) those that have interest-regarding implications for other people and suggest engaging in the behavior in question because of how it might contribute positively to their future well-being. When considered together with the self-interest motivation of the actor, an analysis of these forces can be very informative to understanding the decisions and behaviors of individuals faced with choices that have ethical implications. As outlined, at times these various forces are mutually reinforcing and create compelling motivation toward a given behavior. At other times, however, these forces are in conflict. Those countervailing pressures can introduce the need for tradeoffs or for disregarding one option entirely.

We believe that the deonance concept of motivational forces, and a consideration of their relative strengths, could be a compelling way forward for some areas of research in HR. Notably, an analysis of force strength and conflicting forces could help to resolve a number of questions regarding how and why HR decision makers behave in particular ways (e. g., stubborn resistance to "paper and pencil" selection tests), but could also inform how HR can best communicate with employees to encourage various behaviors rather than generate conflicting forces with the potential to create reactance effects (i.e., transactional vs trust-related HR messages). We suggest that HR researchers should determine the relevant forces (both stand-alone and interest-regarding) that are most prominent in HR environments, such as fairness, diversity and inclusion, organizational effectiveness and the manner in which they impact behavior and decisions. In particular, research should address the relative strength of those forces as well as the extent to which they reinforce or conflict with one another, and then apply that knowledge to HR issues. It might well be the case that what appears puzzling and hazy at first could become clear and transparent when seen through a deonance lens.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We thank Kevin Wooten and Gary Latham for their helpful suggestions.

## REFERENCES

- Amir, O., Rand, D. G., & Gal (2012). Economic games on the internet: The effect of \$1 stakes. *PLOS ONE*, 7, e31461.
- Aquino, K., & Reed, A. (2002). The self-importance of moral identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 1423–1440.
- Baron, J., & Spranca, M. (1997). Protected values. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 70, 1–16.
- Bass, B. M., Cascio, W. F., & O'Connor, E. J. (1974). Magnitude estimations of expressions of frequency and amount. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 59, 313–320.
- Baur, J. E., Buckley, M. R. (2016). A ripe apple in a rotten barrel: An interactionist examination of pro-social rule breaking. Paper presented at the meeting of the Southern Management Association, Charlotte, NC.
- Berg, J., Dickhaut, J., & McCabe, K. (1995). Trust, reciprocity, and social history. *Games and Economic Behavior*, 10, 122–142.
- Brehm, J. W. (1966). *Theory of psychological reactance*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Brehm, J. W., & Cole, A. H. (1966). Effect of a favor which reduced freedom. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 420–426.
- Dunning, D. (2017). Normative goals and the regulation of social behavior: The case of respect. *Motivation and Emotion*, 41, 285–293.
- Dworkin R (1984). Rights as trumps. In J. Waldron (Ed.), *Theories of rights* (pp. 153–167). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Elias, J. J., Lacetera, N., & Macis, M. (2015a). Markets and morals: An experimental survey study. *PLoS ONE*, 10(6), e0127069, 1–13.
- Elias, J. J., Lacetera, N., & Macis, M. (2015b). Sacred Values? The effect of information on attitudes toward payments for human organs. *The American Economic Review*, 105, 381–365.
- Fiske, A. P., & Tetlock, P. E. (1997). Taboo trade-offs: reactions to transactions that transgress the spheres of justice. *Political Psychology*, 18, 255–297.
- Folger, R. (1998). Fairness as moral virtue. In M. Schminke (Ed.), *Managerial ethics: Moral management of people and processes* (pp. 13–34). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Folger, R. (2001). Fairness as deonance. In S. Gilliland, D. Steiner, & D. Skarlicki (Eds.), *Theoretical and cultural perspectives on organizational justice* (pp. 3–33). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishers.
- Folger, R. (2012). Deonance: Behavioral ethics and moral obligation. In D. De Cremer & A. Tenbrunsel (Eds.), *Behavioral business ethics: Shaping an emerging field* (pp. 123–142). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Folger, R., Ganegoda, D. B., Rice, D. B., Taylor, R., & Wo, D. X. H. (2013). Bounded autonomy and behavioral ethics: Deonance and reactance as competing motives. *Human Relations*, 66, 905–924.

- Folger, R., & Glerum, D. R. (2015). Justice and deonance: "You ought to be fair." In R. Cropanzano and M. Ambrose (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of justice in the workplace* (pp. 331–350). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Folger, R., & Stein, C. (2017). Deonance: Expanding the concept. In C. Moliner, R. Cropanzano, & V. Martínez-Tur (Eds.), *Organizational justice: International perspectives and conceptual advances* (pp. 15–36). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Folger, R., Stein, C., & Whiting, S. (2017). The ethics of business decision-making: Deontic defaults and override thresholds. Poster at the national Meeting of the Society of Industrial and Organizational Society, Orlando, FL, April 24.
- Friedman, M. (1962). *Capitalism and freedom*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago 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, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Highhouse, S. (2008). Stubborn reliance on intuition and subjectivity in employee selection. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 1, 333–342.
- Insko, C. A. (1967). *Theories of attitude change*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Johnson, N. D., & Mislin, A. (2011). Trust games: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 32, 865–889.
- Katz, D. (1960). The functional approach to the study of attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 24, 163–204.
- Kelman, H. (1961). Processes of opinion change. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 25, 57–58.
- Kim, Y., Baek, T. H., Yoon, S., Oh, S., & Choi, Y. K. (2017). Assertive environmental advertising and reactance: Differences between South Koreans and Americans. *Journal of Advertising*, 46, 550–564.
- Lanceley. (1985). Use of controlling language in the rehabilitation of the elderly *Journal of advanced Nursing*, 10, 125–135
- Lewin, K. (1943). Defining the "field at a given time." *Psychological Review*, 50, 292–310.
- Lievens, F., Highhouse, S., & De Corte, W. (2005). The importance of traits and abilities in supervisors' hirability decisions as a function of method of assessment. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 75, 453–470.
- Manktelow, K. I., & Over, D. E. (1995). Deontic reasoning. In S. E. Newstead & T. Evans (Eds.), *Current directions in thinking and reasoning*. Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Ltd.
- Mazar, N., Amir, O., & Ariely, D. (2008a). More ways the cheat: Expanding the scope of dishonesty. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 45, 650–653.
- Mazar, N., Amir, O., & Ariely, D. (2008b). The dishonesty of honest people: A theory of self-concept maintenance. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 45, 650–653.
- McLaughlin, B., Shutz, C., & White, D. (1980). Parental speech to five-year-old children in a game-playing situation. *Child Development*, 51, 580–582.
- McNamara, P. (2010). Deontic logic. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/logic-deontic/>. Accessed on January 7, 2020.
- Miller, C. H., Lane, L. T., Deatrack, L. M., Young, A. M., & Potts, K. A. (2007). Psychological reactance and promotional health messages: The effects of controlling language, lexical concreteness, and the restoration of freedom. *Human Communication Research*, 33, 219–240.
- Morrison, E. W. (2006). Doing the job well: An investigation of pro-social rule-breaking. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 1, 173–

- Morrison, E. W. (2014). Employee voice and silence. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 1, 173–197.
- Nisbett, R. E., Legant, P., & Marecek, J. (1973). Behavior as seen by actor and as seen by observer. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 27, 154–164.
- Nyhan, B., & Reifler, J. (2015). Dose correcting myths about the flu vaccine work? An experimental evaluation of the effects of corrective information. *Vaccine*, 33, 459–464.
- Organ, D. W., Podsakoff, P. M., & MacKenzie, S. B. (2006). *Organizational citizenship behavior: Its nature, antecedents, and consequences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Palmer, F. R. (1979). Why auxiliaries are not main verbs. *Lingua*, 47, 1–25.
- Rousseau, D. M. (1995). *Psychological contracts in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sherif, C. W., & Sherif, M. (1967). Introduction and attitude as the individual's own categories: The social judgment-involvement approach to attitude and attitude change. In C. W. Sherif & M. Sherif, (Eds.), *Attitude, ego-involvement, and change*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Smith, M., Bruner, J., & White, R. (1956). *Opinions and personality*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Sunstein, C. R., Kahneman, D., Schkade, D., & Ritov, I. (2002). Predictably incoherent judgments. *Stanford Law Review*, 54, 1153–1215.
- Vansteenkiste, M., Lens, W., & Deci, E. (2006). Intrinsic versus extrinsic goal contents in self-determination theory: Another look at the quality of academic motivation. *Educational Psychologist*, 4, 19–31.

---

**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management**

**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Volume 38, 259–283**

**Copyright © 2020 by Emerald Publishing Limited**

**All rights of reproduction in any form reserved**

**ISSN: 0742-7301/doi:10.1108/S0742-730120200000038009**

## CHAPTER 8

# USING COMPUTER-ASSISTED TEXT ANALYSIS (CATA) TO INFORM EMPLOYMENT DECISIONS: APPROACHES, SOFTWARE, AND FINDINGS

Emily D. Campion and Michael A. Campion

### ABSTRACT

*This literature review is on advanced computer analytics, which is a major trend in the field of Human Resource Management (HRM). The authors focus specifically on computer-assisted text analysis (CATA) because text data are a prevalent yet vastly underutilized data source in organizations. The authors gathered 341 articles that use, review, or promote CATA in the management literature. This review complements existing reviews in several ways including an emphasis on CATA in the management literature, a description of the types of software and their advantages, and a unique emphasis on findings in employment. This examination of CATA relative to employment is based on 66 studies (of the 341) that bear on measuring constructs potentially relevant to hiring decisions. The authors also briefly consider the broader machine learning literature using CATA outside management (e.g., data science) to derive relevant insights for management scholars. Finally, the authors discuss the main challenges when using CATA for employment, and provide recommendations on how to manage such challenges. In all, the authors hope to demystify and encourage the use of CATA in HRM scholarship.*

**Keywords:** Computer-aided text analysis; CATA; employment decisions; selection; machine learning; literature review

Advanced computer analytics is a major trend in the field of Human Resource Management (HRM) and its primary underlying scientific discipline, Industrial and Organizational Psychology.<sup>1</sup> Scholars and organizations alike have become increasingly interested in using computer-assisted text analysis (CATA) to examine text data. The ability to analyze text data is a major breakthrough due to the extensive availability of text data in HRM, the potential for the improved use of that data for making HRM decisions, and the increased objectivity, efficiency, and accuracy of measurement that may result. To demystify and promote CATA, we review the CATA research in management. This review will complement existing reviews (e.g., McKenny, Aguinis, Short, & Anglin, 2018; McKenny, Short, & Payne, 2013; Short, McKenny, & Reid, 2018) in several ways: (1) we build on these reviews by including nearly an additional 200 articles (e.g., Short et al., 2018), (2) we describe the types of software for all types of CATA from the more rudimentary (e.g., Nvivo) to the more advanced (e.g., SPSS Modeler) and the advantages of each type, and (3) we present an in-depth examination of findings, challenges, and recommendations for its uses for employment decisions.



## LITERATURE COLLECTION METHOD

We conducted a comprehensive literature review in the traditional manner, starting with a computer search of all related keywords and CATA software in 16 high-quality management journals and those that publish CATA research often to generate our database of management literature that uses CATA.<sup>2</sup> We found 585 articles across organizational behavior, human resources, strategy, and entrepreneurship. We read the titles, abstracts, and methods of each article and eliminated those that did not apply or review CATA methods, which yielded 341 articles in our final database. Of these, 324 directly measured constructs and the remaining 17 were either reviews or provided direction on how to conduct CATA.

The initial scope of the review was meant to be all-inclusive of any literature on the topic, but the relevance of the various bodies of literature narrowed our scope for three reasons. First, because this is a relatively new and rapidly evolving area of research, most of the relevant literature in management has been published recently (81.5% of the articles in our review were published between 2010 and 2019). Second, there is a vast literature on machine learning that did not include CATA, and thus was not directly relevant to the review. Third, the focus was on the literature that bears on the measurement of human attributes, which is primarily the research in management (psychology, organizational behavior, and human resources) as opposed to other disciplines (e.g., data science). We briefly scanned the text mining literature in other disciplines for lessons that might be relevant, such as methodologies, but we do not review this literature comprehensively because they either do not use text data or their findings were not directly translatable to the management literature. Fourth, there is a large literature that uses CATA to measure writing skill in education. This was the first major area of CATA literature and consists of several hundred articles. This literature will not be included because writing skill development among students is not directly useful for employment decisions.<sup>3</sup>

## OVERVIEW OF CATA

Before describing the findings in the literature, it might be helpful to identify the various ways to analyze text, including CATA, as a backdrop. We believe the range of approaches include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. *Using traditional human judgment-based content analysis.* This is the most basic approach to text analysis. Here, human judges such as subject matter experts (SMEs) read and categorize the sample of textual data based on similarity of the content. This technique is sometimes called a "Q Sort." With this approach, the text data (e.g., responses) are ordinarily grouped into only one category. After sorting, the human judges read the data in each category and assign descriptive labels. Often, they will count the number of responses in each category as an indication of its importance. This is not computer assisted, other than perhaps to record the information. However, it provides an important perspective because it is by far the most common approach historically and human judges still play an important role in the more automated approaches below.
2. *Using basic computer automation.* This technique is largely used to identify content by simply counting the frequencies of various words and categorizing them. They may also help visually display the results such as in "word clouds." This approach can be purely empirical by only using the variables identified by the software, or the researcher can improve the variables by modifying the categories. This involves reviewing the concepts extracted and combining or separating them based on their meaning in the context of the study, just like traditional content analysis. The computer does not know that different terms or phrases may be synonyms, but most software will allow the researcher to tell that to the computer. The initial variables extracted can be modified using other analyses to reduce the data, such as factor or cluster analyses. SMEs might also be used to help impart meaning on the categories or to check the coding and make modifications. This use of CATA has been very common in the management literature, especially for inductive research (e.g., grounded theory). Of the 324 empirical articles in our review that used CATA to measure attributes, 153 (47.2%) fell into this category.

The most common software packages that conduct simple content analyses are Nvivo and Atlas.ti. Although they help suggest potential categories by identifying the common words, they serve as more of a data management tool for qualitative (text) data and involve little automation. They are word processing tools that facilitate text analysis by allowing the researcher to easily sort, track, and code text data, but provide little assistance in identifying the underlying meaning of the data compared with more advanced methods described below.

3. *Using rationally developed data dictionaries.* This has been a popular technique to examine the sentiment of text based on existing dictionaries. However, researchers can also create their own dictionaries to measure specific constructs and use them for content analysis. This is much like a keyword search where the researcher identifies all the relevant terms regarding a construct and then searches the documents for these words. The difference between this method and a keyword search is that the words have been identified as being reflective of various sentiments based on prior research and presumably validated. Sentiments captured can be as simple as positive and negative tone or more complex and nuanced such as specific attitudes and dispositions. The frequency with which respondents use words in the dictionary usually provides the measure of the attribute. Studies using dictionaries are more deductive because researchers are either trying to measure particular attributes for which the dictionaries have been validated *a priori*, or they are developing their own dictionary based on a known construct that is also known *a priori*. Many dictionaries are available publicly to assess various sentiments or emotions (especially the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count [LIWC] and the DICTION software packages). Using CATA to identify sentiments has been very common in the management CATA literature. More than a third of the articles in our review used dictionaries (122; 35.8%)
4. Using more advanced text mining software to identify the constructs underlying combinations of words that exist in a corpus (e.g., set of documents). This often involves natural language processing (NLP) techniques (e.g., latent semantic analysis [LSA]; latent Dirichlet analysis) that include extracting the meaningfulness of narrative information by analyzing the relationships among multiple words, as described in more detail in the software review section of this report. Advanced techniques such as NLP can be used in addition to data dictionaries and basic automation, and some software programs will combine all three. Common software programs that perform all of these analyses include R, Python, SPSS, and SAS.
5. Using text mining software to identify concepts and combinations of words based on their predictiveness of some criterion (e.g., job performance, training performance, other outcomes, etc.). This begins with the approaches above, but then identifies the most useful concepts and variables from the large number extracted based on their empirical relationships with criteria. The number of variables extracted depends on the size and variation of the textual data in the corpus, but can range up to the hundreds or even thousands. This approach can also be combined with training the computer, which includes combining, deleting, relabeling, identifying synonyms, and other adjustments to improve the accuracy of the model. A variant of this is to use criterion data from SMEs to text mine against. Where criterion data do not exist or have severe limitations, or where the goal is to emulate a human judge, SMEs can score a set of written text samples and their scores can be used as the criterion. If done well, the sample of text scored would not have to be excessively large (e.g., in the hundreds) because the research protocol can be structured to ensure wide variance, reliability, and content validity. This and the previous type of CATA fall under the broader umbrella term of "machine learning." Twenty-two (6.8%) of the 324 empirical articles in our review used machine learning.

## **TYPES OF STUDIES, TEXT DATA, AND CATA SOFTWARE**

Table 1 shows the frequency and percentage of each of the various types of distinctions between the articles in the review. In the sections below, we describe and summarize the key findings within each type.

**Table 1.** Frequencies of Types of Articles in the Management Literature on CATA.

Types of Studies	Number	Percentage
Qualitative and quantitative	171	50.2%
Qualitative only	153	44.9%
Review	17	5.0%
Total	341	100%
Types of Textual Data	Number	Percentage
Transcripts (interviews, speeches, phone calls)	164	50.6%
Report (annual reports, sustainability reports)	55	17.0%
Observations	51	15.7%
Archival data	48	14.8%
News-related documents (news articles, press releases)	47	14.5%
Open-ended responses	18	5.6%
Journals articles and abstracts	15	4.6%
Web-related content (webpages, online communication)	15	4.6%
Other (cases, mission statements, crowdfunding campaigns)	40	12.4%
Types of Software	Number	Percentage
Nvivo	138	42.6%
Linguistic Inquiry Word Count (LIWC)	82	25.3%
Atlas.ti	30	9.3%
DICTION	27	8.3%
R	7	2.2%
Cat Scanner	5	1.5%
MonoConc Pro	5	1.5%
Python	4	1.2%
General Inquirer (GI)	4	1.2%
SPSS Modeler	3	0.9%
VBPro	3	0.9%
Wordstat	3	0.9%
Leximancer	2	0.6%
Textpak4	2	0.6%
Textual Analysis Computing Tools (TACT)	2	0.6%
Automap	2	0.6%
Excel	2	0.6%
Used only once	25	7.7%
Did not disclose	22	6.8%

*Note:* Percentages reported under “Types of Study” are out of 341. Percentages reported under “Types of Textual Data” and “Types of Software” are out of 324 – the number of empirical articles in our review.

### *Types of Studies*

Three types of studies emerged in the literature review: (1) studies using qualitative CATA methods only, (2) studies using both qualitative and quantitative methods, and (3) reviews of the literature or articles promoting CATA. The distinction between the first and the second types of studies is whether the researchers quantified the qualitative data. That is, if the data were converted into indices and metrics used for statistical analysis like correlations, then they fell into the second type of study. Of the 341 articles in this review, 153 (44.9%) were qualitative only and generally took inductive approaches using interviews with organizational informants (e.g., respondents, experts), observations, and archival organizational data to develop constructs and flesh out processes among constructs to expand or generate management theory (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). Qualitative studies can be conducted in a number of ways, but one commonly cited approach is called *grounded theory*. According to Gephart, Gibson, and Gibbs (2004, p. 459):

*Grounded theorizing* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is the process of iteratively and inductively constructing theory from observations using a process of theoretical sampling in which emergent insights direct selection and inclusion of the “next” informant or slice of data. Grounded theory involves constant comparative analysis whereby groups are compared on the basis of theoretical similarities and differences.

In contrast to traditional deductive research that usually begins with an existing theory and then develops and tests hypotheses derived from that theory to determine support, inductive research begins with information-gathering, coding, and iterating between emerging theoretical ideas in the data and the literature to refine or build theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This theoretical framework requires researchers to code as close to the data as possible. Recognizing that several ideas can be communicated in one spoken (and transcribed) sentence, researchers using this method first engage in open coding, or a coding ritual called "in vivo," based directly on words used by participants and are as similar to the terms used in the data as possible without applying external theoretical framings. Such line-by-line coding requires the researchers to examine individual words and phrases (Locke, 2001). Next, in a process analogous to creating superordinate categories in traditional content analyses, researchers combine the first-order codes into second-order codes and then generate aggregate dimensions informed by the literature to develop a model of the target topic. This approach is generally used in studies that do not attempt to quantify the textual data (e.g., create ratings, scores, or word frequencies), but instead try to summarize the content or generate theory. For example, using in-depth interviews with 29 US Navy couples, Beckman and Stanko (2019) were able to extend boundary theory by discovering the types of relational boundary work practices couples engaged in individually and collectively to build their resilience as a couple.

Of the 341 articles in this review, 171 (50.2%) used both qualitative and quantitative analyses, which involved converting text to quantitative data. A common example was counting the number of words in the text that represented a certain sentiment (e.g., positive or negative tone). These estimates then were used to correlate with or predict important outcomes. For example, Love, Lim, and Bednar (2017) analyzed the sentiment of 200 news articles on CEOs and used this variable ("CEO media tenor") to predict firm reputation based on Fortune Magazine's "Most Admired Companies" surveys. They took a number of steps to create a quantitative measure of tenor. First, using LIWC's dictionaries of positive and negative words, they counted the number of positive and negative words in each response. Then, they created ratios of positive to negative words used and negative to positive words used. Finally, they coded articles as positive if the positive ratio was 0.65 or greater and negative if the negative ratio was 0.65 or greater. This is only one way of creating a sentiment score.

In a similar study on media favorability of organizations, Bednar (2012) also used LIWC to evaluate news articles, but calculated the mean frequency of positive and negative words "from all articles about a sample firm in a given year" (p. 138). Bednar tested whether media favorability was affected by formal board independence and also whether media favorability affected CEO pay and likelihood of CEO dismissal. Scholars have also measured sentiment as a simple percentage of the number of sentiment words (positive or negative) to the total number of words in a text. Wilson, DeRue, Matta, Howe, and Conlon (2016) applied this method in a study of emotional displays in negotiations. Instead of creating positive-to-negative ratios, and vice versa, Wilson et al. created an index of the percentage of positive emotions (e.g., words like "agree," "great," or "nice") per transcript. They then tested whether personality similarity between negotiators enhanced positive emotional displays and whether positive emotional displays quickened agreement time and reduced perceptions of relationship conflict. They found support for these hypothesized relationships.

Finally, of the 341 articles, 17 (5.0%) reviewed or promoted CATA. The reviews had somewhat different purposes, the most common of which were: (1) introducing text mining (e.g., Luciano, Mathieu, Park, & Tannenbaum, 2018), (2) providing a broad overview of CATA (e.g., Short et al., 2018), and (3) presenting specific techniques that included CATA (e.g., Crayne & Hunter, 2018; Janasik, Honkela, & Bruun, 2009; Shortt & Warren, 2019; Slutskaya, Game, & Simpson, 2018).

In sum, there were three types of CATA studies in the management literature. Nearly half used purely qualitative data to develop new theories. Nearly half included both qualitative and quantitative data, usually by using dictionaries to quantify the text data and predict outcomes. Finally, nearly 5% reviewed or promoted CATA.

### *Types of Textual Data*

Perhaps what makes CATA so promising for researchers is that any and all written text can be analyzed. The text data used in the literature included various types collected intentionally for the study (e.g., interviews and open-ended responses on surveys) and types of existing data created for other purposes (e.g., letters to shareholders, news articles and press releases, and online reviews and social media). Of the 324 non-review articles, nearly half (45.4%) used secondary data only, about a third (36.7%) used primary data only, and 17.9% used both. The most common source of text data were transcripts from interviews, focus groups, speeches, phone calls, and others with 165 studies (50.6%) in our review using these. Most of these data were collected by the researchers themselves.

Illustrative attributes from primary sources of text data included perceptions of fit (Chuang, Hsu, Wang, & Judge, 2015), humble leadership (Owens & Hekman, 2012), cognitions and emotions (Zuzul, 2018), and identity (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Gioia, Price, Hamilton, & Thomas, 2010). Other primary data sources included observations (e.g., researcher recordings of behavior based on visual observations) (51; 15.7%) and open-ended responses (18; 5.6%). Illustrative attributes from these types of text data include team cognitive maps (Carley, 1997), boundary management tactics (Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2009), and positive–negative sentiment (Liang et al., 2016).

In terms of existing data, the most commonly used text sources were types of organizational reports (e.g., letters to shareholders) (55; 17.0%) followed by archival data (48; 14.8%), and news-related documents (e.g., press releases) (47; 14.5%). Examples of attributes measured by these sources were CEO characteristics such as narcissism (Buyl, Boone, & Wade, 2019) and entrepreneurial orientation (Engelen, Neumann, & Schmidt, 2016), or firm-specific attributes such as organizational culture (Pandey & Pandey, 2017) and organizational values (Kabanoff & Holt, 1996; Kabanoff, Waldersee, & Cohen, 1995).

The next most common existing sources were journal articles and abstracts (15; 4.6%), and web-related content (15; 4.6%). For example, Antons, Joshi, and Salge (2018) text mined the topics and rhetorical features of more than 1,600 management journal articles to predict their scientific impact. Meanwhile, Schmiedel, Müller, and vom Brocke (2019) text mined online reviews of almost 300,000 Fortune 500 companies to examine organizational culture. Scholars have also examined the sentiment of online content (Barlow, Verhaal, & Hoskins, 2018). Forty articles (12.4%) used other types of existing textual data that did not fall into previous categories such as job postings, cases, mission statements, and crowdfunding campaigns.

As noted, almost half of the studies in our review used existing text data not originally collected for the purpose of text analysis research (e.g., organizational annual reports). One way to interpret this finding is that CATA is an unobtrusive and clever way to assess previously untapped areas due to difficulty in data collection. This may lead to the identification and measurement of new constructs or the refinement of existing constructs (Newman, Harrison, Carpenter, & Rariden, 2016). It may also help avoid the persistent faking and impression management common in data collected for personnel selection (e.g., personality indices). For example, some scholars have suggested that a candidate's social media (e.g., Facebook) could be particularly useful for recruiters because it may represent a more honest presentation of the candidate's true personality compared to interview responses (Hartwell & Campion, 2019).

However, secondary data sources come with notable limitations that create concerns about measurement validity because the data are not collected for the purposes of the research. To maximize utility of CATA-specific data collection, we should not solely rely on the text data we normally collect (e.g., asking for "any other comments"), but researchers should instead purposively collect text data to measure the intended or desired constructs. That is, if information is sought on a specific attribute, the questions should ask specifically about that attribute rather than inferring it from information collected for other purposes. For example, if the goal is to measure past leadership accomplishments, it is better to ask about past leadership accomplishments and text mine the responses than to text mine indirect text data such as personal statements. This is because the direct approach is more likely to solicit relevant and complete data on leadership, while the personal statement may focus on life goals and tangential constructs and not past accomplishments.

In summary, CATA can be used to analyze virtually any type of textual data and allows for researchers and organizations alike to exploit sometimes ignored or overlooked types of data (e.g., comments in worker engagement surveys). Researchers may be able to identify new constructs or



refine existing ones through text data. Text data may also help researchers avoid some of the problems with purposefully collected data (like impression management). However, if text data are collected to measure a particular attribute, researchers should ask about that attribute directly as opposed to inferring it from other indirect information.

### *Types of Software*

Types of software and the frequency with which they were used in studies in this review are listed in [Table 1](#), from most common to least common. Only software used twice or more were listed for parsimony. The remaining software used only once in the review are grouped as “Only Used Once.” It is important to note that some research teams used more than one type of software in their text analysis. The most commonly used types of software for CATA were those developed for researcher-intensive coding rather than automation. Nvivo (138; 42.6%) and Atlas.ti (30; 9.3%) were used in more than half of the studies. Researchers often use these programs to engage in inductive coding (see Type of Studies section above).

A similarly popular type of software was dictionary-based programs such as LIWC (82; 25.3%) and DICTION (27; 8.3%). In all, dictionary-based software was used in more than a third of the studies (38.0%). While LIWC was used most often to assess sentiment of text, it, along with DICTION and the others, have also been used to capture content such as entrepreneurial orientation ([Short, Broberg, Coglisier, & Brigham, 2010](#)). This type of software has been available publicly for several decades and has since undergone a number of iterations to accommodate changes in language or cultural modifications of word sentiment and meaning ([Pennebaker, Chung, Ireland, Gonzales, & Booth, 2007](#)). As evidenced by our review, LIWC has, by far, been the most popular of these types of software and the development of which we will discuss here to present a clearer understanding of its validation and how it works.

Beginning with general word generation, researchers amassed a large database of words and resources (e.g., English dictionaries, Roget’s Thesaurus, affects scales). Next, they solicited feedback from SMEs (or “judges” as they are referred to in the manual) to provide their expertise regarding what should and should not be included in the dictionaries. Finally, they evaluated the psychometrics of the software, considering word use frequency and other elements. Information on its psychometric properties is readily available ([Pennebaker et al., 2007](#)). In addition to sentiment, LIWC has also been used to score personality and motivations. For example, [Hirsh and Peterson \(2009\)](#) found several linguistic correlates of the Big Five: conscientiousness was associated positively with achievement-related words; neuroticism was associated with anxiety and negative emotions; extraversion and agreeableness were associated with family related words or those that represented interpersonal concern; and openness was associated with words related to perceptual processing such as hearing and seeing.

Much like LIWC, DICTION is a particularly flexible program that allows for both content and sentiment analyses. However, the built-in dictionaries were developed specifically to extract only the following qualities: certainty, activity, optimism, realism, and commonality ([DICTION, 2019](#)). Yet, researchers are not limited to these attributes and can generate and use their own dictionary(ies) in DICTION. For example, in their study on leadership rhetoric, [Bligh, Kohles, and Meindl \(2004\)](#) used DICTION’s optimism dictionary and developed five dictionaries in addition to optimism (collectives, faith, patriotism, aggression, and ambivalence) to determine attributes of leaders from presidential speeches. The remaining dictionary-based software used in the literature we reviewed included ones like Cat Scanner (5; 1.5%) and MonoConc Pro (5; 1.5%) that analyze text data similarly to LIWC and DICTION by counting the number of words per response that exist in a construct’s dictionary.

The more sophisticated software used in our literature review included R (7; 2.2%), Python’s various toolkits (4; 1.2%) and SPSS Modeler (3; 0.9%). With these software, researchers are able to apply advanced analytics such as NLP. As noted previously, NLP (and computational linguistics) considers relationships among words (using n-grams or strings of words) as well as the words themselves. It also includes preprocessing by eliminating stop words (e.g., the, a, in), *stemming* (reducing words to core terms like “working” and “worked” to “work”), and *lemmatizing* (converting inflected forms to a common

term, such as converting “is” and “am” to “be”). NLP assumes that words close in meaning will occur close together in text.

There are a couple additional important points to make regarding software. First, 22 (6.8%) articles did not disclose their software and 25 (7.7%) used software that no other study used. Of these 25, several were not commonly recognizable partly because they were homemade by researchers or have become outdated (e.g., Recursive Inspection of Text Scan) with the advent of more advanced systems. Second, only 22 studies (6.8%) in our review used more sophisticated software suggesting that as a field we are underutilizing advanced techniques. Furthermore, few used commercial software products such as SPSS. This is surprising because commercial products are more complete, have better documentation, and are more user friendly. This may be because such products are relatively new on the market or because they are still fairly expensive (but trending downward). Regardless, the important observation is that the software used by management scholars to this point has been the less sophisticated software. The field has relied on rather simplistic applications of CATA based largely on word counts or significant human judgment (especially for content analysis). This may be limiting the sophistication of possible CATA research. Using more advanced approaches may allow the researcher to derive more construct validity information and broaden the range of applications.

Taken together, management researchers have at least eight choices of commonly used and trusted software to perform CATA, which can be divided into four types: (1) software to support manual content analysis (Nvivo and Atlas), (2) word dictionaries/sentiment analyses software (LIWC and DICTION), (3) programming software and languages (R and Python), and (4) commercial predictive analytics packages that include text mining modules (SPSS and SAS). Therefore, we researched and evaluated those eight software packages. We review several considerations likely to be important to researchers and summarize our findings on software in Table 2. The information presented was obtained in 2019 and may have been updated since in terms of both features and price.

**Table 2.** Content Analysis Software.

Software to Support Manual Content Analyses		
Software Name	<b>Nvivo</b> (earlier version called “Nud.ist”, or Non-numerical unstructured data indexing, searching, and theorizing)	<b>Atlas.ti</b>
Source to acquire & cost	Access website here: <a href="https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo/home">https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo/home</a> Cost information: Academic license is \$700 (Pro) & \$800 (Plus) Government license is \$979 (Pro) & \$1119 (Plus) Commercial \$1399 (Pro) & \$1599 (Plus)	Access website here: <a href="https://atlasti.com/">https://atlasti.com/</a> Cost information: Academic license for single user is \$750 ; increases incrementally depending on user licenses (e.g., \$3,000 for 5; \$5,760); Government license for single user is \$1, increases incrementally depending on user licenses (e.g., \$4,650 for 5; \$9,300) Commercial license for single user is \$1, increases incrementally depending on user licenses (e.g., \$6,800 for 5; \$13,200)
Function	Generally used for inductive content analyses; humans generate their own codes for the text data and assign those codes to words, phrases, or lines of data; software keeps track of codes; not capable of more advanced modeling.	Generally used for inductive content analysis; humans generate their own codes for text data and assign those codes to words, or lines of data; software keeps track of codes; not capable of more advanced modeling
Information on efficacy (e.g., validity)	While it has the capability of extracting its own categories, this function is largely based on frequency of words; otherwise, categories are usually human-developed, and psychometric and SME agreement analyses are conducted outside the software.	Categories are entirely human-developed; psychometric and SME agreement analyses are conducted outside the software.
Information on usability (e.g., difficulty to learn; technical support)	Relatively intuitive to use (used in almost half of the studies in our review); technical support appears readily available and there are online trainings on how to use the software, as well as videos on YouTube.	Relatively intuitive to use and though only ~9% of studies in our review, it is a recommended software for inductive coding in management research; technical support appears readily available and there are free and for-credit trainings available, as well as videos on YouTube
Likely applicability to Human Resources (HR) data	Can be used to analyze textual data of all types.	Can be used to analyze textual data of all types.



Likely applicability for measuring human attributes relevant to HR systems	Because categories are developed by humans, this software is flexible for researchers to code whatever they want to measure.	Because categories are developed by humans, this software is flexible for researchers to code whatever they want to measure.
Anticipated advantages	Easy to learn, low cost, widely used, and flexible to meet researcher coding needs.	Easy to learn, low cost, widely used, and flexible to meet researcher coding needs.
Anticipated disadvantages or problems	Validity and reliability studies occur outside of software; not capable of more advanced modeling.	Validity and reliability studies occur outside of software; not capable of more advanced modeling.
Overall evaluation for potential usefulness	Highly useful software if the researcher's goal is to conduct manual content analysis. However, it does not automate the content analysis process in the sense of extracting and scoring the content.	Highly useful software if the researcher's goal is to conduct manual content analysis. However, it does not automate the content analysis process in the sense of extracting and scoring the content.

#### Word Dictionaries / Sentiment Analyses Software

Software Name	<b>LIWC</b> (Linguistic Inquiry Word Count)	<b>DICTION</b>
Source to acquire & cost	Access website here: <a href="http://liwc.wpengin.com/">http://liwc.wpengin.com/</a> Cost information: Academic license is \$89.95; commercial version available, but must apply through Receptiviti. The manual also states that any commercial use of the LIWC dictionaries is forbidden without permission through Receptiviti.	Access website here: <a href="https://www.dictionsoftware.com/">https://www.dictionsoftware.com/</a> Cost information: Academic license is \$219 and corporate license is \$269.
Function	Originally used to analyze sentiment (affect) from text using in-house, pre-validated dictionaries. It has about 50 dictionaries in 7 topic categories of psychological processes as well as a number of other language metrics (e.g., number of types of words used). They are described in the manual. It can also be used to analyze content of text. Allows for the use of a researcher's own custom dictionary, but not capable of more advanced modeling.	Can be used for both content and sentiment analysis. It has five in-house dictionaries (certainty, achievement, optimism, realism, and commonality); the use of a researcher's own custom dictionary is possible, but not capable of more advanced modeling.
Information on efficacy (e.g., validity)	Fairly transparent in the development and refinement of their dictionary; internal consistencies are in the Language Manual.	No publicly available information about development and refinement of the dictionary.
Information on usability (e.g., difficulty to learn; technical support)	It is very easy to learn and use, which probably explains its prevalence in our review (used in ~25% of studies). Technical manual (Operator Manual) is readily available and technical support is provided by the researchers who developed the software. Also some videos on YouTube.	Also easy to use. Not as well-known as LIWC, but still recognized (~8% of studies in the review). Technical manuals are available (Manual for DICTION and Using DICTION) and technical support is available via email or phone. Also some videos on YouTube.
Likely applicability to Human Resources (HR) data	Can be used to analyze textual data of all types.	Can be used to analyze textual data of all types.
Likely applicability for measuring human attributes relevant to HR systems	The 50 dictionaries measure human attributes, many of which could be relevant to HR management purposes. It is also possible for researchers to develop their own dictionaries.	The 5 existing dictionaries measure human attributes, some of which could be relevant to HR management purposes. It is also possible for researchers to develop their own dictionaries.
Anticipated advantages	Straightforward, validated, and recognized software. Has a large number of in-house dictionaries. Easy to learn and use.	Seemingly straightforward and recognized software. Easy to learn and use.
Anticipated disadvantages or problems	Best at measuring sentiment only and not capable of doing more advanced machine learning procedures.	Not transparent about validity and reliability of the dictionaries. Only five in-house dictionaries. Not capable of doing more advanced machine learning procedures.
Overall evaluation for potential usefulness	May be useful if the purpose is to measure sentiments. Because it cannot do more advanced machine learning, its role will only be adding the sentiment analysis. This is the most fully developed and comprehensive set of measures of various sentiments.	May be useful if the purpose is to measure sentiments. Because it cannot do more advanced machine learning, its role will only be adding the sentiment analysis.

#### Programming Software/Language

Software Name	<b>R</b> (The R Project)	<b>Python</b>
Source to acquire & cost	Access website here: <a href="https://www.r-project.org/">https://www.r-project.org/</a> It is free	Access website here: <a href="https://www.python.org/">https://www.python.org/</a> It is free

Function	R is a highly powerful and flexible software. It is popular among data scientists and more recently (past 10 years or so) has been used by management scholars. It is open-sourced, meaning code is made freely available by other researchers. It can conduct traditional statistical analyses, content and sentiment analyses, text mine, and is capable of advanced modeling.	It is a programming language. It is highly powerful and flexible and can be used for many things including data analyses, text analysis, machine learning, and developing websites/mobile apps. Need to download packages to be able to run analyses. If sourced and packages are available on website, as well as other places online.
Information on efficacy (e.g., validity)	Can incorporate pre-validated dictionaries to conduct analyses and validity and reliability analyses can be done using R.	Can incorporate pre-validated dictionaries to conduct analyses and validity and reliability analyses can be done using Python.
Information on usability (e.g., difficulty to learn; technical support)	As it requires basic understanding of software coding, it may be difficult to learn. Because it is a free, open-sourced software, no person or team is available to answer questions. The first line on the software's help page is "Before asking others for help, it's generally a good idea for you to try to help yourself," and they provide a few ways in which researchers can do that. Otherwise, materials abound from books (recommended: <i>Discovering Statistics Using R</i> by Field, Miles, & Field, 2012; Silge & Robinson, 2017) to websites (e.g., Stack Overflow; GitHub, coding from NLP seminar at a professional conference available here: <a href="https://github.com/coryamanda/SIOP2019_NLP_organization_Research">https://github.com/coryamanda/SIOP2019_NLP_organization_Research</a> ), as well as videos on YouTube.	As it is a programming language and requires understanding of software coding, it may be difficult to learn. Tutorials are available in many guides online, as well as books. There is an email for concerns not addressed on the site. Many packages can be found and videos can be found on YouTube.
Likely applicability to Human Resources (HR) data	Can be used to analyze textual data of all types.	Can be used to analyze textual data of all types.
Likely applicability for measuring human attributes relevant to HR systems	Because researchers are able to develop their own measures, it is possible to use R to measure human attributes relevant to HR management.	Because researchers are able to develop their own measures, it is possible to use Python to measure human attributes relevant to HR management.
Anticipated advantages	Flexible and powerful and some coding available from others.	Flexible and powerful and some coding available from others.
Anticipated disadvantages or problems	Unless you understand the minutiae of software coding, you run the risk of conducting the wrong analyses, particularly if you simply use or repurpose someone else's coding. It will likely be time-consuming to learn, especially for nonprogrammers.	Unless you understand the minutiae of software coding, you run the risk of conducting the wrong analyses, particularly if you simply use or repurpose someone else's coding. It will likely be time-consuming to learn, especially for nonprogrammers.
Overall evaluation for potential usefulness	Could be very useful, but complexity and time to learn may be too extensive for the casual user.	Could be very useful, but complexity and time to learn may be too extensive for the casual user.

#### Commercial Predictive Analytics Software Packages

Software Name	SPSS Modeler Premium	SAS Enterprise Miner
Source to acquire & cost	Access website here: <a href="https://www.ibm.com/products/spss-modeler">https://www.ibm.com/products/spss-modeler</a> Cost information: Free 30-day trial, \$199/month subscription, \$7,430 for Professional license, \$12,400 for Premium license, and \$25,600 for Gold, but Premium or Gold needed for text mining capability. Gold includes "Collaboration & Deployment Services for model deployment and management."	Access Text Miner website here: <a href="https://www.sas.com/en_us/software/miner.html">https://www.sas.com/en_us/software/miner.html</a> Access Enterprise Miner website here: <a href="https://www.sas.com/en_us/software/miner.html">https://www.sas.com/en_us/software/miner.html</a> Text Miner is a component of Enterprise Miner which allows for machine learning. See requirements with Enterprise Miner downloaded first. Pricing appears to be the intended user and uses, but likely most expensive option.
Function	It is a user-friendly, powerful, and flexible software. It allows for more advanced features such as concept extraction and text mining, categorizations, and machine learning. It allows extensions to embed R and Python code into an SPSS modeler stream by simply inserting a "node" (analogous to a plugin). This allows running R and Python scripts to import data, apply transformations, build and score models, display outputs, and export data. Plus, as part of a predictive analytics suite, it includes a very wide range of statistical procedures that are preprogrammed and easy to apply.	It is user-friendly, powerful, and flexible. It allows for more advanced features such as concept extraction and text mining, categorizations, and machine learning. As part of a predictive analytics suite, it includes a very wide range of statistical procedures that are preprogrammed and easy to apply.
Information on efficacy (e.g., validity)	Has several built-in dictionaries, but there is little if any detail on the psychometric properties of the dictionaries because it is deemed	It appears SAS does not use a dictionary approach, but instead "relies primarily

validity)	"proprietary." Researchers are able to develop and validate their own dictionaries or add concepts to existing ones. Includes sentiment analyses, but in-house sentiment dictionaries are very basic and limited.	pattern recognition" (p. 10; see <a href="http://opim.wharton.upenn.edu/~sok/papers/s/sas/wp_3633.pdf">http://opim.wharton.upenn.edu/~sok/papers/s/sas/wp_3633.pdf</a> ). It appears that SAS Sentiment Analysis is separate software.
Information on usability (e.g., difficulty to learn; technical support)	It is user friendly because it is a point-and-click software. Because most researchers in management use SPSS, the interface will not require much acclimation. There are also many avenues of support including IBM technical support, videos on YouTube, and many other online resources.	It is user friendly because it is a point-and-click software. Because many researchers in management use SAS, the interface will require much acclimation. There are many resources through SAS, as well as video on YouTube and other online guides.
Likely applicability to Human Resources (HR) data	Can be used to analyze textual data of all types. Also able to incorporate quantitative variables simultaneously using a wide range of built-in predictive models.	Can be used to analyze textual data of all types. Also able to incorporate quantitative variables simultaneously using a wide range of built-in predictive models.
Likely applicability for measuring human attributes relevant to HR systems	Because researchers are able to develop their own measures, it is possible to measure human attributes relevant to HR management.	Because researchers are able to develop their own measures, it is possible to measure human attributes relevant to HR management.
Anticipated advantages	Flexible and powerful, straightforward, familiar, and support is available.	Flexible and powerful, straightforward, familiar, and support is available.
Anticipated disadvantages or problems	Cost is greater than other software.	Cost is greater than other software.
Overall evaluation for potential usefulness	Probably the easiest way for management researchers who are not programmers to be able to conduct the more complex types of CATA (those involving NLP and LSA), but the cost of the software may be significant for the casual user.	Probably the easiest way for management researchers who are not programmers to conduct the more complex types of CATA (those involving NLP and LSA), but the cost of the software may be significant for the user.

## RESEARCH RELEVANT TO EMPLOYMENT

Of particular relevance to the employment literature are those studies where researchers measured human attributes applicable to staffing decisions (e.g., various types of knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics, or knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics or [KSAOs]). We reexamined the 324 empirical articles in our review and found 66 articles that used CATA that bear on employment practices, which we classified into recruitment, selection, performance management, engagement, leadership, and turnover. We review how these articles can contribute to each HR practice, especially focusing on the implications of using CATA for measuring attributes relevant to employment decisions. Details of these studies (i.e., attributes measured, type of text data, and software used) are presented in [Table 3](#). Finally, we elucidate a number of important takeaways about using CATA for employment through an analysis of these 66 studies.

## RECRUITMENT

Two studies used CATA to look at recruitment. In the first, [Peltokorpi and Vaara \(2014\)](#) conducted a qualitative study on language-sensitive recruitment and knowledge transfer in multinational corporations (MNC) using Nvivo. Language-sensitive recruitment refers to "recruitment practices in which a certain proficiency in the corporate language is used as a precondition for employment" ([Peltokorpi & Vaara, 2014](#), p. 601). Analyzing interview transcripts of more than 130 MNC employees, they found that a focus on language proficiency in hiring can aid in knowledge transfer as well as make communication and network building easier. However, they also found that it can be counterproductive to knowledge transfer due to weaker host-country embeddedness and identification. In the second recruitment paper, [Banks et al. \(2019\)](#) tested how the strength of recruitment signals varied across domestic and international organizational websites. They text mined and analyzed data from 162 organizational

websites across 21 countries using NLP to identify themes. They found that MNCs tend to standardize across countries and that differences did not depend on culture.

**Table 3.** Employment-related Articles Using CATA.

HR Practice	Authors (Year)	Attribute(s) Measured	Type of Text Data	CATA Software
Recruitment	Banks et al. (2019)	Recruitment signals	Websites	DICTION
	Peltokorpi and Vaara (2014)	Language-sensitive recruitment and knowledge transfer	Interviews	Nvivo
Selection	Anglin, Wolfe, Short, McKenny, and Pidduck (2018)	Psychological capital	Online crowdfunding campaigns	DICTION
	Anglin et al. (2018)	Narcissistic rhetoric	Online crowdfunding campaigns	DICTION
	Basu and Savani (2017)	Depth of cognitive processing	Open-ended survey questions	LIWC
	Campion et al. (2016)	Job-related skills: communication, critical thinking, people, leadership, managerial, and factual knowledge	Assessment records	SPSS Modeler
	Chen and Latham (2014)	Achievement orientation	Open-ended survey questions	LIWC
	Clark et al. (2018)	Cognitive effort	Think-aloud protocol	Nvivo
	Connelly, Zweig, Webster, and Trougakos (2012)	Knowledge hiding	Interviews	Nvivo
	Corner and Ho (2010)	Opportunity identification	Interviews	Nvivo
	Crilly (2017)	Analytic thinking and cognitive processing	Open-ended survey questions	LIWC
	Gibson et al. (2011)	Virtual job characteristics	Interviews	Atlas.ti
	Josefy et al. (2017)	Entrepreneurial orientation	Online crowdfunding campaigns	Unclear, but used Short et al. (2010) entrepreneurial orientation dictionary
	Kellogg, Orlikowski, and Yates (2006)	Boundary-spanning practices	Interviews and observations	Nvivo
	Kobayashi, Mol, Berkers, Kismihok, and Den Hartog (2018a)	Job task information	Job descriptions	R
	Kobayashi, Mol, Berkers, Kismihok, and Den Hartog (2018b)	Worker attributes of job descriptions	Job descriptions	R
	Laureiro-Martinex and Brusoni (2017)	Cognitive flexibility	Open-ended responses to cognitive tasks	Nvivo
	Madera et al. (2009)	Communal and agentic language	Letters of recommendation	LIWC
	Martin (2016)	Organizational values	Handwritten stories	LIWC
	Moore, Lee, Kim, and Cable (2017)	Self-verification striving	Interviews	LIWC
	Moss et al. (2015)	Virtuous orientation and entrepreneurial orientation	Load descriptions	LIWC
	Moss, Renko, Block, and Meyskens (2018)	Social value orientation and economic value orientation	Microenterprise narratives	LIWC
Performance Appraisal	Nadkarni and Narayanan (2005)	Cognitive structure of cognitive ability	Case analyses	Netanalysis
	Reinecke and Ansari (2015)	Clock-time orientation	Interviews, observations, and archival documents	Nvivo
	Shantz and Latham (2009)	Achievement orientation	Handwritten stories	LIWC
	Watson, Dada, Wright, and Perrigot (2019)	Entrepreneurial orientation rhetoric	Organizational narratives	DICTION
	Waung et al. (2017)	Impression management tactics	Resumes and cover letters	LIWC
	Wilhelmy, Kleinmann, König, Melchers, and Truxillo (2016)	Interviewer impression management	Interviews, observations, memos, and archival documents	Atlas.ti
	Carley (1997)	Team cognitive maps	Open-ended survey responses	Automap
	Smither and Walker (2004)	Favorability/unaffordability; Trait/behavior focus	Comments from 360-degree surveys	Did not report
	Speer (2018)	Sentiment	Performance management narrative comments	R
Engagement	Barley et al. (2011)	Emails and employee overload	Interviews	Atlas.ti
	Petriglieri (2015)	Identity reconstruction	Interviews	Atlas.ti
	Reay et al. (2017)	Changes in professional role identity	Interviews	Nvivo
Leadership	Stanko and Beckman (2015)	Boundary control efforts	Interviews, archival data	Nvivo
	Akinola et al. (2018)	Positive/negative affect of delegating tasks	Open-ended survey questions	LIWC
	Bligh et al. (2004)	Rhetorical characteristics (optimism, collectives, faith, patriotism, aggression, & ambivalence)	Presidential speeches	DICTION
	Boling et al. (2015)	Entrepreneurial orientation	Letters to shareholders	LIWC
	Buyl et al. (2019)	CEO entrepreneurial orientation	Letters to shareholders	LIWC
	Chatman, Caldwell, O'Reilly, and Doerr (2014)	Firm adaptability	Other ratings of annual reports	LIWC
	Detert and Treviño (2010)	Leader influence on employee voice	Interviews	Nvivo
	Engelen et al. (2015)	Entrepreneurial orientation	Letters to shareholders	DICTION
	Engelen et al. (2016)	Entrepreneurial orientation	Letters to shareholders	DICTION

Turnover	Fanelli, Misangyi, & Tosi (2009)	CEO charismatic visions	Letters to shareholders	DICTION
	Grünn, Strese, Flatten, Jaeger, and Brettel (2017)	CEO entrepreneurial orientation change	Letters to shareholders	LIWC
	Harrison et al. (2019a)	Big Five Personality	CEO earnings conversation transcripts	R
	Harrison et al. (2019b)	Big Five Personality	CEO earnings conversation transcripts	R
	Kang and Kim (2017)	CEO narcissism	News articles	LIWC
	Keil, Maula, and Syrigos (2017)	CEO entrepreneurial orientation	Letters to shareholders	Unclear, but adopted Short et al. (2010) entrepreneurial orientation dictionary
	Lanaj et al. (2019)	Clout	Open-ended survey questions	LIWC
	Liang et al. (2016)	Sentiment	Open-ended survey questions	LIWC
	Malhotra et al. (2018)	CEO extraversion	CEO responses in quarterly earnings conference calls	LIWC
	McAlearney (2006)	Leadership development challenges	Interviews	Atlas.ti
	McKenny et al. (2013)	CEO psychological capital	Letters to shareholders	DICTION
	Osborne, Stubbart, and Ramaprasad (2001)	CEO mental models	Letters to shareholders	WordCruncher
	Owens and Hekman (2012)	Humble leadership	Interviews	Atlas.ti
	Ridge and Ingram (2017)	Top management team modesty	Conference call transcripts	Nvivo; DICTION
	Short et al. (2010)	Entrepreneurial orientation	Annual reports	DICTION
	Sonenshein (2014)	Creative use of resources	Interviews and archival documents	Nvivo
	Titus, Parker, and Covin (2019)	CEO entrepreneurial orientation	Letters to shareholders	LIWC
	Toegel, Kilduff, and Anand (2013)	Emotion helping	Interviews	Nvivo
	Wolfe and Shepherd (2015)	Entrepreneurial orientation	Letters to shareholders	LIWC
	Felps et al. (2009)	Job search behaviors	Focus groups	Atlas.ti
	Follmer et al. (2018)	Managing perceptions of misfit	Interviews	Nvivo
	Rothausen et al. (2017)	Identity predictors of voluntary turnover	Interviews, focus groups	Nvivo
	Sajjadiani et al. (2019)	Attributions for turnover	Open-ended survey responses	SPSS Modeler

These two studies showed how text mining can help to improve recruiting messages, including features of recruiting messages that may not have been observed without text analysis. Using CATA to understand recruitment signals may also make culture differences in recruitment methods easier to assess.

## SELECTION

Of the 66 studies, 28 were in the context of, or directly relevant to, selection. These could be additionally broken into three subcategories of attributes measured: individual skills, personality or orientations, and organizational or job characteristics. Skills were evaluated in a number of ways. For example, [Campion, Campion, Campion, and Reider \(2016\)](#) used text mining with NLP to measure several job-related skills (communication, critical thinking, people, leadership, managerial, and factual knowledge) based on accomplishment records in a hiring context. [Clark, Li, and Shepherd \(2018\)](#) measured cognitive effort with think-aloud protocols, and [Crilly \(2017\)](#) used open-ended survey responses to capture analytic thinking and cognitive processing. Finally, [Nadkarni and Narayanan \(2005\)](#) examined cognitive structure and cognitive ability by using network analyses.

Several studies also examined orientations or personality. For example, [Josefy, Dean, Albert, and Fitza \(2017\)](#), assessed entrepreneurial orientation of aspiring entrepreneurs in online crowdfunding campaigns. These scholars used the entrepreneurial orientation dictionary originally developed by [Short et al. \(2010\)](#) (see Leadership section below). [Moss, Neubaum, and Meyskens \(2015\)](#) also used this dictionary to assess entrepreneurial orientation, but did so with loan descriptions. Similarly, [Chen and Latham \(2014\)](#) and [Shantz and Latham \(2009\)](#) measured achievement by using the achievement dictionary in LIWC to analyze open-ended survey questions and handwritten stories, respectively. Others in this category included [Madera, Hebl, and Martin \(2009\)](#) who measured characteristics of candidates (communal versus agentic traits) in letters of recommendation using LIWC, and [Waung, McAuslan, DiMambro, and Mięgoć \(2017\)](#) who assessed the types of impression management tactics candidates used in resumes and cover letters. Waung et al. found evidence of eight impression management categories: superlative use, adjective use, reference to fit, enhancement or entitlement, credit to external sources, individual ingratiation, institutional ingratiation, and outlook or values.



A few studies examined job or organizational characteristics relevant to employment. For example, [Gibson, Gibbs, Stanko, Tesluk, and Cohen \(2011\)](#) used CATA to search for keywords in interview transcripts to capture variables related to virtual job characteristics (e.g., perceptions of electronic dependency and copresence, defined as “the subjective perception of closeness versus distance,” p. 1484). In doing so, they expanded the traditional job characteristics model ([Hackman & Oldham, 1975](#)) to include virtual characteristics of modern work. Meanwhile, [Martin \(2016\)](#) examined how recent hires learned organizational values by using a “values” dictionary in LIWC to content analyze stories written by recent hires to illustrate the organization’s values.

Taken together, results from these studies suggest that text data analyzed using CATA might be valuable for personnel selection. For example, this research identifies new constructs that may have implications for hiring such as communal traits that might predict team cohesion and agentic traits that might predict team performance ([Madera et al., 2009](#)). These studies also highlight how less traditional measures (e.g., storytelling) offer an opportunity to capture candidate personality traits without being as susceptible to social desirability in responses. [Shantz and Latham \(2009\)](#) also showed that we may be able to analyze stories and draw out achievement orientations regardless of writing quality. Finally, soliciting descriptions of past behavior from potential candidates that illustrates their values (or write descriptions of how they embody the company’s values) could be a useful assessment tool ([Martin, 2016](#)).

## PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

Three studies used CATA in the context of, or directly relevant to performance management. In the first article, [Smither and Walker \(2004\)](#) analyzed the favorableness and the trait versus behavioral nature of comments in 360 ° surveys. They found that those who received a small number of unfavorable comments were able to improve their performance appraisal scores a year later. In the second study, [Speer \(2018\)](#) text mined performance management narrative comments using R to analyze the sentiment of the comments. [Speer \(2018\)](#) wrote, “The derived narrative scores were reliable across years, converged with traditional numerical ratings and explained incremental variance in future performance outcomes (performance ratings, involuntary turnover, promotions, and pay increases)” (p. 299). In the last article, [Carley \(1997\)](#) assessed team cognitive maps using open-ended survey responses and found that members of successful teams tend to have more commonly shared mental maps.

Taken together, two studies found great value in using the narrative comments associated with numerical performance management feedback that often go unanalyzed and may be more candid than numerical ratings. [Speer’s \(2018\)](#) findings are particularly relevant to practice because examination of these non-quantitative data may help to improve criterion measurement during assessment development and validation. Moreover, Carley’s study presents an alternative way to assess teams by identifying potential areas of conflict due to poor communication (poor shared mental model) enabling leaders to help members manage their team’s performance. Finally, although Smither and Walker’s study focused on how managers responded to narrative feedback, it suggests indirectly that managers may differ in their receptiveness to feedback, which could potentially be an attribute assessed at time of hire. It also demonstrates a possible use of an important performance appraisal technique that tends to solicit a significant amount of written text that can be analyzed and used more effectively and quickly with the help of CATA.

## ENGAGEMENT

Four studies examined employee engagement using CATA. Two of the studies focused on organizational norms and policies. [Barley, Meyerson, and Grodal \(2011\)](#) assessed the impact of work emails on employee overload and found that there were a number of distinct norms and emotions interviewees felt about email such as feeling the need to respond immediately upon receiving an email, responding at night, and fear of falling behind, to name a few. Meanwhile, [Stanko and Beckman \(2015\)](#) analyzed how

organizations exert control on employee technology use for non-work purposes to enhance workplace engagement. These scholars found that organizations enact policies both formal and informal to manage the boundaries between employees' work and home life in a sample of Navy personnel. In the other two studies relevant to engagement, the researchers examined identity. [Petriglieri \(2015\)](#) assessed how executives at British Petroleum reconstructed their organizational identities after the Gulf spill and found that they developed pathways to resolve ambivalence with their organization to successfully rebuild their organizational identities and re-engage. Meanwhile, [Reay, Goodrick, Waldorff, and Casebeer \(2017\)](#) studied how physicians changed and developed new organizational identities facilitated by other social actors within the organizations.

Because CATA can approach topics inductively, it allows scholars to generate frameworks regarding workplace cultures (norms) that could otherwise be neglected by imposing existing measures, thus pinpointing an important contribution of CATA to engagement research. Stanko and Beckman's study, in particular, demonstrated how using CATA can improve how we conceptualize certain HR practices. Their grounded theory approach allowed for the emergence of boundary control techniques centered on cultivating and maintaining employee attention that we would not have known otherwise had they used more top-down methods (e.g., established Likert-type measures). Further, measuring the existence of a policy and whether behaviors differ before and after implementation are an important part of the story. Stanko and Beckman were able to demonstrate *how* these policies changed employee behaviors providing additional insight into an important HR practice area.

## LEADERSHIP

Of the 66 studies relevant to employment, 28 measured leadership variables or processes. Similar to CATA research on selection, the leadership research can be additionally broken down into subcategories: leader language, leader behaviors, and leader characteristics. Leader language included one study. In this study, [Bligh et al. \(2004\)](#) examined the rhetorical characteristics (optimism, collectives, faith, patriotism, aggression, and ambivalence) of 74 speeches by President George W. Bush before and after 9/11 and found that the rhetoric changed post-9/11.

Research on leader behaviors ranged from delegation and gender differences in sentiment regarding delegation ([Akinola, Martin, & Phillips, 2018](#)) to leader clout or confidence ([Lanaj, Foulk, & Erez, 2019](#)). For example, [Liang et al. \(2016\)](#) analyzed the sentiment of written descriptions of recalled interactions between subordinated and supervisors to assess abusive supervision. Further, [Owens and Hekman \(2012\)](#) conducted a grounded theory study to extract behaviors that represented humble leaders and found that "leader humility involves leaders modeling to followers how to grow and produce positive organizational outcomes by leading followers to believe that their own developmental journeys and feelings of uncertainty are legitimate" (p. 787).

Researchers have also used CATA to measure leader characteristics. The most popular characteristic, thus far, has been entrepreneurial orientation. [Short et al. \(2010\)](#) first used CATA to measure entrepreneurial orientation by developing a dictionary for the construct using CEO letters to shareholders. Many other research teams have utilized [Short et al. \(2010\)](#) entrepreneurial orientation dictionary or a modified version of it to assess this characteristic in CEOs or entrepreneurs (e.g., [Boling, Pieper, & Covin, 2015](#); [Engelen, Neumann, & Schwens, 2015](#); [Engelen et al., 2016](#); [Wolfe & Shepherd, 2015](#)). Similarly, [Harrison, Thurgood, Boivie, and Pfarrer \(2019a; 2019b\)](#) illustrated how to use archival information to measure historically difficult-to-access samples (e.g., CEOs). In their studies, they developed an algorithm to assess the Big Five personality traits of CEOs and found that CEO personality was related to firm performance. Furthermore, [Malhotra, Reus, Zhu, and Roelofsens \(2018\)](#) measured the extraversion of CEOs based on their spoken responses to questions using LIWC and found that extraverted CEOs were more likely to acquire other companies.

Finally, researchers have also used CATA to understand leader influence. In their study, [Detert and Treviño \(2010\)](#) analyzed interviews with employees across organizational levels to understand how leaders (direct supervisors and skip-level supervisors) influence whether and how employees engage in voice behaviors. They found that direct supervisors influence employees' likelihood of speaking up at work, but also that skip-level managers additionally influenced the likelihood of speaking up, especially



if an employee perceived that voicing an opinion would be futile. Often the distance between lower-level workers and upper-level managers appears too great of a distance to traverse for both parties. With differing goals and organizational knowledge, lower-level workers may feel unheard and upper-level managers may feel out-of-touch with what employees need or want.

Notably, not all leadership studies focused on leader behaviors or influence. One study used CATA to capture challenges to leadership development, which is relevant to organizations that run leader development programs or struggle with succession management. In this study, [McAlearney \(2006\)](#) used grounded theory to identify high-level leadership development challenges: industry lag, representativeness, professional conflict, time constraints, technical hurdles, and financial constraints.

In all, findings from research using CATA to measure leadership highlight potential uses for employment staffing as well as a way to enhance our basic understanding of leadership. For example, in their study, [Malhotra et al. \(2018\)](#) showed that extraverts used more words in spoken responses suggesting that answer length is a potential additional measure of extraversion in candidate assessments. Moreover, leaders appear to use certain types of linguistic features (e.g., [Bligh et al., 2004](#); [Lanaj et al., 2019](#)) and it could be useful in research and practice to use automated text analysis to assess the rhetorical skills of applicants. Finally, several studies demonstrated alternative ways to assess personality that are less vulnerable to faking (e.g., [Harrison et al., 2019a, 2019b](#)).

## **TURNOVER**

Four studies in our review examined constructs relevant to turnover. Three studies used a grounded theory approach while one used machine learning to develop a model to predict turnover. [Follmer, Talbot, Kristof-Brown, Astrove, and Billsberry \(2018\)](#) unfolded a process model of how perceptions of misfit influence adaptive strategies (e.g., voluntary turnover), while [Rothausen, Henderson, Arnold, and Malshe \(2017\)](#) examined how identity predicts turnover. [Felps et al. \(2009\)](#) analyzed focus group transcripts and generated a list of job search behaviors. They found that the frequency of words associated with job search behaviors was related to job embeddedness, commitment, and satisfaction, which suggests that word choices of employees (that could be collected in many ways) may predict individual turnover intentions. Finally, [Sajjadiani, Sojourner, Kammeyer-Mueller, and Mykerezi \(2019\)](#) trained a model to assess applicant work history from more than 35,000 resumes and open-ended responses using supervised machine learning to predict turnover among school teachers. This is a modern-day version of using weighted application blanks and biographical data, which has a history of validity for predicting turnover (e.g., [Reilly & Chao, 1982](#)).

Taken together, these studies demonstrate a number of important uses of CATA to help companies predict and manage turnover. For example, [Rothausen et al. \(2017\)](#) focus on procedures for validating qualitative research from [Silverman and Marvasti \(2008, pp. 257–270\)](#) (i.e., refutability, constant comparison, comprehensive data treatment, deviant-case analysis, and respondent validation) show that alternative types of validation appropriate for qualitative data may be very important if using CATA for hiring, given the need to demonstrate job relatedness. Furthermore, Felps's study shows how job search behaviors may augment the prediction of collective turnover beyond engagement survey ratings by analyzing the written comments. Finally, [Sajjadiani et al. \(2019\)](#) study shows how researchers and organizations have underutilized applicant work history as relevant to predicting turnover. It is likely that work history and other relevant applicant information are able to predict potential turnover at time of hire.

## **SUMMARY**

We derived eight key takeaways on the use and value of CATA across HR practices.

### *Takeaway #1*

CATA has helped identify new constructs that might be useful for building assessments for hiring decisions. This is not only because CATA allows for the analysis of new information (qualitative data), but also because CATA is typically used inductively with the expressed purpose of identifying unknown underlying constructs. For example, [Short et al.'s \(2010\)](#) development of an entrepreneurial orientation dictionary demonstrated that there were key linguistic features that differentiate those who are more or less entrepreneurially oriented. For additional examples, see [Rothausen et al.'s \(2017\)](#) work on identity and [Follmer et al.'s \(2018\)](#) work on perceptions of fit above.

### *Takeaway #2*

CATA has made a significant impression in the leadership literature where 28 of the 66 studies in our review relevant to employment examined leadership. Each of these studies supports the notion that the language leaders use is an important influence mechanism. Similar to entrepreneurial orientation, the realization that there were linguistic differences among leaders and between leaders and subordinates is a notable contribution of CATA. Moreover, research on leadership and leader influence using grounded theory (e.g., [Detert & Treviño, 2010](#)) show that primary interviews and other qualitative data collection methods and using CATA to analyze the data can reveal important and previously ignored leader influences on employee behavior. Finally, studies such as [McAlearney's \(2006\)](#), which focused on challenges to leadership development, bear on criterion measurement for those in leadership positions. This suggests job performance for the managers in this organization (health care) can be constrained by a range of situational factors ([Peters & O'Connor, 1980](#)).

### *Takeaway #3*

There has been much less focus on KSAs than Os. With few exceptions, CATA has been used to identify personality traits and behavioral orientations, with little research on using CATA to identify knowledge, skills, and abilities (for exceptions, see [Campion et al., 2016](#); [Nadkarni & Narayanan, 2005](#)). This is a missed opportunity because KSAs are much more predictive of job performance (e.g., [Schmidt & Hunter, 1998](#)) and could potentially be measured well because KSAs are more definable, objective, and verifiable. There are also several other employment-related studies that allude to important employment-related considerations. Results from Gibson's study on virtual job characteristics could improve selection determinations as elements of virtual labor may be prohibitive for certain types of candidates. For example, job applicants may differ on their need for copresence, which has implications for their ability to manage the isolation often associated with virtual work.

The extraction of constructs using CATA also highlights the hierarchical nature of many construct domains. Nearly half of the CATA studies found that the constructs were hierarchically organized with primary, secondary, and even higher-levels of aggregation coding needed. It is well known that KSAOs are hierarchically organized (e.g., as recognized in the comprehensive taxonomies in O\*NET; [Peterson et al., 2001](#)), and CATA can help researchers understand the hierarchical nature of new construct domains. Moreover, the hierarchical nature of KSAOs is important practically and theoretically because it means KSAOs are often highly related empirically and so precise matching to job requirements is less necessary than validation guidelines imply.

### *Takeaway #4*

CATA exploits a range of data accessible and applicable to the employment context and can be done at a low cost. Specifically, CATA identifies a "new" type of data to be analyzed. Of course, text data are not "new," but are often considerably time-consuming to analyze and challenging to validate. As such, more automated text analysis methods allow researchers to take advantage of previously underutilized or unscored data such as narrative information in applications (e.g., personal statements, performance narratives). Because CATA provides an opportunity for organizations to exploit text data, organizations are able to derive more value from assessment information at a lesser cost. For example, [Speer \(2018\)](#),

who text mined and analyzed the sentiment of performance management narrative comments astutely wrote:

[...] inclusion of narrative comments will result in (a) increases in total information and reliability, which is expected to occur across appraisal settings. In addition, in contexts where narratives are not explicitly linked to distributive outcomes (e.g., pay), narratives are likely to (b) exhibit a reduced amount of variance attributable to rater bias ... it is pertinent to note that motivation to distort will also likely exist. For example, just as a lower traditional rating could lead to an unpleasant confrontation with a subordinate, negative comments could also spur unpleasant interactions that promote avoidance motivations ... However, whereas this may occur for both mediums in likely equal probability, traditional narrative ratings are substantially more likely to be explicitly tied to distributive outcomes than narrative comments are, and therefore more likely to be affected by leniency bias. (pp. 304–306)

This chapter is particularly useful for employment because it demonstrates the potential to gather candid information in addition to ratings to improve job performance criterion measurement for assessment development and validation.

Furthermore, [Campion et al. \(2016\)](#) showed that training a model to score assessment records (e.g., narratives of past accomplishments) saved one organization at least \$163,000 annually because it replaced human assessors. In this organization, three human assessors were used to score each candidate's narrative application information creating substantial costs during the selection process. By training a model against human ratings, [Campion et al. \(2016\)](#) illustrated how cost-saving CATA could be. Due to the reduced cost of evaluating narrative information, CATA may be a key to reducing adverse impact. Researchers can use CATA assessments that are valid yet show lower subgroup differences than mental ability tests, but are usually not used for large scale screenings of candidates due to high administrative costs, such as automated interviews and accomplishment records ([Campion et al., 2016](#); [Ployhart & Holtz, 2008](#)) (see below for more information on CATA and adverse impact).

### *Takeaway #5*

Scholars who have employed CATA have largely done so using very simple software, often, if not usually, conducting sentiment analysis based on existing dictionaries or manual content analysis with the assistance of software that merely manages and facilitates the manual sorting and coding of qualitative data (e.g., Nvivo or DICTION). Of the 324 empirical articles in this review, 22 used advanced text analytics (i.e., supervised or unsupervised machine learning). Of these, four were directly relevant to employment: [Banks et al. \(2019\)](#); [Campion et al. \(2016\)](#); [Harrison et al. \(2019a, 2019b\)](#); and [Sajjadijani et al. \(2019\)](#). All of these studies illustrated benefits with massive appeal to organizations and scholars alike. For example, they showed how these approaches and novel uses of available data can help inform and improve recruiting messages. These studies also show how the field has a substantial opportunity to use the more sophisticated CATA software that applies NLP to realize the benefits of CATA for employment research and decisions. The more sophisticated software programs have only recently become widely available (and affordable). This, plus the increasing recognition of the value of CATA, will likely result in an explosion of research using these methods in the next decade.

### *Takeaway #6*

Due to the unobtrusiveness of some text data collection, we suspect that we may be able to significantly reduce opportunities and instances of faking in employment assessments. That is, prompting open-ended responses with little indication of what is being measured may provide a distinct advantage over the sometimes transparent Likert-type scales. Narrative information may be more difficult to fake because candidates only provide information based on a prompt and the computer scores it (e.g., measuring personality based on descriptions of past work behavior) as opposed to the candidates scoring themselves (e.g., self-report personality tests where candidates can decipher which responses give the highest scores). For example, [Waung et al. \(2017\)](#) used CATA to examine the types of impression management tactics candidates employed across resumes and cover letters by examining impression management-related words. As resumes and cover letters are hallmarks of the application process, the ability to quickly determine their level of impression management may be informative for employment decision makers.

## Takeaway #7

Finally, limited research has been conducted on the topic of subgroup differences using CATA. We found only four studies that examined subgroup differences. In a study of the extent to which managers of different genders delegate, [Akinola et al. \(2018\)](#) found that women were more likely to associate having to delegate with greater negative affect than men. In a study using text mining of applicant accomplishments, [Campion et al. \(2016\)](#) found that scoring essays with a supervised algorithm introduced no additional adverse impact than what was in the human ratings. They suggested that computer scoring against assessor scores should only produce adverse impact if there is already adverse impact in the assessor scores since the computer is simply modeling the assessors because text mined variables are only retained if they predict assessor scores. However, this should be the focus of future research because CATA variables may still capture ancillary variance associated with subgroup differences.

In another example, [Kanze, Huang, Conley, and Higgins \(2018\)](#) examined why male entrepreneurs raise more funding and found that investors ask female entrepreneurs more prevention-focused questions and ask males entrepreneurs more promotion-oriented questions. This type of study might be used to determine whether and why recruiters ask female candidates different questions than male candidates. Finally, [Madera et al. \(2009\)](#) measured characteristics of candidates (communal versus agentic traits) in letters of recommendation using LIWC and their own dictionary. The purpose of the study was to examine subgroup differences and they found that female candidates were described in more communal terms while male candidates were described in more agentic terms. Nevertheless, measuring communal and agency traits might be useful for hiring employees, with each more or less relevant to different job requirements. For example, communal traits might predict teamwork or citizenship performance, while agentic might predict task performance. However, the gender differences they found suggests that letter of references, if used, may create adverse impact if selection decisions emphasize agency.

There are a few final considerations regarding CATA and adverse impact that require our attention. Based on our understanding of current professional practice, as well as presentations at recent professional conferences (e.g., [Walmsley, 2019](#)), adverse impact is often observed when machine learning (including CATA) is applied to selection information (such as applications). Yet, there are several possible solutions to help address this:

1. When building models (e.g., retaining text mined variables) based on how well they predict criteria, the models should not show subgroup differences if the criteria do not show such differences, as was noted in [Campion et al. \(2016\)](#), although that should be confirmed by future research. However, this approach may not be helpful in many contexts because subgroup differences exist in many job-related KSAOs and performance in many jobs, so the criteria used in the modeling will show differences. In those situations, the researcher should instead evaluate whether using CATA creates any *additional* adverse impact beyond what already exists in the criteria.
2. Deny the computer from mining any information that might be illegal (e.g., race, gender, and age information). Of course, this includes the consideration of protected categories directly (discrimination), but it also includes indirect consideration from systematic error due to contamination by non-job-related variance. An example of the latter that might be of special concern to CATA is the influence of writing skill when that is not job related. This might also include information that is associated with these protected categories (e.g., name of school attended). Only allowing the computer to consider information that is demonstrably job-related should avoid this concern (e.g., [Campion et al., 2016](#)). Note that machine learning (CATA included) is sometimes used to discover job-related variables, so the modeling cannot be based only on known job-related variables. In those cases, the researchers must ensure that the criterion used to retain the variables is job related and bias-free, as noted above, which will probably be based on content validity and other rational judgments or rely on one of the empirical approaches below.
3. Correlate the variables extracted by the computer with race and gender, and eliminate those variables that show differences. While useful, this approach has potential validity costs. As commonly observed

in employment testing, the items with the largest race differences are often the most valid items, so eliminating them reduces validity (Ployhart & Holtz, 2008).

4. Program the algorithm to not have subgroup differences. This may potentially be tantamount to within-group norming, which is illegal based on the Civil Rights Act of 1991. In other words, adjusting test scores to make them equal across protected subgroups is illegal because it explicitly considers subgroup membership.

## **OBSERVATIONS ON CATA FROM OTHER DISCIPLINES**

While management scholars are not necessarily CATA novices, our collective use of more advanced techniques remains relatively nascent. As such, we briefly turn to related disciplines to identify any lessons that could prove useful for management CATA researchers. The vast literature on machine learning was not directly relevant because it did not focus on human attributes and usually not on text data; however, a number of potentially insightful observations emerged.

First, machine learning research outside management often includes quantitative and text variables and management scholars should therefore not limit themselves to text data and CATA applications of machine learning. Quantitative variables can be included in the same computer algorithms as the text-mined variables. Most often, the text-mined variables are converted into quantitative variables and included in the statistical model (like in a regression). In the case of assessment for staffing, other data might include application material such as years of work experience, years of education, grades, or even test scores or other assessment information.

Second, the focus in the other literatures on prediction of outcomes over construct validity reveals that there are many other statistical models that might improve prediction. The management literature is unnecessarily narrow in its near sole reliance on ordinal least squares regression. Examples of other regression models available include logistic regression (for dichotomous criteria), cox regression (for hazard models), autoregressive integrated moving-average model (for time series), discriminant analysis (for distinguishing between groups), Poisson regression (for low probability events), and Gamma regression (for strictly positive but low data ranges). There are plenty of alternatives to regression in machine learning, as well, including cluster analyses (k-means), classification models (decision trees, support vector machines, nearest neighbor, etc.), neural networks, and Bayesian networks. Some of these techniques have been used in the management literature, but they are not as common. They may have advantages for improving the prediction of outcomes like job performance or turnover in HR management.

Third, the range of outcomes predicted in those other literatures might give ideas as to the broader applicability of these techniques. For example, research predicting customer behaviors from customer reviews (Bilro, Loureiro, & Guerreiro, 2019) may have insights for how to build and maintain employee loyalty and strengthen their brand identification (e.g., organizational reputation). Interestingly, a study of Amazon customer reviews showed that sentiment of reviews can be contagious and influence perceptions of how helpful a review is (Felbermayr & Nanopoulos, 2016). Although emotional contagion has been demonstrated in employment (e.g., Totterdell, 2000), few studies have assessed the impact of allowing employees to share views on various company topics (e.g., new policies). Furthermore, researchers in management tend to only look at job performance as a continuum, such as on a 5-point performance scale. Those in other literatures commonly predict specific categories (e.g., the likelihood someone will be rated a 5). Likewise, they would be more likely to try to predict sub-dimensions of job performance as opposed to just the overall composite like we do in management. Teasing apart the criterion in these ways can often lead to useful insights and predictions, as long as we properly attend to issues of capitalization on chance and spurious findings. The concept of "data mining" and its search for any and all possible relationships in the data may feel like a retreat to the "dustbowl empiricism" days in management research, but proper statistical treatment and more focus on construct validity should attenuate those concerns.

Fourth, researchers in other fields will often make adjustments to the distributions of the data, including trimming and imputing data, and using assumed distributions. Management researchers tend to view the actual data collected as the best representation of the true phenomenon to be modeled or



predicted, but these are usually convenience samples with known statistical limitations (e.g., range restriction, missing data, skew). As with relying on meta-analytic estimates of validity as opposed to performing a local validation where statistical limitations reduce the chances of finding validity, sometimes it is best to create a computer model based on the likely distribution rather than relying solely on available distributions with known problems. This is especially the case in the early stages of the research when the focus is on whether something “could” work as opposed to “will” work. This is much like conducting a lab study on a phenomenon to demonstrate its potential existence, and then following up with a field study to evaluate generalizability.

Data scientists will also use mathematical techniques to help solve problems with data distributions. As a specific example, the second author was asked to review a machine learning project for hiring at a large organization. The model used application information to predict recruiter decisions and subsequent job performance. The problem the company faced was that, due to minimum qualifications, there is almost no variance in such variables and certain candidate characteristics would be almost completely missing from data. For example, the possession of a college degree is likely a minimum qualification for hiring software engineers and therefore no one is without such a qualification, making it difficult to use this type of construct for prediction. This company addressed the problem by using “inverse propensity weighting” wherein the model weights were adjusted to over-count the small sample of those hired without degrees.

Finally, the broader machine learning literature shows that the sources, styles, and amount of data are seemingly endless. As noted previously, these techniques have broad applicability and include data we have historically ignored as being useful for the purposes of traditional HRM topics (e.g., tweets, online reviews). Furthermore, the capacity of operating systems to process and manage huge amounts of data should reduce our apprehension about these data sources. For example, one study we found while examining research in other literatures text mined more than 1.7 million tweets to analyze the sentiment of particular brands (e.g., Comcast) (Liu, Burns, & Hou, 2017). While CATA research in management has used a wide range of text data sources, we are hopeful for future studies to take advantage of additional untapped data sources (such as tweets).

## **CHALLENGES IN THE USE OF TEXT ANALYSIS IN EMPLOYMENT**

Broadly speaking, CATA is challenging for those inside and outside of management. To assist researchers and organizations that are considering the use of CATA to improve scholarship and employment processes, we discuss some of the challenges at each stage below. We end this chapter with a list of recommendations on how to address or prevent such challenges.

1. *Identifying viable applications.* Because there are many potential CATA uses, this decision requires a number of considerations. For example, if text data do not currently exist (e.g., on applications or employee records), then determining whether and how it will be collected is primary. Is the textual data collected likely to contain information on job-related constructs? If not, could the data collected be modified? For example, in the context of hiring, could the application be modified to ensure it collects relevant information (e.g., details on past job tasks, courses taken in school, evidence of claimed special skills, etc.), could questions be asked that require narrative descriptions (e.g., past work behavior or accomplishments), and can the application process be modified to require completing a standardized application as opposed to accepting resumes as sufficient to apply? Moreover, whether the data collection is proctored or unproctored has implications in a hiring context because candidates may receive help with their answers or their writing when unproctored.

In addition to ensuring the quality of the content of the textual data, there are several statistical challenges such as ensuring that there is enough variability in the data to be useful for selection. Young candidates might not have enough work experience to provide sufficient information on past work behavior or accomplishments to be analyzed. Moreover, past work experience or education may not be highly relevant. Relatedly, researchers and organizations must collect a large enough sample to create the CATA model. In one example, [Campion et al. \(2016\)](#) examined the sample size question and suggested 500 responses as a minimum rule-of-thumb with their data. The size of the model

additionally informs the appropriate sample size because the more parameters, the greater the sample needed for stable estimates.

2. *Deciding on which software to use.* As stated above, researchers should seek to use more sophisticated software beyond the data-management packages and the dictionary-based systems. The authors are inclined to use commercial software because it is more fully developed, user friendly, documented, and technically supported. Furthermore, most commercial software does not require programming skills, which is a challenge for management scholars who are trained in statistics and theory rather than software coding.
3. *Learning the software.* Assuming the researcher uses more sophisticated software packages, there will be a meaningful but not prohibitive investment in time to learn, even if commercial software is used. How much time will depend on many factors (e.g., computer skill, availability of a trainer, complexity of data, etc.). We estimate it will likely take several days to a week for a researcher to learn the basics, and then several weeks or months of additional time learning “on-the-job” as issues emerge while applying the software.
4. *Training the software.* This again assumes the use of more sophisticated software and can be a time-consuming task. Training involves working with the computer model incrementally to improve it and can include revising the concepts extracted by the computer or the aggregate categories of concepts. Training may take the form of combining, deleting, relabeling, identifying synonyms, and other adjustments. A primary factor influencing the difficulty of training is the range of possible responses because it influences the number of CATA categories needed. For example, a CATA model for a personal statement by candidates will require more categories than a specific question on past leadership experience. Training may also involve the validation step by selecting the text-mined variables to retain based on their correlation with some criterion. A logical question regarding training is: how much training is enough training? In some previous research ([Campion et al., 2016](#)), the goal was to train the computer model until the correlation with a human assessor was the same as the correlation between assessors. However, another goal might be to continue training until some asymptotic level is reached. Whether based on statistical criteria or on the theoretical or practical appeal of the model, the burden to defend the final model is on the researcher.
5. *Validating the model.* This is perhaps one of the most important and yet challenging steps in using CATA for employment research and decisions. Due to legal requirements and social expectations around employment decision making, management scholars and organizations are held to higher standards when using advanced techniques and must be able to support their validity (including face validity). There are myriad decisions scholars must make in this realm. For example, if content validation is to be used, what will be the approach? Is a job analysis available? Are SMEs available? Will linkage analyses be conducted? Would the context meet the requirements for content validation in the various legal and professional validation guidelines? While we have noted that a useful approach to training is to do so against a criterion, it may be that researchers do not have a criterion to text mine against. In this case, it is particularly crucial that the researcher clearly describe the decision to maintain the model (e.g., a theory supports the model). When a criterion is available, challenges include, but are not limited to, restriction of range in the predictor, unreliability of the criterion, and statistical power.
6. *Updating the model to accommodate legal and social changes.* CATA models may require revision due to changes in employment laws (e.g., Illinois Artificial Intelligence Video Interview Act), but also due to social developments. Words can change or alter meaning over time. For example, the word “literally” is now well-understood to metaphorically mean “figuratively,” and while the current generation was not the first to use it this way, they were the ones to make it popular (Merriam-Webster, n.d.; also see “Google” as a dictionary addition in 2006). Colloquial expressions are especially likely to change over time. Researchers in organizations are responsible for updating their models to meet legal requirements and accommodate relevant social changes.
7. *Working out operational details.* As with any project, the “devil is in the details.” Creating a CATA model for operational use in hiring and putting it into practice is no exception and may be even more complicated due to the need for information technology support and integration with the company’s existing computer systems. Issues include, but are not limited to, researcher support, programmer



support, hardware requirements, flow of data and time, data cleaning, scoring, cut scores, data maintenance, security issues, and other integration issues.

8. *Communicating to candidates.* Although the use of CATA to help score textual data as part of the hiring process does not necessarily create additional needs to communicate with candidates, the usual communications may have to be adjusted. These will likely include communications posted on the website or in other recruiting documents as to the nature of the assessment used in the hiring process, any preparation advice, feedback on scores, retesting policies, responses to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests for government employers, and so on. However, some candidates may still have mistrust in computer scoring that will influence their reaction (Gonzalez, Capman, Oswald, Theys, & Tomczak, 2019). Perhaps communicating that the machine scoring is highly reliable, bias-free, and involves no human subjectivity would mitigate their concerns as fairness communications have been shown to improve reactions in other hiring contexts (e.g., Truxillo, Bauer, Campion, & Paronto, 2002).

## **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR USING CATA**

Many recommendations have already been made explicitly or implicitly throughout the article for using CATA. The current section summarizes our recommendations regarding the approaches to use in research on employment decision making and HRM more generally.

1. In terms of a bottom-line, we recommend that CATA be used as an approach to measuring KSAOs for employment decisions. Our review also suggests that CATA can and has been used to measure a range of constructs. Although relatively few have measured KSAs (other than Os) directly related to employment decisions, the range of constructs measured in the literature suggests that KSAs could viably be measured. In fact, they might be measured more easily because they are more definable, objective, and verifiable than many psychological constructs measured in the literature.
2. We recommend using more sophisticated methods than the CATA methods used in most of the management literature to date. They are generally very simplistic, such as merely facilitating manual content analyses or employing an automated word search in a corpus of words that represents a particular construct (e.g., entrepreneurial orientation). More sophisticated and better approaches are now available and are capable of automating the relationships among words rather than simply counting individual words.
3. We recommend using approaches to CATA that evaluate strings of words and relationships among words like NLP, as opposed to the more common and simple single word and phrase-based approaches. The true benefits of CATA will only be realized with these more sophisticated and automated programs.
4. We recommend using approaches that allow training. Approaches vary in terms of whether and how easily they can be trained. The literature will often use the terms “supervised versus unsupervised” to make this distinction. Organizations using CATA for employment will want to use approaches that allow training because it can greatly improve interpretation and prediction. Another value of training is that it helps ensure that the researcher understands what the computer is scoring instead of blindly accepting the “black box.” This is similar to how researchers must learn how to calculate statistics by hand in graduate school, even though they will use computers in the future. Parenthetically, the layperson interpretation of “machine learning” is that the computer teaches itself. However, in the current state of development of the field, this refers more to the fact that the computer can fit a model to the data (like regression has done for years), rather than some continuous self-teaching from moment to moment. Researchers still have to train the computer in many ways even with today’s modern software.
5. This all said, we also recommend not ignoring the use of word dictionaries. They offer at least two advantages. First, many dictionaries have already been developed and validated on a range of constructs, and they are inexpensive to purchase (e.g., LIWC, DICTION). Second, it is fairly easy to develop one’s own dictionary on constructs of interest. Although data dictionaries are perhaps the

- most simplistic approach to text mining, they can be developed in advance based on theory and do not rely on a corpus to text mine necessarily as the first step like the more sophisticated approaches.
6. Relatedly, we recommend considering the various ways to strategically select or create corpuses (corpora) for developing a CATA model. For example, documents could be selected that are likely to be enriched with words relevant to constructs of interest in order to identify words for models (e.g., documents describing leadership might be used to identify leadership-related word descriptions). Similarly, illustrative text samples created by SMEs can be text mined to measure constructs better than using actual examples from subjects in some instances. Creating an algorithm for scoring constructs does not always start with actual examples from the future intended corpora.
  7. We also recommend considering sentiment analysis as it might be appropriate. It could conceivably be used anytime it is necessary to distinguish the positive or negative tenor of comments. This has obvious applications when analyzing survey responses where the tone of the comments is important along with the content. It could potentially help resolve one of the most central problems in performance evaluation: leniency and skew in the ratings due to the unwillingness of managers to give candid feedback. Narrative comments are somewhat less susceptible to this issue. These comments may be more candid because, unlike the ratings, they are not usually directly linked to decisions like compensation (Speer, 2018). These comments are also less susceptible because, even though they will be consistent with the ratings, they can reveal the strength of the job performance through “faint praise.” Sentiment-based CATA might be able to measure these nuances more objectively. Similarly, employers want to hire candidates with a “positive attitude,” but this is vulnerable to faking in some traditional assessments (e.g., interviews). Using sentiment analysis to assess attitudes from written materials may make response bias more difficult because it is less direct (less obvious to candidates) and it will be more difficult to determine which words are scored.
  8. Finally, we recommend considering some of the insights from the broader machine learning literature. This includes using both quantitative and text variables in the models, using other statistical models that might improve prediction, expanding the range of outcomes predicted, making adjustments to data distributions as appropriate, and broadening the sources of data considered.

## NOTES

1. For example, it is been recognized in some capacity for the last 7 years in the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychologists annual work trends surveys (<https://www.siop.org/Business-Resources/Top-10-Workplace-Trends>).
2. We searched the following journals: *Academy of Management Annals*, *Academy of Management Journal*, *Academy of Management Proceedings*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Behavior*, *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Business Venturing*, *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *Journal of International Business Studies*, *Journal of Management*, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *Organizational Research Methods*, *Organization Science*, *Personnel Psychology*, and *Strategic Management Journal*.
3. An exception might be when an organization uses an automated writing assessment as part of its hiring process. For a recent review, see Shermis and Burstein (2013).

## REFERENCES

- Akinola, M., Martin, A. E., & Phillips, K. W. (2018). To delegate or not to delegate: Gender differences in affective associations and behavioral responses to delegation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 61(4), 1467–1491.
- Anglin, A. H., Wolfe, M. T., Short, J. C., McKenny, A. F., & Pidduck, R. J. (2018). Narcissistic rhetoric and crowdfunding performance: A social role theory perspective. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 33(6), 780–812.
- Antons, D., Joshi, A. M., & Salge, T. O. (2018). Content, contribution, and knowledge consumption: Uncovering hidden topic structure and rhetorical signals in scientific texts. *Journal of Management*, 45(7), 3035–3076.
- Banks, G. C., Woznyj, H. M., Wesslen, R. S., Frear, K. A., Berka, G., Heggestad, E. D., & Gordon, H. L. (2019). Strategic recruitment across borders: An investigation of multinational enterprises. *Journal of Management*, 45(2), 476–509.
- Barley, S. R., Meyerson, D. E., & Grodal, S. (2011). E-mail as a source and symbol of stress. *Organization Science*, 22(4), 887–906.
- Barlow, M. A., Verhaal, J. C., & Hoskins, J. D. (2018). Guilty by association: Product-level category stigma and audience expectations in the US craft beer industry. *Journal of Management*, 44(7), 2934–2960.
- Basu, S., & Savani, K. (2017). Choosing one at a time? Presenting options simultaneously helps people make more optimal decisions than presenting options sequentially. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 139, 76–91.
- Beckman, C. M., & Stanko, T. L. (2019). It takes three: Relational boundary work, resilience, and commitment among navy couples. *Academy of Management Journal*. (Advanced online publication.)
- Bednar, M. K. (2012). Watchdog or lapdog? A behavioral view of the media as a corporate governance mechanism. *Academy of Management Journal*, 55(1), 131–150.

- Bilro, R. G., Loureiro, S. M. C., & Guerreiro, J. (2019). Exploring online customer engagement with hospitality products and its relationship with involvement, emotional states, experience and brand advocacy. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 28(2), 147–171.
- Bligh, M. C., Kohles, J. C., & Meindl, J. R. (2004). Charisma under crisis: Presidential leadership, rhetoric, and media responses before and after the September 11th terrorist attacks. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 15(2), 211–239.
- Boling, J. R., Pieper, T. M., & Covin, J. G. (2015). CEO tenure and entrepreneurial orientation within family and nonfamily firms. *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, 706, 864–1614.
- Buyl, T., Boone, C., & Wade, J. B. (2019). CEO narcissism, risk-taking, and resilience: An empirical analysis in US commercial banks. *Journal of Management*, 45(4), 1372–1400.
- Campion, M. C., Campion, M. A., Campion, E. D., & Reider, M. H. (2016). Initial investigation into computer scoring of candidate essays for personnel selection. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 101(7), 958–975.
- Carley, K. M. (1997). Extracting team mental models through textual analysis. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 18, 533–558.
- Chatman, J. A., Caldwell, D. F., O'Reilly, C. A., & Doerr, B. (2014). Parsing organizational culture: How the norm for adaptability influences the relationship between culture consensus and financial performance in high-technology firms. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 35(6), 785–808.
- Chen, X., & Latham, G. P. (2014). The effect of priming learning vs. performance goals on a complex task. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 125(2), 88–97.
- Chuang, A., Hsu, R. S., Wang, A. C., & Judge, T. A. (2015). Does West “fit” with East? In search of a Chinese model of person–environment fit. *Academy of Management Journal*, 58(2), 480–510.
- Clark, D. R., Li, D., & Shepherd, D. A. (2018). Country familiarity in the initial stage of foreign market selection. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 49, 442–472.
- Connelly, C. E., Zweig, D., Webster, J., & Trougakos, J. P. (2012). Knowledge hiding in organizations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 33(1), 64–88.
- Corner, P. D., & Ho, M. (2010). How opportunities develop in social entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 34(4), 635–659.
- Crayne, M. P., & Hunter, S. T. (2018). Historiometry in organizational science: Renewed attention for an established research method. *Organizational Research Methods*, 21(1), 6–29.
- Creed, W. D., DeJordy, R., & Lok, J. (2010). Being the change: Resolving institutional contradiction through identity work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(6), 1336–
- Crilly, D. (2017). Time and space in strategy discourse: Implications for intertemporal choice. *Strategic Management Journal*, 3, 2370–2389.
- Detert, J. R., & Treviño, L. K. (2010). Speaking up to higher-ups: How supervisors and skip-level leaders influence employee voice. *Organization Science*, 21(1), 249–270.
- DICTION. (2019). Retrieved from <https://www.dictionsoftware.com/diction-overview/>
- Edmondson, A. C., & McManus, S. E. (2007). Methodological fit in management field research. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(4), 1246–1264.
- Engelen, A., Neumann, C., & Schwens, C. (2015). “Of course I can”: The effect of CEO overconfidence on entrepreneurially oriented firms. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 39(5), 1137–1160.
- Engelen, A., Neumann, C., & Schmidt, S. (2016). Should entrepreneurially oriented firms have narcissistic CEOs?. *Journal of Management*, 42(3), 698–721.
- Fanelli, A., Misangyi, V. F., & Tosi, H. L. (2009). In charisma we trust: The effects of CEO charismatic visions on securities analysts. *Organization Science*, 20(6), 1011–1033.
- Felbermayr, A., & Nanopoulos, A. (2016). The role of emotions for the perceived usefulness in online customer reviews. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 36, 60–76.
- Felps, W., Mitchell, T. R., Hekman, D. R., Lee, T. W., Holtom, B. C., & Harman, W. S. (2009). Turnover contagion: How coworkers’ job embeddedness and job search behaviors influence quitting. *Academy of Management Journal*, 52(3), 545–561.
- Field, A., Miles, J., & Field, Z. (2012). *Discovering Statistics Using R*. London: Sage.
- Follmer, E. H., Talbot, D. L., Kristof-Brown, A. L., Astrove, S. L., & Billsberry, J. (2018). Resolution, relief, and resignation: A qualitative study of responses to misfit at work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 61(2), 440–465.
- Gephart, R. P. (2004). Qualitative research in the Academy of Management Journal. *Academy of Management Journal*, 47(4), 454–462.
- Gibson, C. B., & Gibbs, J. L. (2006). Unpacking the concept of virtuality: The effects of geographic dispersion, electronic dependence, dynamic structure, and national diversity on team innovation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 51(3), 451–495.
- Gibson, C. B., Gibbs, J. L., Stanko, T. L., Tesluk, P., Cohen, S. G. (2011). Including the “I” in Virtuality and Modern Job Design: Extending the Job Characteristics Model to Include the Moderating Effect of Individual Experiences of Electronic Dependence and Copresence. *Organization Science*, 22, 1481–1499.
- Gioia, D. A., Price, K. N., Hamilton, A. L., & Thomas, J. B. (2010). Forging an identity: An insider-outsider study of processes involved in the formation of organizational identity. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55(1), 1–46.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). Grounded theory: The discovery of grounded theory. *Sociology the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 12(1), 27–49.
- Gonzalez, M. F., Capman, J. F., Oswald, F. L., Theys, E. R., & Tomczak, D. L. (2019). Where’s the I-O?” Artificial intelligence and machine learning in talent management systems. *Personnel Assessment and Decisions*, 5(3), 33–44.
- Grünn, B., Stresse, S., Flatten, T. C., Jaeger, N. A., & Brettel, M. (2017). Temporal change patterns of entrepreneurial orientation: A longitudinal investigation of CEO successions. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 41(4), 591–619.
- Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. (1975). Development of the job diagnostic survey. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 60(2), 159–170.
- Harrison, J. S., Thurgood, G. R., Boivie, S., & Pfarrer, M. D. (2019a). Measuring CEO personality: Developing, validating, and testing a linguistic tool. *Strategic Management Journal*, 40(8), 1316–1330.
- Harrison, J. S., Thurgood, G. R., Boivie, S., & Pfarrer, M. D. (2019b). Perception is reality: How CEOs’ observed personality influences market perceptions of firm risk and shareholder returns. *Academy of Management Journal*, doi:<https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2018.0626>.
- Hartwell, C. J., & Campion, M. A. (2019). Getting social in selection: How social networking website content is perceived and used in hiring. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*.
- Hirsh, J. B., & Peterson, J. B. (2009). Personality and language use in self-narratives. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 43, 524–527.

- Janasik, N., Honkela, T., & Bruun, H. (2009). Text mining in qualitative research: Application of an unsupervised learning method. *Organizational Research Methods*, 12(3), 436–460.
- Josefy, M., Dean, T. J., Albert, L. S., & Fitza, M. A. (2017). The role of community in crowdfunding success: Evidence on cultural attributes in funding campaigns to "Save the local theater". *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 41(2), 161–182.
- Kabanoff, B., & Holt, J. (1996). Changes in the espoused values of Australian organizations 1986–1990. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 17(3), 201–219.
- Kabanoff, B., Waldersee, R., & Cohen, M. (1995). Espoused values and organizational change themes. *Academy of Management Journal*, 38(4), 1075–1104.
- Kang, J., & Kim, A. Y. H. (2017). The relationships between CEO media appearances and compensation. *Organization Science*, 28(3), 379–394.
- Kanze, D., Huang, L., Conley, M. A., & Higgins, E. T. (2018). We ask men to win and women not to lose: Closing the gender gap in startup funding. *Academy of Management Journal*, 61(2), 586–614.
- Keil, T., Maula, M., & Syrigos, E. (2017). CEO entrepreneurial orientation, entrenchment, and firm value creation. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 41(4), 475–504.
- Kellogg, K. C., Orlikowski, W. J., & Yates, J. (2006). Life on the trading zone: Structuring coordination across boundaries in postbureaucratic organizations. *Organization Science*, 17(1), 22–44.
- Kobayashi, V. B., Mol, S. T., Berkers, H. A., Kismihok, G., & Den Hartog, D. N. (2018a). Text classification for organizational researchers: A tutorial. *Organizational Research Methods*, 21(3), 766–799.
- Kobayashi, V. B., Mol, S. T., Berkers, H. A., Kismihok, G., & Den Hartog, D. N. (2018b). Text mining in organizational research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 21(3), 733–765.
- Kreiner, G. E., Hollensbe, E. C., & Sheep, M. L. (2009). Balancing borders and bridges: Negotiating the work-home interface via boundary work tactics. *Academy of Management Journal*, 52(4), 704–730.
- Lanaj, K., Foulk, T. A., & Erez, A. (2019). Energizing leaders via self-reflection: A within-person field experiment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 104(1), 1–18.
- Laureiro-Martinex, D., & Brusoni, S. (2017). Cognitive flexibility and adaptive decision-making: Evidence from a laboratory study of expert decision makers. *Strategic Management Journal*, 39, 1031–1058.
- Liang, L. H., Lian, H., Brown, D. J., Ferris, D. L., Hanig, S., & Keeping, L. M. (2016). Why are abusive supervisors abusive? A dual-system self-control model. *Academy of Management Journal*, 59(4), 1385–1406.
- Liu, X., Burns, A. C., & Hou, Y. (2017). An Investigation of Brand-Related User-Generated Content on Twitter. *Journal of Advertising*, 46(2), 236–247.
- Locke, K. (2001). *Grounded theory in management research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Love, E. G., Lim, J., & Bednar, M. K. (2017). The face of the firm: The influence of CEOs on corporate reputation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 60(4), 1462–1481.
- Luciano, M. M., Mathieu, J. E., Park, S., & Tannenbaum, S. I. (2018). A fitting approach to construct and measurement alignment: The role of big data in advancing dynamic theories. *Organizational Research Methods*, 21(3), 592–632.
- Madera, J. M., Hebl, M. R., & Martin, R. C. (2009). Gender and letters of recommendation for academia: Agentic and communal differences. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(6), 1591.
- Malhotra, S., Reus, T. H., Zhu, P., & Roelofsens, E. M. (2018). The acquisitive nature of extraverted CEOs. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 63(2), 370–408.
- Martin, S. R. (2016). Stories about values and valuable stories: A field experiment of the power of narratives to shape newcomers' actions. *Academy of Management Journal*, 59(5), 1707–1724.
- McAlearney, A. S. (2006). Leadership development in healthcare: a qualitative study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior: The International Journal of Industrial, Occupational and Organizational Psychology and Behavior*, 27(7), 967–982.
- McKenny, A. F., Aguinis, H., Short, J. C., & Anglin, A. H. (2018). What doesn't get measured does exist: Improving the accuracy of computer-aided text analysis. *Journal of Management*, 44(7), 2909–2933.
- McKenny, A. F., Short, J. C., & Payne, G. T. (2013). Using computer-aided text analysis to elevate constructs: An illustration using psychological capital. *Organizational Research Methods*, 16(1), 152–184.
- Merriam-Webster (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/misuse-of-literally>
- Moore, C., Lee, S. Y., Kim, K., & Cable, D. M. (2017). The advantage of being oneself: The role of applicant self-verification in organizational hiring decisions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 102(11), 1493–1513.
- Moss, T. W., Neubaum, D. O., & Meyskens, M. (2015). The effect of virtuous and entrepreneurial orientations on microfinance lending and repayment: A signaling theory perspective. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 39(1), 27–52.
- Moss, T. W., Renko, M., Block, E., & Meyskens, M. (2018). Funding the story of hybrid ventures: Crowdfunder lending preferences and linguistic hybridity. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 33(5), 643–659.
- Nadkarni, S., & Narayanan, V. K. (2005). Validity of the structural properties of text-based causal maps: An empirical assessment. *Organizational Research Methods*, 8(1), 9–40.
- Newman, D. A., Harrison, D. A., Carpenter, N. C., & Rariden, S. M. (2016). Construct mixology: Forming new management constructs by combining old ones. *Academy of Management Annals*, 10(1), 943–995.
- Osborne, J. D., Stubbart, C. I., & Ramaprasad, A. (2001). Strategic groups and competitive enactment: A study of dynamic relationships between mental models and performance. *Strategic Management Journal*, 22, 435–454.
- Owens, B. P., & Hekman, D. R. (2012). Modeling how to grow: An inductive examination of humble leader behaviors, contingencies, and outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*, 55(4), 787–818.
- Pandey, S., & Pandey, S. K. (2017). Applying natural language processing capabilities in computerized textual analysis to measure organizational culture. *Organizational Research Methods*, 22(3), 765–797.
- Peltokorpi, V., & Vaara, E. (2014). Knowledge transfer in multinational corporations: Productive and counterproductive effects of language-sensitive recruitment. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45(5), 600–622.
- Pennebaker, J. W., Chung, C. K., Ireland, M., Gonzales, A., & Booth, R. J. (2007). The development and psychometric properties of LIWC2007. Retrieved from <http://www.liwc.net/LIWC2007LanguageManual.pdf>
- Peters, L. H., & O'Connor, E. J. (1980). Situational constraints and work outcomes: The influences of a frequently overlooked construct. *Academy of management review*, 5(3), 391–397.
- Peterson, N. G., Mumford, M. D., Borman, W. C., Jeanneret, P. R., Fleishman, E. A., Levin, K. Y., ... Dye, D. (2001). Understanding work using the occupational information network (O\*NET): Implications for practice and research. *Personnel Psychology*, 54, 451–492.



- Petriglieri, J. L. (2015). Co-creating relationship repair: Pathways to reconstructing destabilized organizational identification. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 60(3), 518–557.
- Ployhart, R. E., & Holtz, B. C. (2008). The diversity–validity dilemma: Strategies for reducing racioethnic and sex subgroup differences and adverse impact in selection. *Personnel Psychology*, 61(1), 153–172.
- Reay, T., Goodrick, E., Waldorff, S. B., & Casebeer, A. (2017). Getting leopards to change their spots: Co-creating a new professional role identity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 60(3), 1043–1070.
- Reilly, R. R., & Chao, G. T. (1982). Validity and fairness of some alternative employee selection procedures. *Personnel Psychology*, 35(1), 1–62.
- Reinecke, J., & Ansari, S. (2015). When times collide: Temporal brokerage at the intersection of markets and developments. *Academy of Management Journal*, 58(2), 618–648.
- Ridge, J. W., & Ingram, A. (2017). Modesty in the top management team: Investor reaction and performance implications. *Journal of Management*, 43(4), 1283–1306.
- Rothausen, T. J., Henderson, K. E., Arnold, J. K., & Malshe, A. (2017). Should I stay or should I go? Identity and well-being in sensemaking about retention and turnover. *Journal of Management*, 43(7), 2357–2385.
- Sajjadi, S., Sojourner, A. J., Kammeyer-Mueller, J. D., & Mykerei, E. (2019). Using machine learning to translate applicant work history into predictors of performance and turnover. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. (Advanced online publication).
- SAS. (2019). Natural language processing: What it is and why it matters. Retrieved from [https://www.sas.com/en\\_us/insights/analytics/what-is-natural-language-processing-nlp.html](https://www.sas.com/en_us/insights/analytics/what-is-natural-language-processing-nlp.html)
- Schmiedel, T., Müller, O., & vom Brocke, J. (2019). Topic modeling as a strategy of inquiry in organizational research: A tutorial with an application example on organizational culture. *Organizational Research Methods*, 22(4), 941–968.
- Schmidt, F., & Hunter, J. (1998). The validity and utility of selection methods in personnel psychology: Practical and theoretical implications of 85 years of research findings. *Psychological Bulletin*, 124, 262–274.
- Shantz, A., & Latham, G. P. (2009). An exploratory field experiment of the effect of subconscious and conscious goals on employee performance. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 109(1), 9–17.
- Shermis, M. D., & Burstein, J. (Eds.). (2013). *Handbook of automated essay evaluation: Current applications and new directions*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Short, J. C., Broberg, J. C., Coglisier, C. C., & Brigham, K. H. (2010). Construct validation using computer-aided text analysis (CATA) an illustration using entrepreneurial orientation. *Organizational Research Methods*, 13(2), 320–347.
- Short, J. C., McKenny, A. F., & Reid, S. W. (2018). More than words? Computer-aided text analysis in organizational behavior and psychology research. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 5, 415–435.
- Shortt, H. L., & Warren, S. K. (2019). Grounded visual pattern analysis: Photographs in organizational field studies. *Organizational Research Methods*, 22(2), 539–563.
- Silge, J., & Robinson, D. (2017). *Text Mining with R: A Tidy Approach*. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly Media.
- Silverman, D., & Marvasti, A. (2008). *Doing qualitative research: A comprehensive guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- SIOP Top 10 Workplace Trends. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.siop.org/Business-Resources/Top-10-Workplace-Trends>
- Slutskaya, N., Game, A. M., & Simpson, R. C. (2018). Better together: Examining the role of collaborative ethnographic documentary in organizational research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 21(2), 341–365.
- Smither, J. W., & Walker, A. G. (2004). Are the characteristics of narrative comments related to improvement in multirater feedback ratings over time?. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89(3), 575.
- Sonenshein, S. (2014). How organizations foster the creative use of resources. *Academy of Management Journal*, 57(3), 814–848.
- Speer, A. B. (2018). Quantifying with words: An investigation of the validity of narrative-derived performance scores. *Personnel Psychology*, 71(3), 299–333.
- Stanko, T. L., & Beckman, C. M. (2015). Watching you watching me: Boundary control and capturing attention in the context of ubiquitous technology use. *Academy of Management Journal*, 58(3), 712–738.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, NJ: Sage.
- Titus, Jr, V., Parker, O., & Covin, J. (2019). Organizational aspirations and external venturing: the contingency of entrepreneurial orientation. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/1042258719838473>
- Toegel, G., Kilduff, M., & Anand, N. (2013). Emotion helping by managers: An emergent understanding of discrepant role expectations and outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*, 56(2), 334–357.
- Totterdell, P. (2000). Catching moods and hitting runs: Mood linkage and subjective performance in professional sport teams. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 85(6), 848–859.
- Truxillo, D. M., Bauer, T. N., Campion, M. A., & Paronto, M. E. (2002). Selection fairness information and applicant reactions: A longitudinal field study. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87, 1020–1031.
- Walmsley, P. T. (2019). Using machine learning and deep learning in hiring: Ethical, legal, and practical concerns. Panel discussion presented at the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, National Harbor, Maryland.
- Watson, A., Dada, O., Wright, O., & Perrigot, R. (2019). Entrepreneurial orientation rhetoric in franchise organizations: The impact of national culture. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 43(4), 751–772.
- Waung, M., McAuslan, P., DiMambro, J. M., & Miećoć, N. (2017). Impression management use in resumes and cover letters. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 32(6), 727–746.
- Wilhelm, A., Kleinmann, M., König, C. J., Melchers, K. G., & Truxillo, D. M. (2016). How and why do interviewers try to make impressions on applicants? A qualitative study. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 101(3), 313–332.
- Wilson, K. S., DeRue, D. S., Matta, F. K., Howe, M., & Conlon, D. E. (2016). Personality similarity in negotiations: Testing the dyadic effects of similarity in interpersonal traits and the use of emotional displays on negotiation outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 101(10), 1405–1421.
- Wolfe, M. T., & Shepherd, D. A. (2015). “Bouncing back” from a loss: Entrepreneurial orientation, emotions, and failure narratives. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 39(3), 675–700.
- Zuzul, T. (2018). “Matter Battles:” Boundary Objects and the Failure of Collaboration in Two Smart Cities. *Academy of Management Journal*, 62(3), 739–764.

**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management**  
**Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Volume 38, 285–325**  
**Copyright © 2020 by Emerald Publishing Limited**  
**All rights of reproduction in any form reserved**  
**ISSN: 0742-7301/doi:10.1108/S0742-730120200000038010**

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Mayowa Babalola** received his Ph.D. from the University of Leuven and is currently an Assistant Professor of Organizational Behavior at the United Arab Emirates University. His research revolves around leadership and behavioral ethics and has been published in journals such as *Personnel Psychology*, *Journal of Management*, and *Journal of Business Ethics*.

**Peter Bamberger** is the Domberger Chair in Organization and Management at Tel Aviv University's Collier School of Management, the Research Director of Cornell University's Smithers Institute, and the Editor-In-Chief of Academy of Management Discoveries (AMD). Research interests include automatic processes in individual behavior and human interaction; pro-social behavior, occupational health psychology, and pay communication. Author of over 100 refereed journal articles, his books include *Mutual Aid and Union Renewal* (2000), *Human Resource Strategy* (2014), and *Retirement & the Hidden Epidemic* (2014). He received his Ph.D. in Organizational Behavior from Cornell University in 1990.

**Emily D. Campion** is an Assistant Professor in Management in the Strome College of Business at Old Dominion University. Her research areas include selection, text analytics, and alternative work arrangements (e.g., multiple jobholding, gig economy). She has published on how to use text mining and text analytics for personnel selection and staffing decisions, multiple jobholding experiences, leadership, and the occupational mobility of refugees during resettlement. Prior to academia, she was a daily reporter in Indiana



and teacher in Washington, D.C. She earned her Ph.D. in Organization and Human Resources from the University at Buffalo.

**Michael A. Campion** is the Krannert Chair Professor of Management at Purdue University. His research spans the range of HR topics, such as interviewing, selection, teams, work design, job analysis, testing, training, turnover, promotion, and motivation. He has over 145 articles in scientific and professional journals and is among the 10 most published authors in the top journals and 2nd most cited author in HRM textbooks. He is also past editor of *Personnel Psychology*, past president of Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, and past winner of the SIOP Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award. He has conducted about 1,300 consulting projects for 170 organizations over the past 40 years.

**Minyoung Cheong** is an Assistant Professor of Management and Organization at Pennsylvania State University at Great Valley. He earned his PhD in management from State University of New York at Binghamton. His primary research passion resides in the topic of leadership in general and empowering leadership in particular. Related research interests are in the areas of levels-of-analysis and multilevel issues in leadership, emergence, and bottom-up effects pervaded in organizations. His work has been published in the *Leadership Quarterly* and *Group & Organization Management*.

**Lillian T. Eby** is Professor of Psychology at the University of Georgia. She is a Fellow of the American Psychological Association and the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology. Her research focuses on mentoring, organizational careers, employee well-being, and the intersection of work–family life. In addition to her active scholarship, she serves as the Director of the Owens Institute for Behavioral Research, a service unit under the Office for Research that promotes and supports interdisciplinary social and behavioral science at UGA.

**Amir Erez** is the W.A. McGriff III Professor of Management at the Warrington College of Business Administration, University of Florida. He earned his Ph.D. at Cornell University's ILR School. His research focuses on how positive moods and positive personality, influence individuals thought processes, motivation, and work behavior, as well as how negative work behaviors such as rudeness affect individuals' performance and cognition. His research has been published in top-tier journals in management, psychology, and medicine, and has been reported by such media outlets as *CBS News*, *ABC News*, *NBC News*, *BBC Radio*, *NPR*, *NY Times*, *Wall Street Journal*.

**David B. Fecteau** is a doctoral student in the Industrial-Organizational Psychology program at the University of Georgia. His research interests include workplace mentoring and other dyadic helping relationships at work such as executive coaching and leader-subordinate relationships.

**Robert Folger** is a Distinguished Alumni Endowed Professor in Business Ethics and Pegasus Professor at the University of Central Florida. He has over 130 publications, including in *Academy of Management Review*, *Academy of Management Journal*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Management*, and *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, addressing topics such as behavioral ethics and organizational justice. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Management, the American Psychological Association, the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, and the Society of Industrial and Organizational Psychology (from whom he received a Distinguished Scientific Contributions Award).

**Gayle Hamilton** is the Interim Director of Labor@Wayne at Wayne State University, where she has served at the Associate Director of the Labor Studies Center. She received her law degree from the University of Detroit Mercy School of Law.

**Wayne A. Hochwarter** is the Moran Professor of Organizational Behavior at Florida State University and a Research Fellow at

Australia Catholic University. He received a Ph.D. from Florida State University. His research interests lie in the areas of politics, leadership, and contextual influences on individual and organizational effectiveness. His research has been published in the *Academy of Management Review*, *Administrative Sciences Quarterly*, the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, and *Human Decision Processes*, and the *Journal of Management*.

**Samantha L. Jordan** is a Ph.D. candidate in Organizational Behavior/Human Resources Management at Florida State University. She has research interests in organizational justice and the work-family interface, social influence and political processes, and individual differences (e.g., grit, narcissism). Her research has been published in journals such as the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Management*, and *Human Resource Management Review*.

**Ilias Kapoutsis** is an Assistant Professor of Management at the Athens University of Economics and Business (AUEB). His research interests focus on social influence at work, leadership, and negotiation. His research has been published in journals such as the *Journal of Management*, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, and the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. He serves as an Associate Editor for *Frontiers in Psychology: Organizational Psychology* and on the editorial board of *Academy of Management Perspectives*.

**Abdul Karim Khan** received his Ph.D. from the Aix-Marseille Graduate School of Management in France and is currently an Associate Professor of Organizational Behavior at the United Arab Emirates University. His research, which examines envy and justice, person-job fit, and abusive work relationships, has been published in the *Journal of Management*, the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, the *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *Public Personnel Management*, and the *Review of Public Administration*.

**Jayoung Kim** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Managerial Studies at Purdue University Northwest. She received her PhD in Management with a concentration in Organizational Behavior and Leadership at Binghamton University, State University of New York. Her primary research interests include leadership, leader–follower dyadic relationships, meaning of work, dynamic models, and levels of analysis issues. Her research has been published in *The Leadership Quarterly*.

**Soo-Hoon Lee**, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor at Old Dominion University. She has a courtesy appointment as Associate Professor at Johns Hopkins Carey Business School and is an Affiliate Faculty at the Armstrong Institute for Patient Safety and Quality at Johns Hopkins School of Medicine. Her research focuses on transitions, compliance behaviors, and teamwork. She is on the Editorial Board of the *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *Journal of Business Venturing*, and the *Journal of Family Business Strategy*.

**Thomas W. Lee** is the Hughes M. Blake Professor of Management at the University of Washington. He is perhaps best known as co-creator of the unfolding model of voluntary employee turnover, job embeddedness and psychological withdrawal states theory. Among his academic awards, Tom is most proud of the Academy of Management Career Achievement Award for Distinguished Service (2016), presenting the Inaugural Foster Distinguished Faculty Lecture in 2015, and the Herbert Heneman Jr. Career Achievement Award (2015) from the Human Resource Division of the Academy of Management. Tom is a former Editor of the *Academy of Management Journal* and President of the *Academy of Management*. Currently, he serves on the editorial board of the *Journal of Applied Psychology*. Tom is a Fellow of the Academy of Management and the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology.

**Marick F. Masters** is currently the Interim Chair of the Finance Department and Professor of Business at the Mike Ilitch School of Business at Wayne State University, where he was Director of

Labor@Wayne for nearly 11 years. He has had 17 years of administrative experience in various capacities and also been a candidate for the United States Congress. He served with the University of Pittsburgh and Texas A&M University.

**Phillip H. Phan**, Ph.D., is Alonzo and Virginia Decker Professor at the Johns Hopkins Carey Business School with a joint appointment as Professor of Medicine in the Department of Medicine and Core Faculty in the Armstrong Institute for Patient Safety and Quality at Johns Hopkins Medicine. His research focuses on healthcare innovation in patient safety and quality and has published 190 peer-reviewed research papers, abstracts, and conference proceedings and is author of 8 books. He is an Editor of the *Academy of Management Perspectives*, Academic Editor of *Medicine®* (safety and quality section), and Associate Editor for the *Journal of Technology Transfer*.

**Arieh Riskin** is an Associate Clinical Professor at the Rappaport Faculty of Medicine of the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, and the Director of the Neonatal Intensive Care Unit at Israel's Bnai Zion Medical Center. With over 100 publications in Pediatrics and Neonatology, his current research examines the cognitive and meta-cognitive underpinnings of medical teams' diagnostic and procedural performance. He completed his Fellowship in Neonatology at the Baylor College of Medicine, and received a Master of Healthcare Administration degree and Ph.D. in Organizational Behavior from Tel Aviv University's Collier School of Management.

**Melissa M. Robertson**, Ph.D., is a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Owens Institute for Behavioral Research. Her research focuses on understanding and improving employees' relationships with others at work and at home, particularly within the areas of mentoring and the work-life interface.

**Chou-Yu Tsai** is an Assistant Professor of Management and a Member of Bernard M. & Ruth R. Bass Center for Leadership Studies

at Binghamton University, State University of New York. He has served on the editorial review board of *The Leadership Quarterly* and as an ad hoc reviewer for seven scholarly journals. His research focuses on leadership, human fundamental cognitive processes, and research methods. He is currently working on research projects regarding leadership network and development in sports settings, dynamics in global virtual teams, as well as leadership in robotic technology.

**Steven W. Whiting** is an Associate Professor of Management in the College of Business at the University of Central Florida. He earned his Ph.D. in Organizational Behavior and Human Resource Management from Indiana University. His work appears in leading peer-reviewed journals such as the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, the *Academy of Management Journal*, and *International Public Management Journal*. He is particularly interested in organizational citizenship behavior and other forms of pro-social behavior at work.

**Francis J. Yammarino** is a SUNY Distinguished Professor of Management and Director, Bernard M. & Ruth R. Bass Center for Leadership Studies, at Binghamton University, State University of New York. He was a Senior Editor of *The Leadership Quarterly* and co-editor of *Research in Multi-Level Issues*, has served on nine scholarly journal editorial review boards, and is a Fellow of SIOP, APA, APS, and SOB. His research focuses on leadership and levels of analysis issues and has been funded by the Army Research Institute, Office of Naval Research, National Science Foundation, and National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

**Aya Zeiger** is a doctoral student in Organizational Behavior at the Collar School of Management, Tel-Aviv University. She holds a Master of Business Administration degree with a specialization in Organizational Behavior, and a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel. She has extensive experience as human resource business partner and talent acquisition in the high-tech industry. Current research interests

include employee cognition and applying advances in neuroscience to enhance our understanding of team processes.